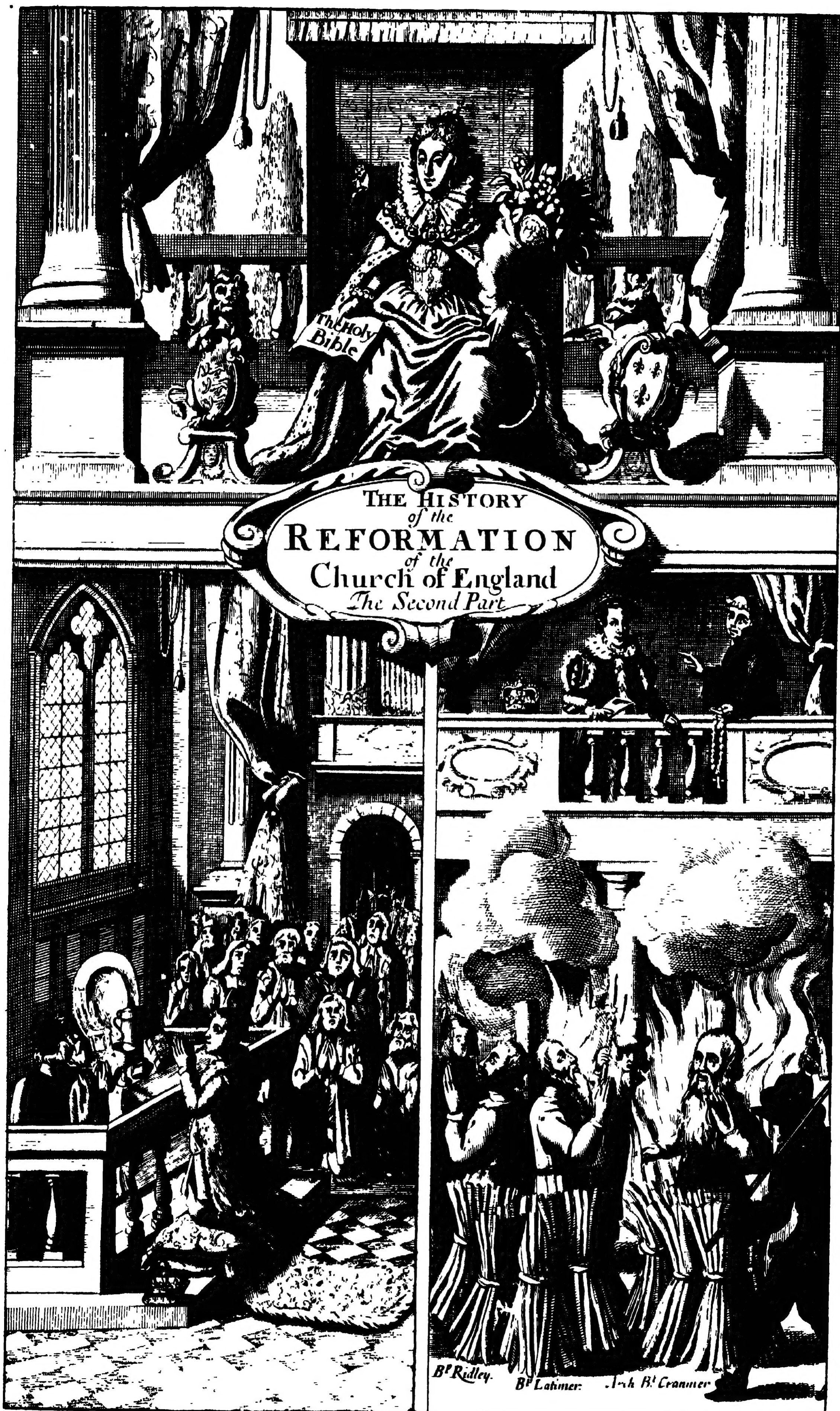


Printed for Rich: Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in St Pauls Church yard.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION

OF THE

Church of England.

The Second Part,

OF THE

Progreſs made in it till the Settlement of it in the beginning

OF

Elizabeth's Reign.

By *GILBERT BURNET*, D. D.

LONDON,

Printed by *T. H.* for *Richard Chiswell*, at the Roſe and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, MDCLXXXI.

THE PREFACE.



HE favourable reception which the former Part of this Work had, together with the new Materials that were sent me from Noble and Worthy Hands, have encouraged me to prosecute it, and to carry down the History *of the* Reformation *of this Church till it was brought to a compleat settlement in the beginning of Queen* Elizabeths *Reign, which I now offer to the World.*

The great zeal of this Age for what was done in that, about Religion, has made the History *of it to be received and read with more than ordinary attention and care: and many have expressed their satisfaction in what was formerly published, by contributing several Papers of great consequence to what remained: and since I found no Part of the first Volume was more universally acceptable, than that wherein I was only a Transcriber, I mean the* Collection *of* Records *and* Authentick *Papers, which I had set down in confirmation of the more remarkable and doubtful parts of the History; I continue the same method now. I shall repeat nothing here that was in my former* Preface*: But refer the Reader to such things as concern this History in general, and my encouragement in the undertaking and prosecution of it, to what is there premised to the whole Work: and therefore I shall now enlarge on such things as do more particularly relate to this Volume.*

The Papers that were conveyed to me from several Hands are referred to, as the occasion to mention them occurs in the History, with such acknowledgements as I thought best became this way of writing, though far short of the merits of those who furnished me with them. But the Store-house from whence I drew the greatest part both of the History *and* Collection, *is the often-celebrated* Cotton *Library, out of which, by the noble favour of its truly learned Owner, Sir* John Cotton, *I gathered all that was necessary for composing this Part, together with some few things which had escaped me in my former Search, and belong to the First Part: and those I have mixed in the* Collection *added to this Volume upon such occasions as I thought most pertinent. But among all the Remains of the last Age, that are with great industry and order laid up in that Treasury, none pleased me better, nor were of more use to me, than the* Journal *of King* Edwards *Reign, written all with his own Hand: with some other Papers of his, which I have put by themselves in the beginning of the* Collection*: Of these I shall say nothing here, having given a full account of them in the History of his Reign, to which I refer the Reader. I find most of our Writers have taken Parcels out of them, and Sir* John Heyward *has transcribed from them the greatest part of his Book; therefore I thought this a*

thing of ſuch conſequence, that upon good advice I have publiſhed them all faithfully copied from the Originals.

But as others aſſiſted me towards the perfecting this Part, ſo that learned Divine, and moſt exact Enquirer into Hiſtorical Learning, Mr. Fulman, *Rector of* Hamton-Meyſey *in* Glocester-ſhire, *did moſt ſignally oblige me, by a Collection of ſome miſtakes I had made in the former Work. He had for many years applied his thoughts with a very ſearching care to the ſame Subject, and ſo was able to judge more critically of it, than other Readers. Some of thoſe had eſcaped me, others had not come within my view, in ſome particulars my Vouchers were not good, and in others I had miſtaken my Authors. Theſe I publiſh at the end of this Volume, being neither aſhamed to confeſs my faults, nor unwilling to acknowledge from what Hand I received better information. My deſign in writing is to diſcover Truth, and to deliver it down impartially to the next Age; ſo I ſhould think it both a mean and criminal piece of vanity to ſuppreſs this diſcovery of my Errors. And though the number and conſequence of them had been greater than it is, I ſhould rather have ſubmitted to a much ſeverer Penance, than have left the World in the miſtakes, I had led them into: yet I was not a little pleaſed to find that they were neither many, nor of importance to the main Parts of the Hiſtory: and were chiefly about* Dates *or ſmall variations in the order of Time. I hope this Part has fewer faults ſince that worthy Perſon did purſue his former kindneſs ſo far, as to review it before-hand: and with great judgment to correct ſuch errors as he found in it: Thoſe I had formerly fallen into, made me more careful in examining even the ſmalleſt matters. Yet if after all my care, and the kind Cenſures of thoſe who have reviſed this Work, there is any thing left that may require a further Retractation, I ſhall not decline to make it ſo ſoon as I ſee there is need of it, being, I hope, raiſed above the poor vanity of ſeeking my own reputation, by ſacrificing Truth to it.*

Thoſe to whoſe cenſure I ſubmitted this whole Hiſtory in both its Parts, were chiefly three great Divines, whoſe Lives are ſuch Examples, their Sermons ſuch Inſtructions, their Writings ſuch unanſwerable Vindications of our Church, and their whole deportment ſo ſutable to their profeſſion, that as I reckon my being admitted into ſome meaſure of friendſhip with them, among the chief Bleſſings of my Life, ſo I know nothing can more effectually recommend this Work than to ſay that it paſſed with their hearty approbation, after they had examined it with that care, which their great zeal for the Cauſe concerned in it, and their goodneſs to the Author, and freedom with him obliged them to uſe. They are ſo well known, that without naming them, thoſe of this Age will eaſily gueſs who they are; and they will be ſo well known to Poſterity, by their excellent Writings, that the naming them is ſo high an advantage to my Book, *that I much doubt whether it is decent for me to do it. One of them, Dr.* Lloyd, *is now, while I am writing, by His Majeſties favour, promoted to the Biſhoprick of St.* Aſaph: *a Dignity to which how deſervedly ſoever his great Learning, Piety, and Merit, has advanced him, yet I particularly know how far he was from any aſpirings to it. It was he I deſcribed in my former* Preface, *that engaged me firſt to this deſign, and for that reaſon he has been more than ordinary careful to examine it, with that exactneſs that is peculiar to him. The other two are the Reverend, Learned,*

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and Judicious Deans, of Canterbury *and St.* Pauls, *Dr.* Tillotson, *and Dr.* Stillingfleet, *too well known to receive any addition from the Characters I can give of them.*

Others gave me Supplies of another sort, to enable me to go through with an undertaking that put me to no small expence. I am not ashamed to acknowledge, that the straitness of my condition, made this uneasie to me, being destitute of all publick provision: but I should be much ashamed of my ingratitude, if I did not celebrate their bounty who have taken such care of me, as not to leave this addition of charge, on one who lives not without difficulties. I must again repeat my Thanks, for the generous kindness, protection, and liberal Supplies of Sir Harbotle Grimstone, *Master of the* Rolls, *this being the sixth year of my subsistance under him, to whom I must ever acknowledge that I am more beholding than to all Men living. The noble Mr.* Boyle, *as he employs both his Time and Wealth, for the good of Mankind, (for which he considers himself as chiefly born, and which he has promoted not only in his own excellent Writings, that have made him so famous over all the World, but in many other designs that have been chiefly carried on at his cost,) so hath he renewed his kindness to me in largesses sutable to so great a Mind. Others were also pleased to joyn their help. The Right Honourable the Lord* Finch, *now Lord High Chancellor of* England, *whose great Parts, and greater Vertues, are so conspicuous, that it were a high Presumption in me to say any thing in his commendation, being in nothing more eminent than in his zeal for, and care of this Church, thought it might be of some importance to have its History well digested, and therefore as he bore a large share of my expence, so he took it more particularly under his care, and under all the Burdens of that high Employment which he now bears, yet found time for reading it in Manuscript, of which he must have robbed himself, since he never denies it to those who have a Right to it on any publick account; and hath added such Remarks and Corrections as are no small part of any finishing it may be judged to have. The Lord* Russel, *the Inheritor of that Zeal for true Religion, and the other Vertues that have from the first beginnings of the Reformation, in a continued Entail, adorned that Noble Family of* Bedford, *beyond most others of the Kingdom, did espouse the Interests of the Protestant Religion in this particular, as he has done on all other more publick occasions: and by a most liberal Supply encouraged me to prosecute this Undertaking. That Worthy Counsellor, whose celebrated Integrity and clear Judgment have raised him so high in his Profession,* Anthony Keck *Esquire, did also concur in easing me of the charge that Searching, Copying, and gathering Materials put me to: And having received as much from these my Noble Benefactors, as did enable me to carry on my Design, I did excuse my self at other Persons Hands, who very generously offered to supply me in the expence which this Work brought with it. That was done in a most extraordinary manner, by the Right Honourable the Earl of* Halifax, *whom, if I reckon among the greatest Persons this Age has produced, I am sure all that know him will allow, that I speak modestly of him: He indeed offered me the yearly continuance of a Bounty, that would not only have defrayed all this expence, but have been an entire and honourable subsistance to me; and though my necessities were not so pressing as to perswade me to accept it; yet so unusual a ge-*

nerosity doth certainly merit the highest acknowledgements I can make for it.

But I now turn to that which ought to be the chief Subject of this Preface *to remove the prejudices, by which weak and unwary Persons have been prepossessed in their Judgments concerning the* Reformation, *during that Period of it that falls within this* Volume. *I know the Duty of an* Historian *leads him to write as one that is of neither Party, and I have endeavoured to follow it as carefully as I could, neither concealing the faults of the one Party, nor denying the just Praises that were due to any of the other side; and have delivered things as I found them, making them neither better nor worse than indeed they were: But now that I am not yet entred into that Province, and am here writing my own Thoughts, and not relating the Actions of other Men, I hope it will be judged no indecent thing to clear the Readers mind of those Impressions, which may either have already biassed him too much, or may upon a slight reading of what follows, arise in his thoughts: unless he were prepared and armed with some necessary Reflections, which every one that may possibly read this History, has not had the leisure, or other opportunities, to make to such a degree as were needful.*

It is certainly an unjust way of proceeding, in any that is to be a Judge, to let himself be secretly possessed, with such Impressions of Persons and Things, as may biass his thoughts: for where the Scales are not well adjusted, the Weight cannot be truly reckoned. So that it is an indirect Method to load Mens Minds with Prejudices, and not to let them in to the trial of Truth, till their Inclinations are first swayed such a way. I deny not but in matters of Religion most commonly Men receive such Notions, before they can well examine them, as do much determine them in the Enquiries they make afterwards, when their understandings grow up to a fuller ripeness: but those Pre-occupations, if rightly infused, are rather such as give them general Notions of what is good and honest in the abstracted Idea's, than concerning matters of Fact: for every wise and pious Man must avoid all such Methods of Instruction, as are founded on Falshood and Craft: and he that will breed a Man to love Truth, must form in him such a liking of it, that he may clearly see he would bribe him into no Opinion or Party by false or indirect Arts: But since Men are generally so apt to let some easie Notions enter into their Minds, which will pre-engage their Affections, and for most part those who set themselves to gain Proselites, do begin with such Arts, it will not be amiss to give the Reader such an account of these, as may prepare him against them, that so he may with a clearer mind consider what is now to be delivered to him, concerning the Reformation of Religion among us.

I shall begin with that which is most commonly urged; that the whole Church being one Body, the Changes that were made in Religion, did break that Unity, and dissolve the Bond by which the Catholick Church is to be knit together, and that therefore the first Reformers began, and we still continue a Schisme *in the Church.*

In answer to this, it is to be considered that the Bishops and Pastors of the Church are obliged to instruct their People in the true Faith of Christ, according to the Scriptures: The nature of their Function, being a Sacred Trust, binds them to this; they were also at their Consecration engaged to it, by a formal Sponsion, according to the Questions and Answers that are in

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the Roman *Pontifical to this day. Pastors owe it as a Debt to their People to teach them according to the Scriptures: They owe a Charity to their Brethren, and are to live with them in the terms of Brotherly Love, and Friendly Correspondence; but if that cannot be had on easier terms, than the concealing necessary Truths, and the delivering gross errors to those committed to their charge, it is certain that they ought not to purchase it at so dear a rate. When the Pastors of this Church saw it over-run with errors and corruptions, they were obliged by the duty they owed to God and to their People, to discover them; and to undeceive their misled Flocks. It is of great importance to maintain Peace and Unity, but if a Party in the Church does set up some Doctrines and Practises, that do much endanger the Salvation of Souls, and makes advantages by these, so that there is no hope left to gain them by rational and softer Methods, then as St.* Peter *was to be* withstood to his Face, *in a lesser matter, much more are those, who pretend no higher than to be his Successors, to be withstood, when the things are of great moment and consequence. When Heresies sprung up in the Primitive Church, we find the neighbouring Bishops condemned them without staying for the concurrence of other Churches; as in the Case of* Samosatenus, Arius, *and* Pelagius: *and even when the greatest part of the Church was become* Semi-Arian, *and many great Councils, chiefly that at* Ariminum, *consisting of above* 800 *Bishops, as some say, had through ignorance and fear complied, the Orthodox Bishops did not forbear to instruct those committed to their care according to the true Faith. A general concurrence is a thing much to be laboured for; but when it cannot be had, every Bishop must then do his duty so as to be answerable to the chief Bishop of Souls.*

So that instead of being led away by so slight a prejudice, we must turn our Enquiries to this, Whether there were really such abuses in the Church, as did require a Reformation? and whether there was any reason to hope for a more general concurrence in it? In the following History *the Reader will see what corruptions were found to be both in the Doctrine and Worship of this Church: from whence he may infer what need there was of Reformation. And it is very plain, that they had no reason to expect the concurrence of other Churches; for the Council of* Trent *had already made a great progress, and it was very visible, that as the Court of* Rome *governed all things there, so they were resolved to admit of no effectual Reformation, of any considerable matters; but to establish by a more formal decision, those errors and abuses that had given so much scandal to the Christian World for so many Ages.*

This being the true state of the Case, it is certain, that if there were really great corruptions, either in Belief or Manners in this Church, then the Bishops were bound to reform them: since the backwardness of others in their duty, could not excuse them from doing theirs, when they were clearly convinced of it. So that the Reader is to shake off this prejudice, and only to examine whether there was really such need of a Reformation? since if that be true, it is certain the Bishops of this as well as of other Churches, were bound to set about it; and the faultiness of some could be no excuse to the rest.

The second Prejudice *is, That the Reformation was begun and carried on, not by the major part of the Bishops and Clergy; but by a few selected Bishops and Divines, who being supported by the Name of the Kings Authority, did frame things as they pleased; and by their Interest at Court got*

them to be Enacted in Parliament: and after they had removed such Bishops as opposed them, then they procured the Convocation to consent to what was done: So that upon the matter, the Reformation was the Work of Cranmer, *with a few more of his Party, and not of this Church, which never agreed wholly to it, till the Bishops were so modelled as to be compliant to the designs of the Court. In short, the resolution of this, is to be taken from a common Case; when the* major *part of a Church is according to the Conscience of the Supream Civil Magistrate in an Error, and the lesser part is in the right. The Case is not hard, if well understood: for in the whole Scripture there is no promise made to the* major *part of the Pastors of the Church; and there being no Divine Promise made about it, it is certain that the Nature of Man is such, that Truth separated from Interest hath few Votaries: but when it is opposite to it, it must have a very small Party. So that most of those things which needed Reformation, being such as added much to the Wealth and Power of the Clergy, it had been a wonder indeed, if the greater part had not opposed it. In that Case, as the smaller part were not to depart from their Sentiments, because opposed in them by a more numerous Party that was too deeply concerned in the matter: so it was both natural for them, and very reasonable, to take Sanctuary in the Authority and Protection of the Prince and the Law. That Princes have an Authority in things Sacred, was so universally agreed to in King* Henry's *Reign, and was made out upon such clear Evidence of Reason and Precedents, both in the* Jewish *State, and in the* Roman *Empire, when it turned* Christian, *that this ground was already gained. It is the first Law in* Justinians *Code, made by* Theodosius *when he came to the Empire,* That all should every were, under severe pains, follow that Faith which was received by *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Peter* of Alexandria. *And why might not the* King *and Laws of* England *give the like Authority to the Arch-bishops of* Canterbury *and* York.

When the Empire, *and especially the* Eastern *part of it, had been, during the Reign of* Constantius, *and* Valens *succeeding him after a short Interval, so overspread with* Arianisme, *it is scarce to be imagined how it could have been reformed in any other manner: for they durst not at first trust it to the discretion of a Synod; and yet the Question then on foot was not so link'd with Interest, being a Speculative Point of Divinity, as those about which the Contests were in the beginnings of the Reformation.*

It is not to be imagined how any Changes in Religion can be made by Sovereign Princes, unless an Authority be lodged with them of giving the Sanction of a Law, to the sounder, though the lesser part of a Church: for as Princes and Law-givers are not tied to an implicite obedience to Clergymen, but are left to the freedom of their own discerning, so they must have a Power to choose what side to be of where things are much enquired into. The Jurisdiction of Synods or Councils, is founded either on the Rules of Expediency and Brotherly Correspondence, or on the force of Civil Laws: for when the Christian *Belief had not the support of Law, every Bishop taught his own Flock the best he could, and gave his Neighbours such an account of his Faith, at, or soon after his Consecration, as satisfied them, and so maintained the Unity of the Church. The formality of Synods grew up in the Church, from the division of the* Roman *Empire, and the Dignity of the several Cities; which is a thing so well known, and so plainly acknowledged by the Writers of all sides, that it were a needless imposing on*

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the Readers patience, to spend time to prove it. Such as would understand it more perfectly, will find it in De Marca *the late Arch-bishop of* Paris's *Books* de Concordia Imperii & Sacerdotii, *and in* Blondells *Works,* De la Primaute de l'Eglise. *None can imagine there is a Divine Authority in that which sprang from such a beginning. The* major *part of Synods cannot be supposed to be in matters of Faith, so assisted from Heaven, that the lesser part must necessarily acquiesce in their Decrees, or that the Civil Powers must always measure their Laws, by their Votes: especially where Interest does visibly turn the Scales. And this may satisfie any reasonable Man as to this prejudice; that if Arch-bishop* Cranmer *and* Holgate, *the two Primates and Metropolitanes of this Church, were in the right, in the things that they procured to be reformed, though the greater part of the Bishops being biassed by base ends, and generally both superstitious and little conversant in the true Theological Learning, did oppose them, and they were thereby forced to order matters so, that at first they were prepared by some selected Bishops and Divines, and afterwards Enacted by King and Parliament, this is no just exception to what was so managed. And such a* Reformation *can no more be blasted by being called a* Parliament-Religion, *than the* Reformations *made by the Kings of* Israel *without or against the Majority of the Priests, could be blemish'd by being call'd* the Kings Religion.

A third Prejudice *is, that the Persons who governed the Affairs at Court, were weak or ill Men: that the King being under Age, things were carried by those who had him in their Power. And for the two great Ministers of that Reign, or rather the Administrators of it, the Dukes of* Somerset *and* Northumberland, *as their violent and untimely deaths, may seem to be effects of the indignation of Heaven, for what they did; so they were both eminently faulty in their Administration, and are supposed to have sought too much their own ends. This seems to cast a blemish on their Actions, and to give some reason to suspect the things were not good which had such Instruments to advance them.*

But this Prejudice, *compounded of many Particulars, when taken to pieces, will appear of no force to blast the credit of what they did. By our Law, the King never dies, and is never young nor old, so that the Authority of the King is the same, whether administred by himself or by his Governours, when he is under Age: nor are we to judge of Men by the events that befall them. These are the deepest Secrets of Divine Providence, into which it is impossible for Men of limited understandings to penetrate: and if we make Judgments of Persons and Things by accidents, we shall very often most certainly conclude falsely.* Solomon *made the Observation, which the* Series *of Humane Affairs ever since hath fully justified,* That there are Just Men to whom it happens according to the Work of the Wicked; and Wicked Men to whom it happens according to the Work of the Righteous: *and the enquiring into these seemingly unequal steps of Gods Governing the World,* is a vanity. *As for the Duke of* Northumberland, *the Reformation is not at all concerned in him, for if we believe what he said, when there was the least reason to suspect him, on the Scaffold, he was all the while a* Papist *in his Heart. And so no wonder if such a Man, striking in for his own ambitious ends, with that which was popular, even against the perswasions of his Conscience, did very ill things. The Duke of* Somerset *was indeed more sincere, and though he was not*

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without his faults, (which we may safely acknowledge, since the Man of Infallibility *is not pretended to be without sin) yet these were not such heinous transgressions, but rather such as humane infirmity exposes most Men to, when they are raised to an high condition. He was too vain, too much addicted to his own Notions, and being a Man of no extraordinary Parts, he was too much at the disposal of those, who by flatteries and submissions insinuated themselves into him; and he made too great hast to raise a vast Estate to be altogether innocent: but I never find him charged with any personal disorders, nor was he ever guilty of falshood, of perverting Justice, of Cruelty, or of Oppression. He was so much against the last of these, that he lost the affections of the Nobility for being so careful of the Commons, and covering them from the oppression of their Landlords. The Business of his Brother, though it has a very ill appearance, and is made to look worse by the lame account our Books give of it, seems to have been forced on him: for the Admiral was a Man of most incurable ambition, and so inclined to raise disturbance, that after so many relapses and such frequent Reconciliations, he still breaking out into new disorders, it became almost necessary to put him out of a capacity of doing more mischief. But if we compare the Duke of* Somerset *with the great Ministers even in the best Courts; we shall find him better than most of them: and if some few have carried their Prosperity better, many more even of those who are otherwise recorded for extraordinary Persons, have been guilty of far greater faults. He who is but a little acquainted with History, or with the Courts of Princes, must needs know so much of this Argument, that he will easily cure himself of any ill effects which this Prejudice may have on him.*

A fourth Prejudice *is raised from the great Invasions which were then made upon the Church-Lands, and things dedicated to Pious Uses; which is a thing hated by Men of all Religions, and branded with the odious Names of* Sacriledge, *and* robbing of God; *so that the Spoils of Religious Houses and Churches, seem to have been the secret Motives that at first drew in, and still engage so many to the Reformation. This has more weight in it than the former, and therefore deserves to be more fully considered.*

The Light of Nature teaches, that those who are dedicated to the Service of God, and for instructing the People, ought to be so well provided for, that they may be delivered from the distractions of Secular Cares, and secured from the contempt which follows Poverty; and be furnished with such means as may both enable them to know that well wherein they are to instruct others; and to gain such an Interest in the affections of those among whom they labour, as modest Hospitality and liberal Alms-giving may procure. In this all Nations and Religions have so generally agreed, that it may be well called a Law of Nations, if not of Nature. Had Church-men been contented with this measure, it is very probable things had never run to the other Extream so much as they have done. But as the Pope got to himself a great Principality, so the rest of his Clergy designed to imitate him in that, as much as was possible: they spared no pains, nor thought they any Methods too bad, that could set forward these Projects. The belief of Purgatory, and the redeeming of Souls out of it by Masses, with many other publick Cheats imposed on the World, had brought the Wealth of this and other Nations into their Hands. Upon the discovery of this imposture, it was but a reasonable and just proceeding of the Government to re-assume those Lands, and dispose otherwise of them, which had been for most part fraudu-

lently drawn from the former Ages: for indeed the best part of the Soil of England, *being in such ill Hands, it was the Interest of the whole Kingdom to have it put to better uses. So that the Abbies being generally raised and endowed by the efficacy of those false Opinions, which were infused into the People, I can see no just exception against the dissolution of them, with the* Chantries, *and other Foundations of like superstition; and the fault was not in taking them away, but in not applying a greater part of them to uses truly Religious.*

But most of these Monasteries *had been enriched by that, which was indeed the Spoil of the Church: for in many Places the Tithes which belonged to the Secular Clergy were taken from them, and by the Authority of Papal Bulls were given to the Monasteries. This was the Original of the greatest mischief that came on this Church at the Reformation: The Abbots having possessed themselves of the Tithes, and having left to those who served the Cure either some small Donative or Stipend, and at best the small Tithes or Viccarage, those who purchased the Abbey-Lands from the Crown in the former Reign, had them with no other charge reserved for the Incumbents, but that small Pittance that the Abbots had formerly given them: and this is now a much less allowance, than the Curates had in the times of Popery: for though they have now the same Right by their Incumbency that they then had, yet in the time of Superstition the Fees of* Obits, Exequies, Soul Masses, *and such other Perquisites did furnish them so plentifully, that considering their obligation to remain unmarried, they lived well, though their certain maintenance was but small: but these things falling off by the Reformation, which likewise leaves the Clergy at liberty in the matter of Marriage, this has occasioned much ignorance and scandal among the Clergy. I shall not enter into the debate about the Divine Right of Tithes, this I am sure of, a decent maintenance of the Clergy is of natural Right, and that it is not better looked to, is a publick reproach to the whole Nation; when in all other Religions and Nations, those who serve at the Altar live by it. The ancient Allowances for the Curates in Market Towns, being generally so small, because the Number and Wealth of the People made the Perquisites so considerable, has made those Places to be too often but ill supplied: and what way this makes for the seducers of all hands, when the Minister is of so mean a condition, and hath so incompetent a Maintenance that he can scarce secure himself from extream want, and great contempt, I leave it to every Man to judge.*

This is as high a contempt of Religion and the Gospel as any can be, and is one of those things for which this Nation has much to answer to God; *that now in one hundred and twenty years time, so little has been done by publick Authority for the redress of such a crying oppression. Some private Persons have done great things this way, but the publick has yet done nothing sutable to the occasion: Though their Neighbour Nation of* Scotland, *has set them a very good Example, where, by the great zeal and care of King* James, *and the late blessed King, Acts and Orders of Parliament have been made, for examining the whole state of the Clergy, and for supplying all poor Livings so plentifully, that in Glebe and Tithes all Benefices are now raised to at least fifty Pounds Sterling yearly. What greater scorn can be put on Religion, than to provide so scantly for those that are trusted with the care of Souls, that some hundreds of Parishes in* England *pay not Ten Pounds a year to their Pastors, and perhaps some thousands not*

Fifty? This is to be numbred among those crying sins that are bringing down vengeance on us, since by this many Souls are left to perish, because it is not possible to provide them with faithful and able Shepherds. I shall not examine all the particular Reasons that have obstructed the redress of this mischief, but those concerned in it may soon find some of them out in themselves. And here I acknowledge a great and just prejudice lies against our Reformation, which no man can fully answer. But how faulty soever we may be in this Particular, they of the Church of Rome *have little reason to object it to us, since the first and true occasion of it was of their own doing. Our fault is, that at the dissolution of the Monasteries, restitution was not made to the Parish Priests of what the Popes had sacrilegiously taken from them. And now that we are upon the utter extirpation of Popery, let us not retain this Relique of it. And I pray* God *to inspire and direct His Majesty and His two Houses of Parliament effectually to remove this just and, for ought I know, only great scandal of our* English *Reformation.*

A fifth Prejudice, *which seems to give ill impressions of our Reformation, is, that the Clergy have now no interest in the Consciences of the People, nor any inspection into their manners; but they are without yoke or restraint. All the Ancient Canons for the publick Pennance of scandalous offenders are laid aside, and our Clergy are so little admitted to know or direct the Lives and Manners of their Flocks, that many will scarce bear a reproof patiently from them: Our Ecclesiastical Courts are not in the Hands of the Bishops and their Clergy, but put over to the* Civilians, *where too often Fees are more strictly look'd after, than the correction of Manners. I hope there is not cause for so great a Cry, but so it is, these* Courts *are much complained of; and publick vice and scandal is but little enquired after, or punished: Excommunication is become a kind of Secular Sentence, and is hardly now considered as a Spiritual Censure, being judged and given out by Lay-men, and often upon Grounds which, to speak moderately, do not merit so severe and dreadful a Sentence. There are besides this a great many other Abuses, brought in in the worst Times, and now purged out of some of the Churches of the* Roman *Communion, which yet continue, and are too much in use among us, such as* Pluralities, Non-residencies, *and other things of that nature: so that it may be said, that some of the manifest corruptions of Popery, where they are recommended by the advantages that accompany them, are not yet throughly purged out, notwithstanding all the noise we have made about Reformation in matters much more disputable, and of far less consequence.*

This whole Objection, when all acknowledged, as the greatest part of it cannot be denied, amounts indeed to this, that our Reformation is not yet arrived at that full perfection, that is to be desired. The want of publick Pennance, and Penitentiary Canons, is indeed a very great defect: our Church does not deny it, but acknowledges it in the Preface *to the Office of Commination. It was one of the greatest Glories of the Primitive Church, that they were so governed, that none of their number could sin openly without publick Censure, and a long separation from the Holy Communion; which they judged was defiled by a promiscuous admitting of all Persons to it. Had they consulted the Arts of Policy, they would not have held in Converts by so strict a way of proceeding, lest their discontent might have driven them away; at a time when to be a Christian was attended with so many discouragements, that it might seem dangerous by so severe a Discipline,*

pline, to frighten the World out of their Communion. But the Pastors of that time, resolved to follow the Rules delivered them by the Apostles, and trusted God with the success, which answered and exceeded all their expectations: for nothing convinced the World more of the truth of that Religion, than to see those trusted with the care of Souls, watch so effectually over their Manners, that for some sins, which in these loose Ages in which we live, pass but for common effects of humane frailty, Men were made to abstain from the Communion for many years, and did cheerfully submit to such Rules as might be truly medicinal for curing those Diseases in their Minds.

But alas! the Church-men of the latter Ages being once vested with this Authority, to which the World submitted, as long as it saw the good effects of it, did soon learn to abuse it; and to bring the People to a blind subjection to them. It was one of the chief Arts by which the Papacy swelled to its height: for Confessors in stead of bringing their Penitents to open Penance, set up other things in the room of it; pretending they could commute it, and in the Name of God accept of one thing for another: and they accepted of a Penitents going, either to the Holy War, or which was more Holy of the two, to one of the Popes Wars against Hereticks, or deposed Princes; and gave full Pardons to those who thus engaged in their designs. Afterwards (when the Pope had no great occasion to kill Men, or the People no great mind to be killed in his Service) they accepted of Money, as an Alms to God: and so all publick Penance *was laid down, and* Murder *or* Merchandise *was set up in its room. This being the state of things at the Reformation, it is no wonder if the People could not be easily brought to submit to publick Pennance; which had been for some Ages entirely laid aside: and there was reason why they should not be forward to come under the Yoke of their Priests, lest they should have raised upon that Foundation, such a Tyrannical Dominion over them, as others had formerly exercised. This made some Reformed Churches beyond Sea bring in the Laity with them, into their Courts; which if they had done meerly as a good Expedient, for removing the jealousie which the World then had of Ecclesiastical Tyranny, there was no great Objection to have been made to it; but they made the thing liable to very great exception, when they pretended a Divine Institution for those* Lay-Elders. *Here in* England, *it is plain the Nation would not bear such Authority to be lodged with the Clergy at first; but it will appear in the following Work, that a Platform was made of an Ecclesiastical Discipline, though the Bishops had no hope of reducing it into practise, till the King should come to be of Age, and pass a Law for the authorizing of it: but he dying before this was effected, it was not prosecuted with that zeal that the thing required in Queen* Elizabeths *time: and then those who in their Exile were taken with the Models beyond Seas, contending more to get it put in the method of other Churches, than to have it set up in any other Form, that contention begat such heat, that it took Men off from this and many other excellent designs: and whereas the* Presbyters *were found to have had anciently a share in the Government of the Churches, as the* Bishops *Council and Assistants, some of them that were of hot tempers demanding more than their share, they were by the immoderate use of the Counterpoise kept out of any part of Ecclesiastical Discipline; and all went into those Courts commonly called the* Spiritual Courts; *without making distinction between those Causes of Testaments, Marriages, and*

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such other suits, that require some learning in the Civil *and* Canon Law, *and the other Causes of the Censures of the Clergy and Laity, which are of a more Spiritual Nature, and ought indeed to be tried only by the Bishops and Clergy; for they are no small part of the Care of Souls, which is incumbent on them: and by them only Excommunications ought to be made, as being a Suspension from the Sacred Rights of Christians, of which none can be the competent Judges, but those to whom the charge of Souls is committed. The worst that can be said of all these Abuses, is, that they are Reliques of Popery, and we owe it to the unhappy Contests among our selves, that a due correction has not been yet given to them.*

From hence one evil has followed, not inferior to these from whence it flows, that the Pastoral Charge is now looked on by too many, rather as a device only for instructing People, to which they may submit as much as they think fit, than as a Care of Souls, as indeed it is: And it is not to be denied but the practice of not a few of us of the Clergy, has confirmed the People in this mistake, who consider our Function as a Method of living, by performing Divine Offices, and making Sermons, rather than as a watching over the Souls of the Flocks committed to us, visiting the Sick, reproving scandalous Persons, reconciling differences, and being strict at least in governing the Poor, whose necessities will oblige them to submit to any good Rules, we shall set them for the better conduct of their Lives. In these things does the Pastoral Care chiefly consist, and not only in the bare performing of Offices, or pronouncing Sermons, which every one almost may learn to do after some tolerable fashion. If Men had a just Notion of this Holy Function, and a right sense of it before they were initiated into it, those scandalous abuses of Plurality of Benefices with Cure, (except where they are so poor and contiguous, that both can scarce maintain one Incumbent, and one Man can discharge the duty of both very well) Non-residencies, and the hiring out that Sacred Trust to pitiful Mercenaries at the cheapest rates, would soon fall off. These are things of so crying a nature, that no wonder if the wrath of God is ready to break out upon us. These are abuses that even the Church of Rome, *after all her impudence, is ashamed of, and are at this day generally discountenanced all* France *over. Queen* Mary *here in* England *in the time of Popery, set her self effectually to root them out. And that they should be still found among* Protestants, *and in so Reformed a Church, is a scandal that may justly make us blush. All the honest Prelates at the Council of* Trent *endeavoured to get* Residence *declared to be of Divine Right, and so not to be dispensed with upon any consideration whatsoever: and there is nothing more apparently contrary to the most common impressions, which all Men have about matters of Religion, than that* Benefices *are given for the Office to which they are annexed: and if in matters of Mens Estates, or of their Health, it would be a thing of high scandal, for one to receive the Fees, and commit the Work to the care of some inferior or raw Practitioner, how much worse is it to turn over so important a concernment, as the care of Souls must be confessed to be, to mean hands? And to conclude, those who are guilty of such disorders, have much to answer for, both to God, for the neglect of those Souls for which they are to give an account, and to the World, for the reproach they have brought on this Church and on the Sacred Functions, by their ill practises; nor could the divisions of this Age ever have risen to such a height, if the People had not been possessed with ill impressions of*

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some of the Clergy, from those inexcusable faults, that are so conspicuous in too many that are called Shepherds : Who Cloath themselves with the Wool, but have not fed the Flock, that have not strengthened the diseased, nor Healed the sick, nor bound up that which was broken, nor brought again that which was driven away, nor sought that which was lost, but have ruled them with force and cruelty : *And if we would look up to God who is visibly angry with us, and has* made us base and contemptible among the People, *we should find great reason to reflect on those words of* Jeremy. The Pastors are become Brutish, and have not sought the Lord, therefore they shall not prosper, and all their Flocks shall be scattered.

But I were very unjust if having ventured on so plain and necessary a reprehension ; I should not add, that God has not so left this Age and Church, but there is in it a great number in both the holy Functions, who are perhaps as Eminent in the exemplariness of their Lives, and as diligent in their Labours, as has been in any one Church in any Age since Miracles ceased. The humility and strictness of Life in many of our Prelates and some that were highly Born, and yet have far outgone some others from whom more might have been expected, raises them far above censure, tho perhaps not above envy. And when such think not the daily instructing their Neighbours a thing below them, but do it with as constant a care, as if they were to earn their Bread by it, when they are so affable to the meanest Clergy-man that come to them, when they are so nicely scrupulous about those whom they admit into holy Orders, and so large in their Charities, that one would think they were furnished with some unseen ways, these things must raise great esteem for such Bishops, and seem to give some hopes of better times. Of all this I may be allowed to speak the more freely, since I am led to it by none of those Bribes, either of gratitude, or fear, or hope, which are wont to Corrupt men to say what they do not think : But I were much to blame, if in a Work that may perhaps Live some time in the Word, I should only find fault with what is amiss, and not also acknowledge what is so very Commendable and Praise-Worthy. And when I look into the Inferior Clergy, there are, chiefly about this great City of London, *so many, so Eminent, both for the strictness of their Lives, the constancy of their Labours, their Excellent and plain way of Preaching, (which is now perhaps brought to as great a Perfection, as ever was since men spoke as they received it immediately from the Holy-Ghost) the great gentleness of their Deportment, to such as differ from them, their mutual Love and Charity, and in a Word for all the qualities that can adorn Ministers or Christians, that if such a number of such Men cannot prevail with this debauched Age, this one thing to me looks more dismally than all the other affrighting Symptomes of our Condition ; that God having sent so many faithful Teachers, their Labours are still so ineffectual.*

I have now Examined all the prejudices that either occur to my thoughts, or that I have not met with in Books or Discourses, against our Reformation ; and I hope upon a free enquiry into them, it will be found that some of them are of no force at all, and that the other, which are better Grounded, can amount to no more than this, that things were not managed with that care, or brought to that Perfection that were to be desired : so that all the use we ought to make of these Objections, is to be

directed by them, to do those things which may compleat and adorn that Work, which was managed by Men subject to Infirmities, who neither could see every thing, nor were able to accomplish all that they had Projected, and saw fit to be done.

But from the matter of the following History, *another Objection of another sort may arise, which tho it has no Relation to the Reformation, yet leaves no small Imputation on the Nation, as too apt to change, and be carryed about with every Religion in Vogue, since in little more than 20 years time, there were four great changes made in Religion; and in all these the main Body of the Nation turned with the Stream: and it was but a small number that stood firm and suffered for their Consciences. But if the State of the Nation be well considered, there will be nothing in all this so strange as at first view it may perhaps appear: for in the times of Popery the People were kept in such profound ignorance, that they knowing nothing of Religion, beyond the outward Forms and Pageantry, and being highly dissatisfied with the ill Lives of the Clergy, and offended with their Cruelty against those that contradicted their Opinions, it is no wonder that they were inclined to hear Preachers of any sort, who laid out to them the reasons of the Doctrine they delivered, and did not impose it on them in gross, as the others had done. These Teachers being also Men of Innocent tempers, and good Lives, and being recommended to the Compassion of the Nation, by their sufferings, and to their esteem, by their zeal and readiness to run all hazards for their Consciences, had great advantages to gain on the Belief and affections of the People. And to speak freely I make no doubt, but if the Reformation had been longer a hatching under the heat of Persecution, it had come forth perfecter than it was. This disposition of the People, and King* Henry's *Quarrelling with the Pope, made the way easie for the first Change: But then the severities about the Supremacy on one hand, and the six Articles on the other, made People to stagger and reel between the two Religions. And all People being fond of new things, and the discoveries of the Impostures of the Priests and lewdness of the Monks, encreasing their dislike of them, it was no wonder the Reformation went on with so little Tumult and Precipitation till King* Edward's *time. But tho there were then very Learned and Zealous Divines, who Managed and carryed on the changes that were made, yet still the greater part of the Clergy was very Ignorant, and very Corrupt; which was occasioned by the Pensions that were reserved out of the Rents of the suppressed Monasteries to the Monks during their Lives, or till they were provided with livings. The Abbey Lands that were sold with the Charge of these annexed to them, coming into the Hands of Persons who had no mind to have that Burden lie longer on them, they got these Monks Provided with Benefices, that so they might be eased of that Charge. And for the other Abbies that still remained with the Crown, the same Course was taken: for the Monks were put into all the small Benefices that were in the Kings gift. So that the greatest part of the Clergy, were such as had been formerly Monks or Fryers, very Ignorant for most part, and generally addicted to their former Superstition, tho otherwise Men, that would Comply with any thing rather than forfeit their Livings. Under such Incumbents nothing but Ignorance and Unconcernedness in Religion could prevail. By this means it was that the greater part of the*

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Nation was not well Instructed, nor Possessed with any warmth and sincere Love to the Reformation, which made the following change under Queen Mary *more easily effected. The Proceedings in King* Edward's *time were likewise so gentle and Moderate, flowing from the calm temper of Arch-Bishop* Cranmer, *and the policy of others, who were willing to accept of any thing they could obtain, hoping that time would do the business, if the overdriving it did not precipitate the whole affair; that it was an easie thing for a Concealed Papist to weather the difficulties of that Reign. There were also great scandals given by the Indiscretion of many of the New Preachers. The misgovernment of Affairs under the Duke of* Somerset, *with the restless Ambition of the Duke of* Northumberland *did alienate the Nation much from them; and a great aversion commonly begets an universal dislike of every thing that is done by those whom we hate.*

All these things concurred to prepare the minds of the People to the change made by Queen Mary *: but in her Reign Popery did more plainly discover it self in the many repeated Burnings, and the other Cruelties then openly exercised. The Nation was also in such danger of being brought under the uneasie Yoak of Spanish Government, and they were many of them in fear of losing their new gotten Church Lands; These things, together with the loss of* Calais *in the end of her Reign, which was Universally much resented as a lasting dishonour to the Nation, raised in them a far greater aversion to her Government, and to every thing that had been done in it, than they had to the former. The* Genius *of the* English *leads them to hate Cruelty and Tyranny; and when they saw these were the necessary Concomitants of Popery, no wonder it was thrown out with so general an agreement, that there was scarce any considerable Opposition made to it, except by some few of their Clergy: who having changed so oft, were ashamed of such repeated recantations: and so resolved at last to stand their ground; which was the more easie to resolve on under so merciful a Prince, who punisht them only by a Forfeiture of their Benefices; and that being done, took care of their Subsistence for the rest of their Lives:* Bonner *himself not being excepted, tho so deeply dyed in the Blood of so many Innocents.*

All these things laid together, it will not seem strange that such great Alterations were so easily brought about in so short a time. But from the days of Queen Elizabeth *that the Old Monks were worn out, and New Men better Educated were placed in Churches, things did generally put on a new Visage: and this Church has since that time continued to be the Sanctuary and shelter of all Forreigners, and the chief Object of the Envy and Hatred of the* Popish *Church, and the great Glory of the* Reformation; *and has wisely avoided the splitting asunder, on the high Points of the Divine Decrees, which have broken so many of the Reformed beyond Sea; but in these has left Divines to the freedom of their several Opinions: nor did she run on that other Rock, of Defining at first so peremptorily the manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament, which divided the* German *and the* Helvetian *Churches, but in that did also leave a Latitude to Men of different perswasions. From this great temper it might have reasonably been expected, that we should have continued United at Home, and then for things Sacred, as well as Civil, we had been out of the Danger of what all our Forreign Enemies could have Contrived or done against us.*

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But the Enemy, while the Watchmen slept, sowed his Tares even in this Fruitful Field; of which it may be expected I should give some Account here, and the rather because I end this Work at the time when those unhappy differences first arose; so that I give them no part in this History: *and yet I have in the search I made, seen some things of great Importance, which are very little known, that give me a clearer light into the beginnings of these Differences than is commonly to be had; of which I shall discourse so, as becomes one who has not blindly given himself up to any Party, and is not afraid to speak the truth even in the most critical matters.*

There were many Learned and Pious Divines in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's *Reign, who being driven beyond Sea had observed the New Modells set up in* Geneva, *and other places, for the Censuring of Scandalous Persons, of mixed Judicatories of the Ministers and Laity: and these reflecting on the great loosness of Life which had been universally Complained of in King* Edward's *time, thought such a Platform might be an Effectual way for keeping out a return of the like disorders. There were also some few Rites reserved in this Church, that had been either used in the Primitive Church, or tho brought in of later time, yet seemed of excellent use to beget Reverence in Holy Performances: which had also this to be said for them, that the keeping these still, was done in Imitation of what Christ and his Apostles did in Symbolizing with the* Jewish *Rites, to gain the* Jews *thereby as much as could be; so it was Judged necessary to preserve these, to let the World see that tho Corruptions were thrown out, yet the Reformers did not love to change only for change sake, when it was not otherwise needful: and this they hoped might draw in many, who otherwise would not so easily have forsaken the* Roman *Communion. Yet these* Divines *excepted to those, as Complyances with* Popery, *and tho they Professed no great dislike to the Ceremonies themselves, or doubt of their Lawfulness, yet were they against their Continuance, upon that single Account, which was indeed the chief reason why they were continued. But all this Debate was modestly Managed, and without violent Heat or Separation: afterwards some of the* Queens *Courtiers had an eye to the fair Mannours of some of the greater* Sees, *and being otherwise Men of ill Tempers and Lives, and probably of no Religion, would have perswaded the Queen, that nothing could Unite all the Reformed Churches so effectually, as to bring the* English *Church to the Modell beyond Sea, and that it would much Enrich the Crown, if she took the Revenues of* Bishopricks *and* Cathedrals *into her own Hands. This made those on the other hand who laid to Heart the true Interest of the Protestant Religion, and therefore endeavoured to preserve this Church in that strong and well Modelled Frame to which it was brought (particularly the Lord* Burleigh, *the Wisest States-man of that Age, and perhaps of any other) study how to Engage the Queen out of Interest to support it, and they Demonstrated to her that these New Modells would certainly bring with them a great Abatement of her Prerogative: since if the Concerns of Religion came into Popular Hands, there would be a Power set up distinct from hers, over which she could have no Authority.*

This she perceived well, and therefore resolved to Maintain the Antient Government of the Church, but by this means it became a matter

of Interest, and so these differences which might have been more easily reconciled before, grew now into formed Factions: so that all Expedients were left unattempted which might have made up the Breach: And it becoming the Interest of some, to put it past reconciling, this was too easily effected. Those of the Division finding they could not carry their main design, raised all the Clamours they could against the Churchmen; and put in Bills *into the Parliament against the abuses of* Pluralities, Non-residences, *and the Excesses of the* Spiritual Courts. *But the Queen being possessed with this, that the Parliaments medling in these matters tended to the lessening of her Authority, of which she was extreamly sensible, got all these* Bills *to be thrown out. If the abuses that gave such occasion to the mal-contented to complain, had been effectually redressed, that* Party *must have had little to work on: but these things furnished them with new Complaints still: the* Market-Towns *being also ill provided for, there were Voluntary Contributions made, for* Lectures *in these places. The* Lecturers *were generally Men that overtopped the Incumbents in diligent and Zealous Preaching, and they depending on the bounty of the People for their Subsistence, were engaged to follow the humours of those who Governed those Voluntary Contributions. All these things tended to the encrease of the Party; which owed its chief growth to the scandalous Maintenance of the Ministers of great Towns, for which reason they were seldom of great Abilities, and to the scandals given by the* Pluralities *and* Non-residences *of others, that were over-provided. Yet the Government in Civil matters was so steady all the* Queens Reign, *that they could do no great thing, after she once declared her self so openly and resolutely against them.*

But upon King James's *coming to the Crown, and the divisions that came to be afterwards in Parliaments, between the too too often named Parties, for the Court and Country; and Clergymen being linked to the interests of the Crown, all those who in Civil matters Opposed the designs of the Court, resolved to cherish those of the Division, under the Colour of their being hearty Protestants, and that it was the interest of the Reformed Religion to use them well; and that all Protestants should Unite: And indeed the differences between them were then so small, that if great Art had not been used to keep them asunder, they had certainly United of their own accord. But the late unhappy Wars, engaged those who before only complained of Abuses, into a formed separation, which still continues to the great danger and disgrace of the Protestant Religion. I shall not make any Observations on latter Transactions which fall within all Mens View; but it is plain that from the beginning there have been laboured designs to make Tools of the several Parties, and to make a great breach between them; which lays us now so open to our common Enemy. And it looks like a sad forerunner of Ruin, when we cannot after so long Experience of the mischievous Effects of these Contests, learn to be so wise as to avoid the running on those Rocks, on which our Fathers did so unforutnately split; but on the contrary many steer as steadily towards them, as if they were the only safe Harbours, where they may securely weather every Storm.*

But being now to lead the Reader into so agreeable a Prospect, as I hope the Reformation *of the Church will be to him, I will hold him yet a little longer before I open it, and desire him for his better preparation to*

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it to reflect on the nature of Religion in general, and of the Christian in particular. That Religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of Man, for improving his Faculties, governing his Actions, and securing the Peace of every Mans Conscience, and of the societies of Mankind in common, is a truth so plain, that without further arguing about it all will agree to it. Every part of Religion is then to be Judged by its Relation to the main ends of it; And since the Christian Doctrine was revealed from Heaven, as the most perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of Mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy Faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was designed. And all the additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the World, are justly to be suspected; especially where it is manifest at first view that they were intended to serve carnal and secular ends. What can be reasonably supposed in the Papacy, where the Popes are chosen by such intrigues, either of the two Crowns, the Nephews of the former Pope, or the craft of some aspiring men, to entitle them to Infallibility or Universal Jurisdiction? What can we think of redeeming souls out of Purgatory, or preserving them from it by tricks, or some mean Pageantry; but that it is a foul piece of Merchandise? What is to be said of Implicit Obedience, the Priestly Dominion over Consciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the peoples hands, and the Worship of God in a strange Tongue? but that these are so many Arts to hoodwink the world, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious Clergy. What can we think of the superstition and idolatry of Images, and all the other pomp of the Roman *Worship? but that by these things the People are to be kept up in a gross notion of Religion, as a splendid business, and that the Priests have a trick of saving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands. And to sum up all, what can we think of that constellation of Prodigies in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpose? but that it is an art to bring the World by whole sale to renounce their reason and sense, and to have a most wonderful veneration for a sort of men who can with a word perform the most astonishing thing that ever was.*

I should grow too large for a Preface, if I would pursue this Argument as far as it will go. But if on the other hand we reflect on the true ends of this holy Religion, we must needs be convinced that we need go no where else out of this Church to find them; but are compleatly instructed in all parts of it, and furnished with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls. *Here we have the Rules of holy Obedience, and the Methods of Repentance and Reconciliation for past sins clearly set before us: we believe all that Doctrine which Christ and his Apostles delivered, and the Primitive Church received: we have the comfort of all those Sacraments which Christ instituted, and in the same manner that he appointed them: All the helps to devotion that the Gospel offers are in every ones hand. So what can it be that should so extravagantly seduce any who have been bred up in a Church so well constituted, unless a blind superstition in their temper, or a desire to get heaven in some easier method than Christ has appointed, do strangely impose on their understandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed the thing is so unaccountable that it looks like a curse from heaven on those who are given up to it, for their other sins; for an ordinary measure of Infatuation cannot carry any one so far in folly. And it may be laid down for a certain* Maxim, *that such as leave us, have*

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never had a true and well formed Notion of Religion, or of Christianity in its main and chief Design; but take things in parcels, and without examining them suffer themselves to be carried away by some prejudices which only darken weaker Judgments.

But if it is an high and unaccountable folly for any to forsake our Communion, and go over to those of Rome, *it is at the same time an unexcusable weakness in others who seem full of zeal against* Popery, *and yet upon some inconsiderable Objections do depart from the unity of this Body, and form separated Assemblies and Communions; though they cannot object any thing material either to our Doctrine or Worship: But the most astonishing part of the wonder is, that in such differences there should be so little mutual forbearance or gentleness to be found: and that these should raise such heats as if the substance of Religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a stroke from Heaven on both sides, for their other sins: We of the Church Communion have trusted too much to the supports we receive from the Law, we have done our duties too slightly, and have minded the Care of Souls too little; therefore God to punish and awaken us has suffered so many of our People to be wrested out of our hands: and those of the Separation have been too forward to Blood and War, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themselves, and have been too compliant with the Leaders of their several Factions, or rather apt to out-run them. It is plain, God is offended with us all, and therefore we are punished with this fatal blindness, not to see at this time the things that belong to our peace.*

And this leads me to Reflections of another sort, with which I shall conclude this Preface, *which I have now drawn out to a greater length than at first I intended. It is apparent the Wrath of God hangs over our heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The Symptoms of our ill condition are as sad as they are visible: and one of the worst is, that each sort and Party is very ready to throw the guilt of it off themselves, and cast it on others, with whom they are displeased: But no man says,* What have I done? *The Clergy accuse the Laity, and the Laity condemn the Clergy. Those in the City charge the Country, and the Country complains of the City: every one finds out somewhat wherein he thinks he is least concerned, and is willing to fix on* that *all the Indignation of Heaven, which, God knows, we our selves have kindled against our selves. It cannot be denied, since it is so visible, that universally the whole Nation is corrupted, and that the Gospel has not had those effects among us which might have been expected, after so long and so free a course as it has had in this* Island. *Our wise and worthy Progenitors reformed our Doctrine and Worship; but we have not reformed our Lives and Manners: what will it avail us to understand the right Methods of worshiping God, if we are without true Devotion, and coldly perform publick Offices, without sense and affection, which is as bad as a* Bead roll *of Prayers in what ever Language they be pronounced. What signifies our having the Sacraments purely administred among us, if we either contemptuously neglect them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with Law, than out of a sense of the Holy Duties incumbent on us? for what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great attention, and order our lives according to them? and what does all preaching signifie, if Men go to Church meerly for Form, and hear Sermons only as set Discourses, which they will censure or commend as they think they see cause; but are resolved never to be the better for them? If to all these*

sad

ſad Conſiderations we add the groſs ſenſuality and impurity, that is ſo avowedly practiſed that it is become a faſhion, ſo far it is from being a reproach; the oppreſſion, injuſtice, intemperance, and many other immoralities among us, what can be expected, but that theſe abominations receiving the higheſt aggravation they are capable of, from the clear light of the Goſpel which we have ſo long enjoyed; the juſt Judgments of Heaven, ſhould fall on us ſo ſignally, as to make us a reproach to all our Neighbours. But as if all this were not enough, to fill up the meaſure of our iniquities, many have arriv'd at a new pitch of Impiety, by defying Heaven it ſelf, with their avowed Blaſphemies and Atheiſm: and if they are driven out of their Atheiſtical Tenets which are indeed the moſt ridiculous of any in the World, they ſet up their reſt on ſome general Notions of Morality and Natural Religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed: and where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Chriſtianity and the Scriptures, with open and impudent ſcorn, and are abſolutely inſenſible of any obligation of Conſcience in any thing whatſoever: and even in that Morality which they for decencies ſake magnifie ſo much, none are more bare-facedly and groſly faulty. This is a direct attempt againſt God himſelf, and can we think that he will not viſit for ſuch things, nor be avenged on ſuch a Nation? And yet the hypocriſie of thoſe who diſguiſe their flagitious Lives, with a Mask of Religion, is perhaps a degree above all; though not ſo ſcandalous till the Mask falls off, and that they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all ſo guilty, and when we are ſo allarumed by the black Clouds that threaten ſuch terrible and laſting Storms, what may be expected but that we ſhould be generally ſtruck with a deep ſenſe of our crying ſins, and turn to God with our whole Souls? But if after all the loud awakenings from Heaven we will not hearken to that Voice, but will ſtill go on in our ſins, we may juſtly look for unheard-of Calamities, and ſuch miſeries as ſhall be proportioned to our offences: and then we are ſure they will be great and wonderful.

Yet if on the other hand there were a general turning to God, or at leaſt if ſo many were rightly ſenſible of this, as, according to the proportion that the Mercies of God allow, did ſome way ballance the wickedneſs of the reſt, and if theſe were as zealous in the true methods of imploring Gods favour, as others are in procuring his diſpleaſure; and were not only mourning for their own ſins, but for the ſins of others; the Prayers and Sighs of many ſuch, might diſſipate that diſmal Cloud which our ſins have gathered; and we might yet hope to ſee the Goſpel take root among us: ſince that God *who is the Author of it is merciful, and full of compaſſion, and ready to forgive; and this holy Religion which by his Grace is planted among us is ſtill ſo dear to him, that if we by our own unworthineſs do not render our ſelves incapable of ſo great a Bleſſing, we may reaſonably hope that he will continue that which at firſt was by ſo many happy concurring Providences brought in, and was by a continued* Series *of the ſame indulgent care advanc'd by degrees, and at laſt raiſed to that pitch of perfection which few things attain in this World. But this will beſt appear in the enſuing Hiſtory, from which I fear I may have too long detained the Reader.*

10. September
1680.

THE

Place this Leaf at the end of the Preface.

THE

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Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in St. Pauls Church yard.

The Second Part OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK I.

Of the Life and Reign of King Edward *the Sixth.*



EDward, the Sixth King of *England* of that Name, was the only Son of King *Henry* the 8*th*, by his best beloved Queen *Jane Seimour*, or St. *Maur*, Daughter to Sir *John Seimour*, who was descended from *Roger St. Maur*, that married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord *Beauchamp* of *Hacche*. Their Ancestors came into *England* with *William* the Conqueror, and had at several times made themselves considerable by the Noble Acts they did in the Wars. *He was born at *Hampton-Court* on the 12*th* day of *October*, being St. *Edward*'s Eve, in the Year 1537. *and lost his Mother the day after he was born; who died, not by the cruelty of the Chyrurgeons ripping up her Belly to make way for the Princes Birth, (as some Writers gave out, to represent King *Henry* barbarous and cruel in all his Actions; whose report has been since too easily followed:) but as the Original Letters that are yet extant, shew, she was well delivered of him, and the day following was taken with a distemper incident to Women in that condition, of which she died.

1547.

* 1537. *Oct.* 12. *Edward* VI. born.

* The Queen died on the 14*th*, say *Hall*, *Stow*, *Speed*, and *Herbert*: on the 15*th* saith *Hennings*: on the 17*th*, if the Letter of the Physicians be true in *Fullers* Church Hist. *p.* 422. *Cott. libr.*

He was soon after Christened, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* being his God-fathers, according to his

And Christned.

1547. own Journal, though *Hall* says the last was only his God-father when he was Bishopped; He continued under the charge and care of the Women, till he was six years old; and then he was put under the Government of Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*: The one was to be his Preceptor for his Manners, and the knowledge of Philosophy and Divinity: The other for the Tongues and Mathematicks. And he was also provided with Masters for the *French*, and all other things becoming a Prince, the Heir of so great a Crown.

His disposition. He gave very early many indications of a good disposition to Learning, and of a most wonderful probity of mind, and above all, of great respect to Religion, and every thing relating to it. So that when he was once in one of his childish diversions, somewhat being to be reached at, that he and his Companions were too low for, one of them laid on the floor a great Bible that was in the Room, to step on; which he beholding with indignation, took up the Bible himself, and gave over his play for that time. He was in all things subject to the Orders laid down for his Education, and profited so much in Learning, that all about him conceived great hopes of extraordinary things from him, if he should live: But such unusual beginnings seemed rather to threaten the too early end of a Life, that by all appearance was likely to have produced such astonishing things. He was so forward in his learning, that before he was eight years old he wrote Latine Letters to his Father, who was a Prince of that stern severity, that one can hardly think those about his Son durst cheat him by making Letters for him. He used also at that Age to write both to his God-father the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and to his Unkle, who was first made Viscount *Beauchamp*, as descended from that Family, and soon after Earl of *Hartford*. It seems *Q. Catherine Parr* understood Latin, for he wrote to her also in the same Language. But the full Character of this young Prince is given us by *Cardan*, who writ it after his death, and in *Italy*, where this Prince was accounted an Heretick, so that there was nothing to be got or expected by flattering him; and yet it is so Great, and withal so agreeing in all things to Truth, that as I shall begin my Collection of Papers at the end of this Volume with his words in *Latin*, so it will be very fit to give them here in *English*.

Collection. Number 1.

Cardanes Character of him. "All the Graces were in him. He had many Tongues when he was "yet but a Child: Together with the *English* his natural Tongue, he had "both *Latin* and *French*: nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the *Greek*, "*Italian*, and *Spanish*, and perhaps some more. But for the *English*, "*French* and *Latin*, he was exact in them; and apt to learn every thing. "Nor was he ignorant of Logick, of the Principles of natural Philoso-"phy, nor of Musick. The sweetness of his temper was such as became "a Mortal, his gravity becoming the Majesty of a King, and his disposi-"tion suitable to his high degree. In sum, that Child was so bred, had "such Parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a Miracle of "a Man. These things are not spoken Rhetorically, and beyond the "truth, but are indeed short of it. And afterwards he adds, He was "a marvelous Boy: When I was with him, he was in the 15*th* Year of "his Age, in which he spake *Latin* as politely and as promptly as I did: "He asked me what was the Subject of my Books, *de rerum Varietate*, "which I had dedicated to him? I answered, That in the first Chapter "I gave the true cause of Comets, which had been long enquired into,

"but

"but was never found out before. What is it, said he? I said, it was 1547.
"the concourse of the light of wandring Stars. He answered, How "can that be, since the Stars move in different Motions? How comes it "that the Comets are not soon dissipated, or do not move after them according to their Motions? To this I answered, They do move after "them, but much quicker than they, by reason of the different Aspect, "as we see in a Christal, or when a Rain-bow rebounds from the Wall: "for a little change makes a great difference of place. But the King "said, How can that be, where there is no Subject to receive that Light, "as the Wall is the Subject for the Rain-bow? To this I answered, That "this was as in the Milky-way, or where many Candles were lighted, the "middle place where their shining met was white and clear. From this "little tast it may be imagined what he was. And indeed the ingenuity "and sweetness of his disposition had raised in all good and learned Men "the greatest expectation of him possible. He began to love the Liberal Arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use "them: and in him there was such an attempt of Nature, that not only "*England*, but the World has reason to lament his being so early snatched "away. How truly was it said of such extraordinary Persons, That "their Lives are short, and seldom do they come to be old? He gave us "an Essay of Vertue, though he did not live to give a Pattern of it. When "the gravity of a King was needful, he carried himself like an Old Man; "and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his Age. He played on the Lute: he medled in Affairs of State: and for Bounty, he did "in that emulate his Father; though he even, when he endeavoured to "be too good, might appear to have been bad: but there was no ground "of suspecting any such thing in the Son, whose mind was cultivated by "the study of Philosophy.

It has been said in the end of his Fathers Life, that he then designed to create him Prince of *Wales*: For though he was called so, as the Heirs of this Crown are, yet he was not by a formal Creation invested with that dignity. This pretence was made use of to hasten forward the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*; since he had many Offices for life, which the King intended to dispose of; and desired to have them speedily filled, in order to the creating of his Son Prince of *Wales*. In the mean time his Father died, and the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, were sent by the Council to give him notice of it, being then at *Hartford*, and to bring him to the Tower of *London*; and having brought him to *Enfield*, with his Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*, they let him know of his Fathers death, and that he was now their King: On the 31*st* of *January* the Kings Death was published in *London*, and he Proclaimed King.

A design to create him Prince of *Wales*.

King *Henry* dies.

Jan. 31.

At the *Tower*, his Fathers Executors, with the rest of the Privy-Council, received him with the respects due to their King: So tempering their sorrow for the death of their late Master, with their joy for his Sons happy succeeding him; that by an excess of joy they might not seem to have forgot the one so soon, nor to bode ill to the other by an extreme grief. The first thing they did, was the opening King *Henry*'s Will: by which they found he had nominated sixteen Persons to be his Executors, and Governours to his Son, and to the Kingdom, till his Son was eighteen years of age. These were the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor, the Lord St. *John* Great Master, the

King *Edward* came to the *Tower*.

King *Henry*'s Will opened.

1547. Lord *Russel* Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Hartford* Lord Great Chamberlain, the Viscount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, *Tonstall* Bishop of *Duresme*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, Sir *William Paget* Secretary of State, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Court of *Augmentations*, Sir *Edward Montague* Lord Chief-Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, Judge *Bromley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert* Chief Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treasurer of *Callice*, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. These, or the major part of them, were to execute his Will, and to administer the Affairs of the Kingdom. By their consent, were the King, and his Sisters, to be disposed of in Marriage. But with this difference, that it was only ordered, That the King should marry by their Advice; but the two Sisters were so limited in their Marriage, that they were to forfeit their Right of Succession, if they married without their consent: it being of far greater importance to the Peace and Interest of the Nation who should be their Husbands, if the Crown did devolve on them, than who should be the Kings Wife. And by the Act passed in the 35*th* Year of King *Henry*, he was empowered to leave the Crown to them, with what limitations he should think fit. To the Executors, the King added by his Will, a Privy-Council who should be assisting to them. These were, the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Essex*, Sir *Thom. Cheyney* Treasurer of the Houshold, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *William Petre* Secretary of State, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thom. Seimour*, Sir *Richard Sowthwell*, and Sir *Edmund Peckham*. The King also ordered, That if any of the Executors should die, the Survivors, without giving them a Power of substituting others, should continue to administer Affairs. He also charged them to pay all his Debts, and the Legacies he left, and to perfect any Grants he had begun, and to make good every thing that he had promised. The Will being opened and read, all the Executors, Judge *Bromley* and the two *Wottons* only excepted, were present, and did resolve to execute the Will in all points, and to take an Oath for their faithful discharge of that Trust.

Debate about choosing a Protector.

But it was also proposed, That for the speedier dispatch of things, and for a more certain order and direction of all Affairs, there should be one chosen to be Head of the rest, to whom Ambassadors and others might address themselves. It was added to caution this, That the Person to be raised to that Dignity, should do nothing of any sort without the Advice and Consent of the greater part of the rest. But this was opposed by the Lord Chancellour, who thought that the Dignity of his Office, setting him next the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who did not much follow Secular Affairs, he should have the chief stroke in the Government; therefore he pressed, That they might not depart from the Kings Will in any particular, neither by adding to it, nor taking from it. It was plain, the late King intended they should be all alike in the Administration, and the raising one to a Title or Degree above the rest was a great change from what he had ordered. And whereas it was now said, that the Person to be thus nominated was to have no manner of Power over the rest, that was only to exalt him into an high Dignity with the less envy or apprehension of danger; for it was certain great Titles always make way for high Power. But the Earl of *Hartford* had so great a

Party

Party among them, that it was agreed to, the Lord Chancellor himself consenting when he saw his opposition was without effect, that one should be raised over the rest in Title to be called the *Protector of the Kings Realms, and the Governour of his Person:* The next Point held no long debate, who should be nominated to this high Trust; for they unanimously agreed, That the Earl of *Hartford*, by reason of his nearness of Blood to the King, and the great experience he had in Affairs, was the fittest Person. "So he was declared Protector of the Realm, and Go-" vernour to the Kings Person; but with that special and express Condi-" tion, that he should not do any Act but by the Advice and Consent " of the other Executors, according to the Will of the late King. Then they all went to take their Oaths, but it was proposed, that it should be delayed till the next day, that so they might do it upon better considera-tion. More was not done that day, save that the Lord Chancellor was ordered to deliver up the Seals to the King, and to receive them again from his Hands; for King *Henry's* Seal was to be made use of, either till a new one was made, or till the King was Crowned: He was also ordered to renew the Commissions of the Judges, the Justices of Peace, the Presidents of the *North*, and of *Wales*, and of some other Officers. This was the issue of the first Council-day under this King: In which, the so easie advancement of the Earl of *Hartford* to so high a Dignity gave great occasion to censure: it seeming to be a change of what King *Henry* had designed. But the Kings great kindness to his Unkle made it pass so smoothly; For the rest of the Executors, not being of the Ancient Nobility, but Courtiers, were drawn in easily to comply with that which was so acceptable to their young King. Only the Lord Chancellor, who had chiefly opposed it, was to expect small favour at the new Protectors hands. It was soon apparent what emulation there was between them. And the Nation being then divided, between those who loved the old Superstition, and those who desired a more complete Reformation; The Protector set himself at the Head of the one, and the Lord Chancellor at the Head of the other Party.

1547. The Earl of Hartford chosen.

The next day the Executors met again, and first took their Oaths most solemnly for their faithful executing the Will. They also ordered all those who were by the late King named Privy-Councellors to come into the Kings Presence, and there they declared to the King the choice they had made of his Unkle; who gave his Assent to it. It was also signified to the Lords of the Council, who likewise with one voice gave their Consent to it. And Dispatches were ordered to be sent to the Emperour, the *French* King, and the Regent of *Flanders*, giving notice of the Kings Death, and of the Constitution of the Council, and the Nomination of the Protector during the Minority of their young King. All Dispatches were ordered to be Signed only by the Protector; and all the Temporal Lords, with all the Bishops about the Town, were commanded to come and swear Allegiance to the King. On the 2*d* of *Feb.* the Protector was declared Lord Treasurer, and Earl Marshal, these Places having been designed for him by the late King upon the Duke of *Norfolks* Attainder. Letters were also sent to *Callice*, *Bulloigne*, *Ireland*, the Marches of *Scotland*, and most of the Counties of *England*, giving notice of the Kings Succession, and of the order now setled. The Will was also ordered to be Enrolled, and every of the Executors

Which is declared in Council.

Feb. 2.

was

1547. was to have an Exemplification of it under the Great Seal: and the Clerks of Council were also ordered to give to every of them an account of all things done in Council under their Hands and Seals. And the Bishops were required to take out new Commissions of the same form with those they had taken out in King *Henry's* time, (for which see Page 267. of the former Part;) only with this difference, That there is no mention made of a Vicar-General in these Commissions, as was in the former, there being none after *Cromwel* advanced to that Dignity. Two of these Commissions are yet extant, one taken out by *Cranmer*, the other taken out by *Bonner*. But this was only done by reason of the present juncture, because the Bishops being generally addicted to the former Superstition, it was thought necessary to keep them under so arbitrary a Power as that subjected them to; for they hereby held their Bishopricks only during the Kings pleasure, and were to exercise them as his Delegates in his Name, and by his Authority. *Cranmer* set an Example to the rest, and took out his Commission, which is in the *Collection*. But this was afterwards judged too heavy a Yoak, and therefore the new Bishops that were made by this King were not put under it; (and so *Ridley*, when made Bishop of *London* in *Bonners* room, was not required to take out any such Commission;) but they were to hold their Bishopricks during life.

The Bishops take out Commissions for their Bishopricks.

Collection Number 2.

The reason of the new Creation of many Noblemen.

There was a Clause in the Kings Will, requiring his Executors to make good all that he had promised in any manner of ways. Whereupon Sir *William Paget*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert*, were required to declare what they knew of the Kings Intentions and Promises; the former being the Secretary whom he had trusted most, and the other two those that attended on him in his Bed-Chamber during his sickness; though they were called Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber; for the Service of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber was not then set up. *Paget* declared, That when the Evidence appeared against the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, the King, who used to talk oft in private with him alone, told him, that he intended to bestow their Lands liberally: and since by Attainders, and other ways, the Nobility were much decayed, he intended to create some Peers; and ordered him to write a Book of such as he thought meetest: who thereupon proposed the Earl of *Hartford* to be a Duke; the Earl of *Essex* to be a Marquess; the Viscount *Lisle* to be an Earl; the Lords St. *John*, *Russel*, and *Wriothesley*, to be Earls; and Sir *Tho. Seimour*, Sir *Thom. Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Tho. Arundel*, Sir *Edmund Sheffield*, Sir *Jo. St. Leiger*, Sir *Wymbish*, Sir *Vernon* of the *Peak*, and Sir *Christopher Danby*, to be Barons. *Paget* also proposed a distribution of the Duke of *Norfolk's* Estate. But the King liked it not, and made Mr. *Gates* bring him the Books of that Estate; which being done, he ordered *Paget* to ***tot upon the Earl of Hartford*** (these are the words of his Deposition) a Thousand Merks; on the Lord *Lisle*, *St. John*, and *Russel*, 200 Pounds a year; to the Lord *Wriothesley* 100; and for Sir *Tho. Seimour* 300 Pounds a year. But *Paget* said it was too little, and stood long arguing it with him: yet the King ordered him to propose it to the Persons concerned, and see how they liked it. And he putting the King in mind of *Denny*, who had been oft a Suiter for him, but he had never yet in lieu of that obtained any thing for *Denny*, the

King

King ordered 200 Pounds for him, and 400 Marks for Sir *William Herbert*, and remembred some others likewise. But *Paget* having, according to the Kings Commands, spoken to these who were to be advanced, found that many of them desired to continue in their former Ranks, and thought the Lands the King intended to give were not sufficient for the maintenance of the Honour to be conferred on them: which he reported to the best advantage he could for every Man, and endeavoured to raise the Kings favour to them as high as he could. But while this was in consultation, the Duke of *Norfolk*, very prudently apprehending the ruin of his Posterity, if his Lands were divided into many Hands, out of which he could not so easily recover them; whereas if they continued in the Crown, some turn of Affairs might again establish his Family; and intending also to oblige the King by so unusual a Complement, sent a desire to him that he would be pleased to settle all his Lands on the Prince, (the now King) and not give them away: for, said he, according to the Phrase of that Time, *They are good and stately Gear.* This wrought so far on the King, that he resolved to reserve them for himself, and to reward his Servants some other way. Whereupon *Paget* pressed him once to resolve on the Honours he would bestow, and what he would give with them, and they should afterwards consider of the way how to give it. The King growing still worse, said to him, "That if ought "came to him but good, as he thought he could not long endure, he in-"tended to place them all about his Son, as Men whom he trusted and "loved above all other: and that therefore he would consider them the "more. So after many Consultations he ordered the Book to be thus filled up, "The Earl of *Hartford* to be Earl Marshal, and Lord Treasu-"rer, and to be Duke of *Somerset*, *Exeter*, or *Hartford*, and his Son to "be Earl of *Wiltshire*, with 800 *l.* a year of Land, and 300 *l.* a year "out of the next Bishops Land that fell void; the Earl of *Essex* to be "Marquess of *Essex*; the Viscount *Lisle* to be Earl of *Coventry*; the "Lord *Wriothesly* to be Earl of *Winchester*; Sir *Tho. Seimour* to be a Ba-"ron and Lord Admiral; Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *Jo. St. Leiger*, Sir *Wil-"liam Willoughby*, Sir *Ed. Sheffield*, and Sir *Christopher Danby*, to be Barons; with yearly Revenues to them, and several other Persons. And having at the Suit of Sir *Edw. North* promised to give the Earl of *Hartford* six of the best Prebends that should fall in any Cathedral, except Deanries and Treasurerships; at his suit he agreed, that a Deanry and a Treasurership should be in stead of two of the six Prebendaries. And thus all this being written as the King had ordered it, the King took the Book and put it in his Pocket, and gave the Secretary order to let every one know what he had determined for them. But before these things took effect the King died. Yet being on his Death-bed put in mind of what he had promised, he ordered it to be put in his Will, that his Executors should perform every thing that should appear to have been promised by him. All this *Denny* and *Herbert* confirmed, for they then waited in his Chamber; and when the Secretary went out, the King told them the substance of what had passed between them, and made *Denny* read the Book over again to him; whereupon *Herbert* observed that the Secretary had remembred all but himself; to which the King answered, He should not forget him, and ordered *Denny* to write 400 *l.* a year for him. All these things being thus declared upon Oath, and the greatest

1547.

part

1547. part of them having been formerly ſignified to ſome of them, and the whole matter being well known and ſpread abroad, the Executors, both out of Conſcience to the Kings Will, and for their own Honours, reſolved to fulfil what the King had intended, but was hindred by death to accompliſh. But being apprehenſive both of Wars with the Emperour and *French* King, they reſolved not to leſſen the Kings Treaſure nor Revenue, nor to ſell his Jewels or Plate, but to find ſome other ways to pay them; and this put them afterwards on ſelling the Chantry Lands.

The Affairs of *Scotland*.

The buſineſs of *Scotland* was then ſo preſſing, that *Balnaves*, who was Agent for thoſe that had ſhut themſelves within the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, had this day 1180 *l.* ordered to be carried to them for an half years pay to the Soldiers of that Garriſon: There were alſo Penſions appointed for the moſt leading Men in that Buſineſs. The Earl of *Rothes* eldeſt Son had 280 Pound, Sir *James Kircaldy* had 200, and many others had ſmaller Penſions allowed them, *for their amity*, as it is expreſſed in the Council Books. That day the Lord Protector Knighted the King, being authorized to do it by Letters Pattents. So it ſeems, that as the Laws of Chivalry required that the King ſhould receive Knighthood from the Hand of ſome other Knight; ſo it was judged too great a preſumption for his own Subject to give it, without a Warrant under the Great Seal. The King at the ſame time Knighted Sir *John Hublethorn* the Lord Major of *London*. When it was known abroad what a diſtribution of Honour and Wealth the Council had reſolved on, it was much cenſured: many ſaying, that it was not enough for them to have drained the dead King of all his Treaſure, but that the firſt ſtep of their proceedings in their new Truſt was to provide Honour and Eſtates for themſelves; whereas it had been a more decent way for them to have reſerved their Pretenſions till the King had come to be of Age. Another thing in the Atteſtations ſeemed much to leſſen the credit of the Kings Will, which was ſaid to be Signed the 30*th* of *Decemb.* and ſo did bear date: whereas this Narration inſinuates, that it was made a very little while before he died, not being able to accompliſh his deſign in theſe things which he had projected: but it was well known that he was not ſo ill on the 30*th* of *December*.

1547. Feb. 6. the King Knighted.

Secular Men had their Eccleſiaſtical Dignities.

It may perhaps ſeem ſtrange, that the Earl of *Hartford* had ſix good Prebends promiſed him; two of theſe being afterwards converted into a Deanry and a Treaſurerſhip. But it was ordinary at that time. The Lord *Cromwell* had been Dean of *Wells*; and many other Secular Men had theſe Eccleſiaſtical Benefices without Cure conferred on them. For which, there being no charge of Souls annexed to them, this might ſeem to be an excuſe. Yet even thoſe had a ſacred charge incumbent on them in the Cathedrals; and were juſt and neceſſary encouragements, either for ſuch as by Age or other defects were not fit for a Parochial Charge, and yet might be otherwiſe capable to do eminent ſervice in the Church; or for the ſupport of ſuch as in their Parochial labours did ſerve ſo well as to merit preferment, and yet perhaps were ſo meanly provided for as to need ſome farther help for their ſubſiſtence. But certainly they were never intended for the enriching of ſuch lazy and ſenſual Men, who having given themſelves up to a ſecular courſe of life, had little of a Church-man but the Habit and Name; and yet uſed to rail againſt Sacriledge in others, not conſidering how guilty themſelves were

of

of the ſame crime, enriching their Families with the Spoils of the Church, or with the Goods of it, which were put into their Hands for better uſes. And it was no wonder that when Clergy-men had thus abuſed theſe Endowments, Secular Men broke in upon them: obſerving plainly, that the Clergy who enjoyed them made no better uſe of them than Laicks might do. Though in ſtead of reforming an abuſe that was ſo generally ſpread, they, like Men that minded nothing more than the enriching of themſelves, took a certain courſe to make the miſchief perpetual, by robbing the Church of thoſe Endowments and Helps it had received from the Munificence of the Founders of its Cathedrals, who were generally the firſt Chriſtian Kings of this Nation; which had it been done by Law would have been a thing of very bad conſequence; but as it was done, was directly contrary to the *Magna Charta*, and to the Kings Coronation Oath. 1547.

But now they that were weary of the Popiſh Superſtitions obſerving that Arch-biſhop *Cranmer* had ſo great a ſhare of the young Kings affection, and that the Protector and he were in the ſame Intereſts, began to call for a further Reformation of Religion; and ſome were ſo full of zeal for it, that they would not wait on the ſlow motions of the State. So the Curate and Church-wardens of St. *Martins* in *Ironmonger-lane* in *London*, took down the Images and Pictures of the Saints, and the Crucifix out of their Church, and painted many Texts of Scripture on the Walls; ſome of them *according to a perverſe Tranſlation*, as the Complaint has it; and in the place where the Crucifix was, they ſet up the Kings Arms with ſome Texts of Scripture about it. Upon this the Biſhop and Lord-Major of *London* complained to the Council. And the Curate and Church-wardens being cited to appear, anſwered for themſelves, That the Roof of their Church being bad, they had taken it down, and that the Crucifix and Images were ſo rotten, that when they removed them they fell to powder: That the charge they had been at in repairing their Church was ſuch, that they could not buy new Images: That they had taken down the Images in the Chancel, becauſe ſome had been guilty of Idolatry towards them. In concluſion, they ſaid, what they had done was with a good intention; and if they had in any thing done amiſs, they asked pardon, and ſubmitted themſelves. Some were for puniſhing them ſeverely; for all the Papiſts reckoned that this would be a leading Caſe to all the reſt of this Reign: and if this was eaſily paſſed over, others would be from that remiſneſs animated to attempt ſuch things every where. But on the other hand, thoſe at Court who had deſigned to ſet forward a Reformation, had a mind only ſo far to check the heat of the People, as to keep it within compaſs, but not to diſhearten their Friends too much. *Cranmer* and his Party were for a general removing of all Images; and ſaid that in the late Kings time order being given to remove ſuch as were abuſed to Superſtition; Upon that there were great Conteſts in many Places what Images had been ſo abuſed, and what not; and that theſe Diſputes would be endleſs unleſs all were taken away.

Images removed without Authority out of one Church in London.

In the pureſt Times of Chriſtianity they had no Images at all in their Churches. One of the firſt Councils, namely that at *Elvira* in *Spain*, made a Canon againſt the painting what they worſhiped on the Walls. *Epiphanius* was highly offended when he ſaw a Vail hanging before the door of a Church with a Picture on it, which he conſidered ſo little as

An account of the Progreſs of Image-worſhip.

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1547. not to know well whose Picture it was, but thought it might be Christs, or some other Saints; yet he tore it, and gave them of that Place Money to buy a new Vail in its room. Afterwards, with the rest of the pomp of Heathenism, Images came to be set up in Churches; yet so as that there was no sort of Worship payed to them. But in the time of Pope *Gregory* the first, many went into extremes about them; some were for breaking them, and others worshiped them; That Pope thought the middle way best, neither to break, nor to worship them, but to keep them only to put the People in mind of the Saints. Afterwards there being subtle Questions started about the Unity of Christs Person and Will, the Greek Emperours generally inclined to have the animosities raised by these, removed by some comprehensive words to which all might consent: which the Interest of State as well as Religion seemed to require; for their Empire every day declining, all methods for uniting it were thought good and prudent. But the Bishops were stiff and peremptory: So in the sixth general Council they condemned all who differed from them. Upon this the Emperours that succeeded would not receive that Council, but the Bishops of *Rome* ordered the Pictures of all the Bishops who had been at that Council to be set up in the Churches: Upon which the Emperours contended against these or any Pictures whatsoever in Churches. And herein that happened which is not usual, that one Controversie rising occasionally out of another, the Parties forsake the first Contest, and fall into sharp Conflicts about the occasional differences. For now the Emperours and Popes quarrelled most violently about the use of Images, and ill Names going a great way tomards the defaming an Opinion, the Popes and their Party accused all that were against Images, as favouring Judaism, or Mahometanism, which was then much spread in *Asia* and *Africk*: The Emperours and their Party accusing the others of Gentilism and Heathenish Idolatry. Upon this occasion *Gregory* the third first assumed the Rebellious Pretension to a Power to depose *Leo* the Emperour from all his Dominions in *Italy*. There was one General Council at *Constantinople* that condemned the use or worship of Images; and soon after another at *Nice* did establish it: and yet at the same time *Charles* the Great, though not a little linked in Interest to the Bishops of *Rome*, holding both the *French* and Imperial Crowns by the favour of the Popes, wrote, or imployed *Alcuinus* (a most learned Country-man of ours as these times went) to write in his Name against the Worship of Images. And in a Council at *Frankfort* it was condemned, which was also done afterwards in another Council at *Paris*. But in such Ages of Ignorance and Superstition any thing that wrought so much on the senses and imaginations of the People was sure to prevail in conclusion. And this had in a Course of seven more Ages been improved by the craft and impostures of the Monks, so wonderfully, that there was no sign of Divine Adoration that could be invented that was not applied to these Images. So in King *Henry's* time that temper was found that such Images as had been abused to Superstition should be removed; and for other Images external Worship, such as kneeling, censing, and praying before them, was kept up, but the People were to be taught that these were not at all intended to the Image, but to that which was represented by it. And upon this there was much subtle arguing. Among *Cranmer's* Papers I have

have seen several Arguments for a moderate use of Images. But to all 1547.
these they opposed the second Commandment as plainly forbidding all visible Objects of Adoration, together with what was in the Scriptures against the Idolatry of the Heathens, and what the Fathers had written against the *Gentiles*. And they added, that how excusable soever that practice might have been in such dark and barbarous Ages in which the People knew little more of Divine Matters than what they learned from their Images, yet the horrible abuses that followed on the bringing them into Churches, made it necessary now to throw them all out. It was notorious that the People every where doted on them, and gave them Divine Honour: Nor did the Clergy, who were generally too guilty themselves of such abuses, teach them how to distinguish aright: and the Acts of Worship that were allowed, were such, that beside the scandal such Worship had in it, and the danger of drawing People into Idolatry, it was in it self inexcusable to offer up such external parts of Religious Adoration to Gold or Silver, Wood or Stone. So *Cranmer* and others, being resolved to purge the Church of this abuse, got the worst part of the Sentence that some had designed against the Curate and Church-wardens, to be mitigated into a Reprimend; and as it is entred in the Council Books, "In respect of their submission, and of some o-"ther Reasons which did mitigate their offence, (These were *Cranmers* "Arguments against Images) they did pardon their Imprisonment, which "was at first determined, and ordered them to provide a Crucifix, or at "least some painting of it till one were ready, and to beware of such "rashness for the future. But no mention is made of the other Images.

The carriage of the Council in this matter discovering the inclinations of the greatest part of them, and Dr. *Ridley* having in his Lent Sermon preached against the Superstition that was generally had to Images and Holy Water, it raised a great heat over *England*: So that *Gardiner* hearing that on *May*-day the People of *Portsmouth* had removed and broken the Images of Christ and the Saints, writ about it with great warmth to one Captain *Vaughan*, that waited on the Protector, and was then at *Portsmouth*. "He desired to know whether he should send one "to preach against it; though he thought that was the casting Precious "Stones to Hogs, or worse than Hogs, as were these *Lollards*. He said "that *Luther* had set out a Book against those who removed Images, and "himself had seen them still in the Lutheran Churches: and he thought "the removing Images was on design to subvert Religion and the state "of the World: he argues for them from the Kings Image on the Seal, "*Cæsars* Image on the Coin brought to Christ, the Kings Arms carried by "the Heralds: he condemns false Images; but for those that were against "true Images, he thought they were possest with the Devil. *Vaughan* sent his Letter to the Protector, with one from *Gardiner* to himself, who finding the reasoning in it not so strong but that it might be answered, wrote to him himself, "That he allowed of his zeal against Innovations, "but that there were other things that needed to be looked to as much. "Great difference there was between the Civil respect due to the Kings "Arms, and the Worship given to Images. There had been a time in "which the abuse of the *Scriptures* was thought a good reason to take "them from the People, yea and to burn them: though he looked on "them as more sacred than Images; which if they stood meerly as Re-

Many begin to pull down Images,

At which *Gardiner* is much offended.

The Protector writ to him about it.

The Letters are in *Fox's* Acts and Monuments.

1547. "membrancers, he thought the hurt was not great; but it was known "that for the most part it was otherwise: and upon abuse the Brazen Serpent was broken, though made at Gods Commandment: and it being "pretended that they were *the Books of the People*, he thought the Bible "a much more intelligible and useful Book. There were some too rash, "and others too obstinate. The Magistrate was to steer a middle Course "between them; not considering the Antiquity of things so much, as "what was good and expedient. *Gardiner* writ again to the Protector, "complaining of *Bale* and others, who published Books to the dishonour "of the late King; and that all were running after Novelties; and often "inculcates it, that things should be kept in the state they were in, till "the King were of Age: and in his Letters reflects both on the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *Duresme* for consenting to such "things.

Gardiner writ to *Ridley* who had preached against Images.

But finding his Letters had no effect on the Protector, he wrote to *Ridley*: "That by the Law of *Moses* we were no more bound not to "have Images than not to eat Blood-Puddings. Image and Idol might "have been used promiscuously in former times, as King and Tyrant "were; yet there was a great difference between these, according to the "Notions we now have. He cites Pope *Gregory* who was against both "adoring and breaking them: and says the Worship is not given to the "Image, so there is no Idolatry but to him represented by it: and as the "sound of Speech did by the Ear beget Notions in us, so he did not see "but the sight of an Image might stir up devotion. He confessed there "had been abuses, as there is in every thing that is in Mens Hands: he "thinks Imagery, and Graving, to be of as good use for instruction, as "Writing or Printing: and because *Ridley* had also preached against "the Superstition of Holy Water to drive away Devils, he added, That "a Vertue might be in Water, as well as in Christs Garment, St. *Peters* "Shadow, or *Elisha*'s Staff. Pope *Marcellus* ordered *Equitius* to use it, "and the late King used to bless Cramp-Rings both of Gold and Silver, "which were much esteemed every where, and when he was abroad "they were often desired from him. This Gift he hoped the young King "would not neglect. He believed the Invocation of the Name of God "might give such a Vertue to Holy Water as well as to the Water of "Baptism. For *Ridley*'s Answer to this, I never saw it; so these things must here pass without any Reply: though it is very probable an ordinary Reader will with a very small measure of common Sense and Learning, see how they might have been answered. The thing most remarkable here is about these Cramp-Rings which King *Henry* used to bless, of which I never met with any thing before I saw this Letter; but since I understand the Office of Blessing of these Rings is extant, as it was prepared for Queen *Maries* use, as shall be told in her Reign: It must be left to conjecture whether he did it as a practice of former Kings, or whether upon his being made *Supream Head*, he thought fit to take on him, as the Pope did, to consecrate such things, and send them about. Where to be sure Fancy and Flattery would raise many Stories of the wonderful effects of what he had so blessed; and perhaps these might have been as true as the Reports made of the Vertues of *Agnus Dei's*, touched Beads, blessed Pebbles, with such other goodly Ware which the Friars were wont to carry about and distribute to their Benefactors as things highly sanctified.

This

This I set down more fully, and have laid some things together that fell not out till some months after this, being the first step that was made towards a Reformation in this Reign. 1547.

Upon this occasion it is not unlikely that the Council wrote their Letters to all the Justices of Peace of *England*, on the 12*th* of *Feb.* letting them know, that they had sent down new Commissions to them for keeping the Peace: ordering them to assemble together, and first to call earnestly on God for his Grace to discharge their Duties faithfully according to the Oaths which they were to take: and that they should impartially, without corruption, or sinister affection, execute their Office, so that it might appear that they had God and the good of their King and Country before their Eyes: and that they should divide themselves into the several Hundreds, and see to the publick Peace: and that all Vagabonds and disturbers of the Peace should be duly punished; and that once every six weeks they should write to the Lord Protector and Council the state in which the County was, till they were otherwise commanded. That which was sent into the County of *Norfolk* will be found in the Collection. 1547. *Feb.* 12. The Commission of the Justices of the Peace. Collection Number 3.

But now the Funeral of the deceased King, and the Coronation of his Son were to be dispatched. In the Coronation-Ceremonies that had been formerly used, there were some things that did not agree with the present Laws of the Land: as the Promise made to the Abbots for maintaining their Lands and Dignities: They were also so tedious, that a new Form was ordered to be drawn, which the Reader will find in the Collection. The most material thing in it is the first Ceremony, whereby, the King being shewed to the People at the four Corners of the Stage, the Arch-bishop was to demand their Consent to it: and yet in such terms as should demonstrate he was no Elective Prince; "for he "being declared the rightful and undoubted Heir both by the Laws of "God and Man, they were desired to give their good Wills and Assents "to the same, as by their Duty of Allegiance they were bound to do. This being agreed on the 13*th* of *Feb.* on the day following King *Henry*'s Body was with all the pomp of a Royal Funeral removed to *Sheen* in the way to *Windsor*. There great observation was made on a thing that was no extraordinary matter: He had been extreme corpulent, and dying of a Dropsie, or some thing like it, it was no wonder if a fortnight after, upon so long a motion, some putrid Matter might run thorough the Coffin. But *Sheen* having been a House of Religious Women, it was called a signal Mark of the displeasure of Heaven, that some of his Blood and Fat droped through the Lead in the night: and to make this work mightily on weak People, it was said, that the Dogs licked it next morning. This was much magnified in Commendation of Friar *Peto*, afterwards made Cardinal, who (as was told *Page* 151. of the former Part) had threatned him in a Sermon at *Greenwich*, *That the Dogs should lick his Blood.* Though to consider things more equally, it had been a Wonder indeed if it had been otherwise. But having met with this Observation in a *MS.* written near that time, I would not envy the World the Pleasure of it. Next day he was brought to *Windsor*, and interred in St. *George*'s Chappel. And he having by his Will left that Church 600 *l.* a year for ever for two Priests to say Mass at his Tomb daily, for four *Obits* yearly, and a Sermon at every *Obit*, with 10 *l.* to the Poor, Collection Number 4. 1547. *Feb.* 13. King *Henry* buried.

1547 Poor, and for a Sermon every *Sunday*, together with the maintenance of thirteen poor Knights; The Judges were consulted how this should be well setled in Law. Who advised that the Lands which the King had given, should be made over to that Colledge by Indentures Tripartite, the King being one Party, the Protector and the other Executors a second, and the Dean and Chapter of *Windsor* a third Party. These were to be Signed with the Kings Hand, and the Great Seal put to them, with the Hands and Seals of all the rest: and then Patents were to be given for the Lands, founded on the Kings Testament, and the Indentures Tripartite.

Soul Masses examined. But the Pomp of this Business ministred an occasion of enquiring into the use and lawfulness of Soul-Masses and *Obits*, which came to be among the first things that were reformed. Christ had instituted the Sacrament to be celebrated in remembrance of his Death, and it was a Sacrament only to those who did participate in it: but that the consecrating the Sacrament could be of any use to departed Souls, seemed a thing not easie to be conceived. For if they are the Prayers of the Living that profit the Dead, then these would have done as well without a Mass. But the People would not have esteemed bare Prayers so much, nor have payed so dear for them. So that the true original of Soul-Masses was thought to have been only to encrease the Esteem and Wealth of the Clergy. It is true, in the Primitive Church there was a Commemoration of the Saints departed in the *Daily Sacrifice*, so they termed the Communion, and such as had given any offence at their death were not remembred in it: So that for so slight an offence, as the leaving a Priest Tutor to ones Children, which might distract them from their Spiritual care, ones Name was to be left out of that Commemoration in *Cyprians* time; which was a very disproportioned punishment to that offence, if such Commemorations had been thought useful or necessary to the Souls departed. But all this was nothing to the private Masses for them, and was indeed nothing at first but an honourable mention of such as had died in the Faith. And they believing then generally that there was a Glorious Thousand Years to be on Earth, and that the Saints should rise some sooner and some later to have their part in it, they prayed in general for their quiet Rest, and their speedy Resurrection. Yet these Prayers growing, as all superstitious devices do, to be more considered, some began to frame an Hypothesis to justifie them by; that of the Thousand Years being generally exploded. And in St. *Austin's* time they began to fancy there was a state of punishment even for the Good in another Life, out of which some were sooner and some later freed, according to the measure of their Repentance for their Sins in this Life. But he tells us, this was taken up without any sure ground, and that it was no way certain. Yet by Visions, Dreams, and Tales, the belief of it was so far promoted, that it came to be generally received in the next Age after him: and then as the People were told that the Saints interceded for them, so it was added that they might intercede for their departed Friends. And this was the Foundation of all that Trade of Soul-Masses and *Obits*. Now the deceased King had acted like one who did not believe that these things signified much; otherwise he was to have but ill reception in Purgatory, having by the subversion of the Monasteries deprived the departed Souls of the benefit of the many Masses that were

were said for them in these Houses: yet it seems at his death he would 1547.
make the matter sure, and to shew he intended as much benefit to the Living, as to himself being dead, he took care that there should be not only Masses and *Obits*, but so many Sermons at *Windsor*, and a frequent distribution of Alms for the relief of the Poor. But upon this occasion it came to be examined what value there was in such things. Yet the Arch-bishop plainly saw that the Lord Chancellor would give great opposition to every motion that should be made for any further alteration; for which he and all that Party had this specious pretence always in their Mouths; That their late Glorious King was not only the most learned Prince, but the most learned Divine in the World, (for the flattering him did not end with his Life) and that therefore they were at least, to keep all things in the condition wherein he had left them, till the King were of Age. And this seemed also necessary on Considerations of State; For Changes in matter of Religion might bring on Commotions and Disorders, which they as faithful Executors ought to avoid. But to this it was answered,. That as their late King was infinitely learned, (for both Parties flattered him dead, as well as living) so he had resolved to make great Alterations, and was contriving how to change the Mass into a Communion: that therefore they were not to put off a thing of such consequence, wherein the Salvation of Peoples Souls was so much concerned, but were immediately to set about it. But the Lord Chancellor gave quickly great advantage against himself to his Enemies, who were resolved to make use of any Error he might be guilty of, so far as to ease themselves of the trouble he was like to give them.

The Kings Funeral being over, order was given for the Creation of Peers. The Protector was to be Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Essex* to be Marquess of *Northampton*, the Viscount *Lisle* to be Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Wriothesley* Earl of *Southampton*; beside the new Creation of the Lords *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and *Sheffield*: the rest it seems excusing themselves from new Honours, as it appeared from the Deposition of *Paget*, that many of those on whom the late King had intended to confer Titles of Honour had declined it formerly. On the 20*th* of *Feb.* being *Shrove-Sunday* the King was Crowned by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, according to the form that was agreed to. The Protector serving in it as Lord Steward, the Marquess of *Dorset* as Lord Constable, and the Earl of *Arundel* as Earl Marshal, deputed by the Protector. A Pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pole*, and some others were excepted.

The Creation of Peers.

1547. *Feb.* 20. Coronation.

The first Business of importance after the Coronation, was the Lord Chancellors fall. Who, resolving to give himself wholly to Matters of State, had on the 18*th* of *Feb.* put the Great Seal to a Commission, "directed to Sir *Richard Southwell* Master of the Rolls, *John Tregonnel* "Esq; Master of *Chancery*, and to *John Oliver*, and *Anthony Bellasis*, "Clerks, Masters of *Chancery*; setting forth, that the Lord Chancellor "being so employed in the Affairs of State, that he could not attend on "the hearing of Causes in the Court of *Chancery*, these three Masters, or "any two of them, were empowered to execute the Lord Chancellors "Office in that Court, in as ample manner as if he himself were present: "only their Decrees were to be brought to the Lord Chancellor to be "Signed by him, before they were Enrolled, This being done without

The Lord Chancellor is removed from his Office.

any

1547. any Warrant from the Lord Protector, and the other Executors, it was judged a high presumption in the Lord Chancellor thus to devolve on others that Power which the Law had trusted in his Hands. The Persons named by him encreased the offence which this gave, two of them being Canonists, so that the common Lawyers looked upon this as a President of very high and ill consequence. And being encouraged by those who had no good will to the Chancellor, they petitioned the Council in this Matter, and complained of the evil consequences of such a Commission, and set forth the fears that all the Students of the Law were under, of a Change that was intended to be made of the Laws of *England*. The Council remembred well they had given no Warrant at all to the Lord Chancellor for the issuing out any such Commission; so they sent it to the Judges, and required them to examine the Commission with the Petition grounded upon it: Who delivered their Opinions on the last of

Feb. 28. *Feb.* That the Lord Chancellor ought not without Warrant from the Council to have set the Seal to it; and that by his so doing he had by the Common Law forfeited his Place to the King, and was liable to Fine and

March 6. Imprisonment at the Kings pleasure. This lay sleeping till the sixth of *March*, and then the Judges Answer being brought to the Council, Signed with all their Hands, they entred into a debate how far it ought to be punished. The Lord Chancellor carried it very high; and as he had used many Menaces to those who had petitioned against him, and to the Judges for giving their Opinions as they did, so he carried himself insolently to the Protector, aud told him he held his Place by a better Authority than he held his: That the late King being empow'red to it by Act of Parliament, had made him not only Chancellor, but one of the Governours of the Realm during his Sons Minority; and had by his Will given none of them Power over the rest to throw them out at pleasure: and that therefore they might declare the Commission void if they pleased, to which he should consent, but they could not for such an error turn him out of his Office, nor out of his share of the Government. To this it was answered, That by the late Kings Will they, or the major part of them, were to Administer till the King was of Age; That this subjected every one of them in particular to the rest; That otherwise if any of them broke out into Rebellion, he might pretend he could not be attainted nor put from the Government: Therefore it was agreed on, That every of them in particular was subject to the greater part. Then the Lord Chancellor was required to shew what Warrant he had for that he had done: Being now driven from that which he chiefly relied on, he answered for himself, That he had no Warrant; yet he thought by his Office he had Power to do it; that he had no ill intention in it, and therefore submitted himself to the Kings mercy, and to the gracious consideration of the Protector and the Council; and desired that in respect of his past Services he might forego his Office with as little slander as might be; and that as to his Fine and Imprisonment they would use moderation. So he was made to withdraw. "The Councellors (as it is en-"tred in the Council-Book) considering in their Consciences his abuses "sundry ways in his Office, to the great prejudice and utter decay of "the Common Laws, and the prejudice that might follow by the Seals "continuing in the Hands of so stout and arrogant a Person, who would "as he pleased put the Seals to such Commissions without Warrant, did

"agree,

"agree, That the Seal should be taken from him, and he be deprived of "his Office, and be further fined as should be afterwards thought fitting; "only they excused him from Imprisonment. So he being called in, and heard say all he could think of for his own justification, they did not judge it of such importance as might move them to change their mind. Sentence was therefore given, That he should stay in the Council-Chamber and Closet till the Sermon was ended, that then he should go home with the Seal to *Ely* House where he lived: but that after Supper, the Lord *Seimour*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Edw. North*, should be sent to him, and that he should deliver the Seal into their Hands; and be from that time deprived of his Office, and confined to his House during pleasure, and pay what Fine should be laid on him. To all which he submitted, and acknowledged the justice of their Sentence. So the next day the Seal was put into the Lord *St. Johns* Hands, till they should agree on a fit Man to be Lord Chancellor; and it continued with him several months. On the day following, the late Kings Will being in his Hands for the granting of Exemplifications of it under the Great Seal, it was sent for, and ordered to be laid up in the Treasury of the *Exchequer*: and the Earl of *Southampton* continued in his Confinement till the 29*th* of *June*, but then he entred into a Recognisance of 4000 *l.* to pay what Fine they should impose on him, and upon that he was discharged of his Imprisonment. But in all this Sentence, they made no mention of his forfeiting his being one of the late Kings Executors, and of the present Kings Governours; either judging that, being put in these Trusts as he was Lord Chancellor, the discharging him of his Office did by consequence put an end to them; or perhaps they were not willing to do any thing that might seem to change the late Kings Will; and therefore by keeping him under the fear of a severe Fine, they chose rather to oblige him to be absent, and to carry himself quietly, than by any Sentence to exclude him from his share in that Trust. Which I encline the rather to believe, because I find him afterwards brought to Council without any Order entred about it: So that he seems to have come thither rather on a former Right than on a new choice made of him. Thus fell the Lord Chancellor, and in him the Popish Party lost their chief support, and the Protector his most emulous Rival. The Reader will find the Commission with the Opinion of the Judges about it in the *Collection*, from which he will be better able to judge of these Proceedings against him. Which were summary, and severe, beyond the usage of the Privy Council, and without the common forms of legal Processes. But the Councils Authority had been raised so high, by the Act mentioned *Page* 263. of the former *Part*, that they were empowerd sufficiently for Matters of that nature.

1547.

Collection Number 5.

That which followed a few days after made this be the more censured, since the Lord Protector, who hitherto held his Office but by the choice of the rest, and under great restrictions, was now resolved to hold it by Patent, to which the late Chancellor had been unwilling to consent. The pretence for it was, That the Forreign Ministers, the *French* Ambassador in particular, desired to be satisfied concerning his Power, and how far they might treat with him, and depend on the assurances and promises he gave. So the Protector and Council did on the 13*th* of *March* petition the King that they might act by a Commission under the Great

The Protector holds his Office by Patent.

March 13.

Seal,

1547. Seal, which might empower and justifie them in what they were to do. And that was to be done in this manner. The King and the Lords were to Sign the Warrant for it, upon which the Lord *St. John* (who, though he had the keeping of the Great Seal, was never designed to be Lord Keeper, nor was empowred to hear Causes) should set the Seal to it. The Original Warrant was to be kept by the Protector, and Exemplifications of it were to be given to Forreign Ministers. To this Order Sir *Thom. Cheyney* set his Hand, upon what Authority I do not so clearly see, since he was none of the Executors. By this Commission, (which will be found in the *Collection*) it is set forth, "That the King being "under Age, was desired by divers of the Nobles and Prelates of the "Realm to name and authorize one above all others, to have the Charge "of the Kingdom, with the Government of his Person; whereupon he "had formerly by word of mouth named his Unkle to be Protector and "Governour of his Person; yet for a more perfect Declaration of that, "he did now ratifie and approve all he had done since that Nomination, "and constituted him his Governour and the Protector of his Kingdom "till he should attain the full Age of 18 years: giving him the full Au-"thority that belonged to that Office, to do every thing as he by his Wis-"dom should think for the Honour, Good, and Prosperity of the King "and Kingdoms: and that he might be furnished with a Council for his "aid and assistance, he did by the advice of his Unkle and others, No-"bles, Prelates, and wise Men, accept of these Persons for his Councel-"lors, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *St. John* President, the "Lord *Russel* Lord Privy-Seal, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls "of *Warwick*, and *Arundel*, the Lord *Seimour*, the Bishop of *Duresme*, "the Lord *Rich*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Joh. Gage*, Sir *Anth. Brown*, "Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *William Paget*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Ralph* "*Sadler*, Sir *John Baker*, Doctor *Wotton*, Sir *Anth. Denny*, Sir *William* "*Herbert*, Sir *Edw. North*, Sir *Ed. Montague*, Sir *Ed. Wotton*, Sir *Edm.* "*Peckham*, Sir *Tho. Bromley*, and Sir *Richard Southwell*: giving the Pro-"tector Power to swear such other Commissioners as he should think fit: "and that he, with so many of the Council as he should think meet, "might annul and change what they thought fitting: restraining the "Council to act only by his Advice and Consent. And thus was the Protector fully setled in his Power, and no more under the curb of the Co-executors, who were now mixed with the other Councellors, that by the late Kings Will were only to be consulted with as they saw cause. But as he depressed them to an equality with the rest of the Councellors, so he highly obliged the others who had been formerly under them, by bringing these equally with them into a share of the Government. He had also obtained to himself an high Authority over them; since they could do nothing without his consent, but he was only bound to call for so many of them as he thought meet, and was not limited to act as they advised, but cloathed with the full Regal Power: and had it in his Hands to oblige whom he would, and to make his Party greater by calling into the Council such as he should nominate. How far this was legal I shall not enquire. It was certainly contrary to King *Henry*'s Will. And that being made upon an Act of Parliament, which empowred him to limit the Crown and the Government of it at his pleasure, this Commission, that did change the whole Government during the Kings Minority, seems

Collection Number 6.

capable

capable of no other defence, but that it being made by the consent of 1547.
the major part of the Executors, it was still warrantable even by the Will, which devolved the Government on them, or the major part of them.

All this I have opened the more largely, both because none of our Historians have taken any notice of the first Constitution of the Government during this Reign, and being ignorant of the true account of it, they have committed great errors: and because having obtained, by the favour of that most industrions Collector of the Transactions of this Age Mr. *Rushworth*, the Original Council-Book, for the two first years of this Reign, I had a certain Authority to follow in it: the exactness of that Book being beyond any thing I ever met with in all our Records. For every Council-day the Privy-Councellors that were present set their Hands to all that was ordered; judging so great caution necessary when the King was under Age. And therefore I thought this a Book of too great consequence to lie in private Hands: so the owner having made a Present of it to me, I delivered it to that Noble and Vertuous Gentleman Sir *John Nicolas*, one of the Clerks of the Council, to be kept with the rest of their Books.

And having now given the Reader a clear Prospect of the state of the Court, I shall next turn to the Affairs that were under their consideration. That which was first brought before them was concerning the state of *Germany*. *Francis Burgartus* Chancellor to the Duke of *Saxe*, with others from the other Princes and Cities of the Empire, were sent over upon the news of the former Kings death to sollicit for Aids from the new King toward the carrying on the War with the Emperor. In order to the clearing of this, and to give a just account of our Councils in reference to Forreign Affairs, especially the cause being about Religion, I shall give a short view of the state of *Germany* at this time. The Emperor, having formed a design of an Universal Monarchy, laid hold on the differences of Religion in *Germany*, as a good mean to cover what he did, with the specious pretence of punishing Heresie, and protecting the Catholicks. But before he had formed this design, he procured his Brother to be chosen King of the *Romans*, and so declared his Successor in the Empire; which he was forced to do, being obliged to be much in *Spain* and his other hereditary Dominions; and being then so young as not to enter into such deep Counsels as he afterwards laid. But his Wars in *Italy* put him oft in ill terms with the Pope; and being likewise watched over in all his Motions by *Francis* the I. and *Henry* VIII. and the *Turk* often breaking into *Hungary* and *Germany*, he was forced to great compliances with the Princes of the Empire: Who being animated by the two great Crowns, did enter into a League for their mutual defence against all Aggressors. And at last in the Year 1544. in the *Diet* held at *Spire*, the Emperour, being engaged in War with *France*, and the *Turk*, both to secure *Germany*, and to obtain Money of the Princes, was willing to agree to the Edict made there; which was, That till there was a free Council in *Germany*, or such an Assembly in which Matters of Religion might be setled, there should be a general Peace, and none was to be troubled for Religion; the free exercise of both Religions being allowed; and all things were to continue in the state they were then in. And the Imperial Chamber at *Spire* was to be reformed: for the Judges of

The state of Affairs in *Germany*.

1531. *Jan.* 11. *Ferdinand* Crown'd King of the *Romans*.

1544. *Feb.* 20. *Diet* began at *Spire*.

1547. that Court being all Papists, there were many Processes depending at the Suit of the Ecclesiasticks against the Protestant Princes who had driven them out of their Lands: and the Princes expecting no fair dealing from them, all these Processes were now suspended, and the Chamber was to be filled up with new Judges, that should be more favourable to them. They obtaining this Decree, contributed very liberally to the Wars the Emperour seemed to be engaged in. Who having his Treasure thus filled, presently made Peace both with *France* and the Grand *Seigniour*, and resolved to turn his Wars upon the Empire, and to make use of that Treasure and Force they had contributed, to invade their Liberties, and to subdue them entirely to himself. Upon this he entred into a Treaty with the Pope, that a Council should be opened in *Trent*; upon which he should require the Princes to submit to it, which if they refused to do, he should make War on them. The Pope was to assist him with 10000 Men, besides levy Taxes hard on his Clergy; to which he willingly consented. But the Emperour knowing, That if Religion were declared to be the ground of the War, all the Protestants would unite against him, who were the much greater number of the Empire; resolved to divide them among themselves, and to pretend somewhat else than Religion as the cause of the War. There were then four of the Electors of that Religion; the Count *Palatine*, the Duke of *Saxe*, the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, and the Arch-bishop of *Colen*; besides the Landgrave of *Hesse*, the Duke of *Wittemberg*, and many lesser Princes: and almost all the Cities of the Empire. *Bohem* and the other hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria* were also generally of the same Religion. The Northern Kings and the *Swiss Cantons* were firmly united to them: The two Crowns of *England* and *France* were likewise concerned in Interest to support them against the *Austrian* Family. But the Emperour got *France* and *England* engaged in a War between themselves. So that he was now at leisure to accomplish his designs on the Empire; where some of the Princes being extreme old, as the Count *Palatine*, and *Herman* Arch-bishop of *Colen*, others being of soft and unactive tempers, as the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, and others discontented and ambitious, as *Maurice* of *Saxony*, and the Brothers of *Brandenburg*, he had indeed none of the first Rank to deal with, but the Duke of *Saxe* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*. Who were both great Captains, but of such different tempers, that where they were in equal Command, there was no great probability of success. The former was a Prince of the best composition of any in that Age, he was sincerely religious, and one of the most equally tempered Men that was then alive, neither lifted up with success, nor cast down with misfortunes: He had a great capacity, but was slow in his resolutions. The Landgrave on the other hand had much more heat, was a quicker Man, and of an impatient temper, on which the accidents of Life made deep impressions.

1544. *Sept.* 24. Emperor has Peace with *France*.

1545. *Oct.* Peace with *Turk*.

When the Emperour began to engage in this design, the Pope, being jealous of his greatness, and desirous to entangle him in a long and expenceful War, published the secret ends of the League; and opened the Council in *Trent* in *Novem.* 1545. where a few Bishops and Abbots, with his Legates presiding over them, usurped the most Glorious Title of *The most Holy Oecumenical Council representing the Catholick Church.* They entred by such slow steps, as were directed from *Rome*, into the discussion

ſion of Articles of Doctrine; which were, as they were pleaſed to call it, explained to them by ſome Divines, for moſt part Friars, who amuſed the more ignorant Biſhops with the nice ſpeculations with which they had been exerciſed in the Schools; where hard and barbarous words ſerved in good ſtead to conceal ſome things not ſo fit to be propoſed bare-faced, and in plain terms. The Emperour having done enough towards his deſign, that a Council was opened in *Germany*, endeavoured to keep them from determining Points of Doctrine, and preſſed them to examine ſome abuſes in the Government of the Church, which had, at leaſt given occaſion to that great alienation of ſo many from the See of *Rome* and the Clergy. There were alſo divers wiſe and learned Prelates, chiefly of *Spain*, who came thither, full of hopes of getting theſe abuſes redreſſed. Some of them had obſerved, That in all times, Hereſies and Schiſms did owe their chief growth to the ſcandals, the ignorance, and negligence of the Clergy, which made the Laity conceive an ill opinion of them, and ſo diſpoſed them both in inclination and intereſt to cheriſh ſuch as oppoſed them; and therefore they deſigned to have many great corruptions caſt out: and obſerving that Biſhops Non-reſidence was a chief occaſion of all thoſe evils, they endeavoured to have Reſidence declared to be of Divine Right: intending thereby to leſſen the Power of the Papacy, which was grown to that height, that they were ſlaves to that See, taxed by it at pleaſure, and the care of their Dioceſſes extorted out of their hands by the ſeveral ranks of exempted Prieſts; and alſo to raiſe the Epiſcopal Authority to what it was anciently, and to cut off all theſe encroachments which the See of *Rome* had made on them at firſt by craft, and which they ſtill maintained by their Power: But the Court of *Rome* was to loſe much by all Reformations, and ſome Cardinals openly declared, That every Reformation gave the Hereticks great advantages, and was a Confeſſion that the Church had erred, and that theſe very things ſo much complained of were the chief Nerves of the Popedom, which being cut, the greatneſs of their Court muſt needs fall: and therefore they did oppoſe all theſe motions, and were ſtill for proceeding in eſtabliſhing the Doctrine. And though the oppoſing a Decree to oblige all to Reſidence was ſo groſly ſcandalous that they were aſhamed of it, yet they intended to ſecure the greatneſs of the Court by a *Salvo* for the Popes Priviledge and Dignity in granting Diſpenſations. Theſe Proceedings at *Trent* diſcovered what was to be expected from that Council, and alarum'd all the Proteſtants to think what they were to look for, if the Emperour ſhould force them to ſubmit to the Decrees of ſuch an Aſſembly, where thoſe whom they called Hereticks could expect little, ſince the Emperour himſelf could not prevail ſo far as to obtain or hinder delays, or to give preference for Matters of Diſcipline to Points of Doctrine. So the Proteſtants met at *Frankfort*, and entred into Councils for their common ſafety, in caſe any of them ſhould be diſturbed about Religion; chiefly for preſerving the Elector of *Colen* whom the Pope had cited to *Rome* for Hereſie. They wrote to the Emperors Miniſters, That they heard from all Hands that the Emperor was raiſing great Forces, and deſigning a War againſt them; who thought themſelves ſecured by the Edict of *Spire*, and deſired nothing but the confirmation of that, and the regulation of the Imperial Chamber, as was then agreed on. A Meeting being propoſed between the Emperor and the Landgrave, the Land-

1547.

1546. *January*, Princes meet at *Frankfort*.

1547. Landgrave went to him to *Spire*, where the Emperor denied he had any design of a War, with which the other charged him: only he said he had with great difficulty obtained a Council in *Germany*, and therefore he hoped they would submit to it. But after some expostulations on both hands, the Landgrave left him; and now the thing was generally understood, though the Emperor did still deny it, and said he would make no War about Religion, but only against the disturbers of the Peace of the Empire. By this means he got the Elector *Palatine* to give little or no aid to the other Princes. The Marquess of *Brandenburg* was become jealous of the greatness of *Saxe*, and so was at first Neuter, but afterwards openly declared for the Emperor. But *Maurice* the Duke of *Saxe*'s near Kinsman, who by that Dukes means was setled in a fair Principality, which his Unkle *George* had left him only on condition that he turned Papist, notwithstanding which he got him to be possessed of it; was made use of by the Emperor as the best Instrument to work his ends. To him therefore he promised the Electoral Dignity with the Dominions belonging to the Duke of *Saxe*, if he would assist him in the War against his Kinsman the present Elector; and gave him assurance under his Hand and Seal, That he would make no change in Religion, but leave the Princes of the *Ausburg* Confession the free exercise of their Religion. And thus the Emperor singled out the Duke of *Saxe* and the *Landgrave* from the rest, reckoning wisely, that if he once mastered them, he should more easily overcome all the rest. He pretended some other quarrels against them, as that of the Duke of *Brunswick*, who having begun a War with his Neighbours was taken Prisoner, and his Dominions possessed by the *Landgrave*. That with some old Quarrels was pretended the ground of the War. Upon which the Princes published a Writing to shew that it was Religion only, and a secret design to subdue *Germany*, that was the true cause of the War; and those alledged were sought Pretences to excuse so infamous a breach of Faith, and of the publick Decrees: that the Pope who designed the destruction of all of that Confession, had set on the Emperor to this; who easily laid hold on it, that he might master the liberty of *Germany*. Therefore they warned all the Princes of their danger. The Emperors Forces being to be drawn together out of several Places in *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Burgundy*, and *Boheme*, they whose Forces lay nearer had a great advantage if they had known how to use it: For in *June* they brought into the Field 70000 Foot and 15000 Horse, and might have driven the Emperor out of *Germany*, had they proceeded vigorously at first. But the divided Command was fatal to them, for when one was for Action, the other was against it. So they lost their opportunity, and gave the Emperor time to gather all his Forces about him, which were far inferior to theirs in strength: but the Emperor gained by time, whereas they who had no great Treasure lost much. All the Summer and a great deal of the Winter was spent without any considerable Action, though the two Armies were oft in view one of another. But in the beginning of the Winter, the Emperor having proscribed the Duke of *Saxe*, and promised to bestow the Principality on *Maurice*, he fell into *Saxony*, and carried a great many of the Cities which were not prepared for any such impression. This made the Duke separate his Army, and return to the defence of his own Country; which he quickly recovered, and drove *Maurice* almost out of all

1546. *June*, The Elector and Landgrave arm.

1546. *Jul.* 20. Duke of *Saxe* and Landgrave proscribed.

Nov. 23. The Elector returns into *Saxony*.

all his own Principality. The States of *Boheme* also declared for the Elector of *Saxony*. 1547.

This was the state of Affairs there. The Princes thought they had a good Prospect for the next Year, having mediated a Peace between the Crowns of *England* and *France*, whose Forces falling into *Flanders* must needs have bred a great distraction in the Emperors Councils. But King *Henry*'s death gave them great apprehensions, and not without cause. For when they sent hither for an Aid in Money to carry on the War, the Protector and Council saw great dangers on both hands: if they left the *Germans* to perish, the Emperor would be then so lifted up, that they might expect to have an uneasie Neighbour of him: on the other hand it was a thing of great consequence to engage an Infant King in such a War. Therefore their Succours from hence were like to be weak and very slow. Howsoever the Council ordered *Paget* to assure them that within three or four Months they should send 50000 Crowns to their assistance: which was to be covered thus; The Merchants of the Still-yard were to borrow so much of the King, and to engage to bring home Stores to that value; they having the Money, should send it to *Hamburg*, and so to the Duke of *Saxe*. But the Princes received a second Blow in the loss of *Francis* the first of *France*. Who having lived long in a familiarity and friendship with King *Henry*, not ordinary for Crowned Heads, was so much affected with the news of his death, that he was never seen cheerful after it. He made Royal Funeral Rites to be performed to his memory in the Church of *Nostredame*: to which the Clergy (who one would have thought should have been glad to have seen his Funerals Celebrated in any fashion) were very averse. But that King had emancipated himself to a good degree from a servile subjection to them, and would be obeyed. He out-lived the other not long, for he died the last of *March*. He was the chief Patron of Learned Men and advancer of Learning that had been for many Ages. He was generally unsuccessful in his Wars, and yet a great Commander. At his death he left his Son an Advice to beware of the Brethren of *Lorain*, and to depend much on the Councellors whom he had employed. But his Son, upon his coming to the Crown, did so deliver himself up to the charms of his Mistress *Diana*, that all things were ordered as Men made their Court to her; which the Ministers that had served the former King scorning to do, and the Brothers of the House of *Lorain* doing very submissively, the one were discharged of their employments, and the other governed all the Councils. *Francis* had been oft fluctuating in the business of Religion. Sometimes he had resolved to shake off the Popes Obedience, and set up a Patriarch in *France*; and had agreed with *Henry* the 8*th* to go on in the same Councils with him. But he was first diverted by his Alliance with *Clement* the 7*th*; and afterwards by the Ascendant which the Cardinal of *Tournon* had over him, who engaged him at several times into severities against those that received the Reformation. Yet he had such a close Eye upon the Emperors motions, that he kept a constant good understanding with the Protestant Princes, and had no doubt assisted them if he had lived. But upon his death new Councils were taken; the Brothers of *Lorain* were furiously addicted to the Interests of the Papacy, one of them being a Cardinal, who perswaded the King rather to begin his Reign with the recovery of *Bulloigne*

1546. *Jan.* 7. Peace concluded between *England* and *France*.

1547. *Mar.* 31. *Francis* I. died.

1547. *loine* out of the hands of the *English*. So that the state of *Germany* was almost desperate before he was aware of it. And indeed the *Germans* lost so much in the death of these two Kings, upon whose assistance they had depended, that it was no wonder they were easily over-run by the Emperor. Some of their Allies, the Cities of *Ulm* and *Frankfort*, and the Duke of *Wittemberg*, submitting themselves to the Emperors mercy, the rest were much disheartned: which is a constant forerunner of the ruine of a Confederacy. Such was the state of Religion abroad.

The design laid for a further Reformation at home.

At home Mens minds were much distracted. The People, especially in Market Towns and Places of Trade, began generally to see into many of the corruptions of the Doctrine and Worship, and were weary of them; Some preached against some abuses: *Glasier* at *Pauls* Cross taught, that the observance of *Lent* was only a Positive Law; others went further, and plainly condemned most of the former abuses; But the Clergy were as much engaged to defend them. They were for the most part such as had been bred in Monasteries and Religious Houses. For there being Pensions reserved for the Monks, when their Houses were surrendred and dissolved, till they should be otherwise provided; The Court of *Augmentations* took care to ease the King of that Charge, by recommending them to such small Benefices as were at the Kings disposal; and such as purchased those Lands of the Crown, with that Charge of paying the Pensions to the Monks, were also careful to ease themselves by procuring Benefices for them. The Benefices were generally very small, so that in many Places three or four Benefices could hardly afford enough for the maintenance of one Man. And this gave some colour for that abuse of one Man's having many Benefices that have a care of Souls annexed to them; and that not only where they are so contiguous, that the duty can be discharged by one, and so poor that the maintenance of both will scarce serve for the encouragement of one Person, but even where they are very remote, and of considerable value. This Corruption that crept in, in the dark Ages of the Church, was now practised in *England* out of necessity. By an Act made in King *Henry* the 8*th*'s time none might hold two Benefices without a Dispensation, but no Dispensation could enable one to hold three: yet that was not at this time much considered. The excuses made for this were, That in some Places they could not find good Men for the Benefices, but in most Places the Livings were brought to nothing. For while the Abbies stood, the Abbots allowed those whom they appointed to serve the Cure in the Churches that belonged to them, (which were in value above the half of *England*) a small Stipend, or some little part of the Vicarage Tithes; and they were to raise their subsistence out of the Fees they had by the Sacraments, and other Sacramentals; and chiefly by the singing Masses for the Poor that died; for the Abbies had the profit of it from the Rich. And Masses went generally for 2 *d.* a Groat was thought a great Bounty. So they all concluded themselves undone if these things were withdrawn. This engaged them against any Reformation, since every step that was made in it took their Bread out of their Mouths. But they being generally very ignorant could oppose nothing with the force of Reason or Learning. So although they were resolved to comply with any thing, rather than forfeit their Benefices; yet in their hearts they ab-

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horred all Reformation, and murmured against it where they thought 1547.
they might do it safely; some preached as much for the old abuses, as others did against them. Dr. *Peru* at St. *Andrews Undershaft* justified the Worship of Images on the 23*d* of *April:* yet on the 19*th* of *June* he preached a Recantation of that Sermon. Besides these, there were great Prelates, as *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and *Tonstall*, whose long experience in Affairs, they being oft employed in Forreign Ambassies, together with their high preferment, gave them great Authority; and they were against all Alterations in Religion. But that was not so decent to profess, therefore they set up on this pretence, That till the King, their Supream Head, were of Age, so as to consider things himself, all should continue in the state in which King *Henry* had left them: and these depended on the Lady *Mary* the Kings eldest Sister as their Head, who now professed her self to be in all Points for what her Father had done: and was very earnest to have every thing Enacted by him, but chiefly the six Articles, to continue in force.

On the other hand *Cranmer*, being now delivered from that too awful subjection that he had been held under by King *Henry*, resolved to go on more vigorously in purging out abuses. He had the Protector firmly united to him in this design. Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*, who were about the young King, were also very careful to infuse right Principles of Religion into him; and as he was very capable of understanding what was laid before him, so he had an early liking to all good and generous Principles; and was of so excellent a temper of mind, that as he naturally loved Truth, so the great probity of his Manners made him very inclinable to love and cherish true Religion. *Cranmer* had also several Bishops of his side; *Holgate* of *York*, *Holbeach* of *Lincoln*, *Goodrick* of *Ely*, and above all *Ridley* Elect of *Rochester*, designed for that See by King *Henry*, but not Consecrated till *September* this Year. Old *Latimer* was now discharged of his Imprisonment, but had no mind to return to a more publick Station, and did choose rather to live private, and employ himself in Preaching. He was kept by *Cranmer* at *Lambeth*, where he spent the rest of his days, till he was imprisoned in Queen *Maries* time, and attained the glorious end of his innocent and pious Life. But the apprehensions of his being restored again to his old Bishoprick, put *Heath*, then Bishop of *Worcester*, into great anxieties; sometimes he thought if he consented to the Reformation, then *Latimer*, who left his Bishoprick on the account of the six Articles, must be restored, and this made him joyn with the Popish Party: at other times, when he saw the House of Commons moved to have *Latimer* put in again, then he joyned in the Councils for the Reformation, to secure Friends to himself by that compliance. (Journal of the House of Commons.) Others of the Bishops were ignorant and weak Men, who understood Religion little, and valued it less; and so, although they liked the old Superstition best, because it encouraged Ignorance most, and that was the only sure Support of their Power and Wealth, yet they resolved to swim with the Stream. It was designed by *Cranmer* and his Friends to carry on the Reformation but by slow and safe degrees, not hazarding too much at once. They trusted in the Providence of God, that he would assist them in so good a Work. They knew the corruptions they were to throw out to be such that they should easily satisfie the People with what they did, and they had many Learned

1547. Men among them who had now for divers years been examining theſe matters. There were alſo many that declared they had heard the late King expreſs his great regret for leaving the ſtate of Religion in ſo unſetled a condition; and that he had reſolved to have changed the Maſs into a Communion, beſides many other things. And in the Act of Parliament which he had procured, (ſee *Pag.* 263. firſt *Part*) for giving force and Authority to his Proclamations, a Proviſo was added; That his Sons Councellors while he ſhould be under Age might ſet out Proclamations of the ſame Authority with theſe which were made by the King himſelf. This gave them a full Power to proceed in that Work; in which they reſolved to follow the method begun by the late King of ſending Viſitors over *England* with Injunctions and Articles. They ordered them ſix ſeveral Circuits or Precincts. The firſt was *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Norwich*, and *Ely*. The ſecond *Rocheſter*, *Canterbury*, *Chicheſter*, and *Wincheſter*. The third *Sarum*, *Exeter*, *Bath*, *Briſtol*, and *Glocceſter*. The fourth *York*, *Durham*, *Carliſle*, and *Cheſter*. The fifth *Peterborough*, *Lincoln*, *Oxford*, *Coventry*, and *Litchfield*. And the ſixth *Wales*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*. For every Circuit there were two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Regiſter. They were deſigned to be ſent out in the beginning of *May*, as appears by a Letter to be found in the *Collection*, written the fourth of *May* to the Arch-biſhop of *York*. (There is alſo in the Regiſters of *London* another of the ſame ſtrain.) Yet the Viſitation being put off for ſome Months, this Inhibition was ſuſpended on the *16th* of *May*, till it ſhould be again renued. The Letter ſets forth, That the King being ſpeedily to order a Viſitation over his whole Kingdom, therefore neither the Arch-biſhop nor any other ſhould exerciſe any juriſdiction while that Viſitation laſted. And ſince the minds of the People were held in great ſuſpence by the Controverſies they heard ſo variouſly toſſed in the Pulpits, that for quieting theſe the King did require all Biſhops to preach no where but in their Cathedrals, and that all other Clergy-men ſhould not preach but in their Collegiate or Parochial Churches, unleſs they obtained a ſpecial Licence from the King to that effect. The deſign of this was to make a diſtinction between ſuch as preached for the Reformation of abuſes, and ſuch as did it not. The one were to be encouraged by Licences to preach wherever they deſired to do it, but the others were reſtrained to the Places where they were Incumbents. But that which of all other things did moſt damp thoſe who deſigned the Reformation, was the miſery to which they ſaw the Clergy reduced, and the great want of able Men to propagate it over *England*. For the Rents of the Church were either ſo ſwallowed up by the ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes, to whom the Tithes were generally appropriated, or ſo baſely alienated by ſome lewd or ſuperſtitious Incumbents, who, to preſerve themſelves, being otherwiſe obnoxious, or to purchaſe Friends, had given away the beſt part of their Revenues and Benefices; that there was very little encouragement left for thoſe that ſhould labour in the Work of the Goſpel. And though many Projects were thought on for remedying this great abuſe, yet thoſe were all ſo powerfully oppoſed, that there was no hope left of getting it remedied, till the King ſhould come to be of Age, and be able by his Authority to procure the Church-men a more proportioned maintenance.

A Viſitation is made over *England*.

Collection Number 7.

Two things only remained to be done at present. The one was to draw up some *Homilies* for the instruction of the People, which might supply the defects of their Incumbents, together with the providing them with such Books as might lead them into the understanding of the Scripture. The other was to select the most eminent Preachers they could find and send them over *England* with the Visitors, who should with more Authority instruct the Nation in the Principles of Religion. Therefore some were appointed to compile those *Homilies*; and Twelve were at first agreed on, being about those Arguments which were in themselves of the greatest importance. The 1*st* was about the use of the Scriptures. The 2*d* of the misery of Mankind by sin. 3*d*. Of their Salvation by Christ. 4*th*. Of True and Lively Faith. 5*th*. Of Good Works. 6*th*. Of Christian Love and Charity. 7*th*. Against Swearing, and chiefly Perjury. 8*th*. Against Apostacy, or declining from God. 9*th*. Against the fear of Death. 10*th*. An Exhortation to Obedience. 11*th*. Against Whoredom and Adultery, setting forth the state of Marriage how necessary and honourable it was. And the 12*th* against Contention, chiefly about Matters of Religion. They intended to set out more afterwards, but these were all that were at this time finished. The chief design in them was to acquaint the People with the method of Salvation according to the Gospel; in which there were two dangerous Extremes at that time that had divided the World. The greatest part of the ignorant Commons seemed to consider their Priests as a sort of People who had such a secret trick of saving their Souls, as Mountebanks pretend in the curing of Diseases; and that there was nothing to be done but to leave themselves in their hands, and the business could not miscarry. This was the chief Basis and support of all that superstition which was so prevalent over the Nation. The other Extreme was of some corrupt Gospellers, who thought if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his Merits and Intercession, they could not perish, which way soever they led their Lives. In these Homilies therefore special care was taken to rectifie these errors. And the Salvation of Mankind was on the one hand wholly ascribed to the Death and Sufferings of Christ, to which Sinners were taught to fly, and to trust to it only, and to no other devices for the pardon of sin. They were at the same time taught that there was no Salvation through Christ; but to such as truly repented, and lived according to the Rules of the Gospel. The whole matter was so ordered to teach them, that avoiding the hurtful errors on both hands, they might all know the true and certain way of attaining Eternal Happiness. For the understanding the New Testament *Erasmus*'s Paraphrase, which was translated into *English*, was thought the most profitable and easiest Book. Therefore it was resolved, that together with the Bible there should be one of these in every Parish-Church over *England*. They next considered the Articles and Injunctions that should be given to the Visitors. The greatest part of them were only the renewing what had been ordered by King *Henry* during *Cromwel*'s being Vicegerent, which had been much neglected since his fall. For as there was no Vicegerent, so there was few Visitations appointed after his death by the Kings Authority; but the executing former Injunctions was left to the several Bishops, who were for the most part more careful about the six Articles, than about the Injunctions.

1547. Some Homilies compiled.

1547

Articles and Injunctions for the Visitation.

" So now all the Orders about renouncing the Popes Power, and asserting the Kings Supremacy, about Preaching, teaching the Elements of Religion in the Vulgar Tongue, about the Benefices of the Clergy, and the Taxes on them for the Poor, for Scholars, and their Mansion-Houses, with the other Injunctions for the strictness of Church-mens Lives, and against Superstitions, Pilgrimages, Images, or other Rites of that kind, and for Register-Books, were renewed. And to these, many others were added: as, That Curates should take down such Images as they knew were abused by Pilgrimages or Offerings to them; but that private Persons should not do it. That in the Confessions in *Lent* they should examine all People whether they could recite the Elements of Religion in the *English* Tongue. That at High-Mass they should read the Epistle and Gospel in *English*, and every *Sunday* and Holy-day they should read at Mattins one Chapter out of the New Testament, and at Even-song another out of the Old in *English*. That the Curates should often visit the Sick, and have many places of the Scripture in *English* in readiness wherewith to comfort them. That there should be no more Processions about Churches, for avoiding contention for precedence in them. And that the Letany formerly said in the Processions, should be said thereafter in the Quire in *English*, as had been ordered by the late King. That the Holy-day being instituted at first that Men should give themselves wholly to God, yet God was generally more dishonoured upon it than on the other days, by idleness, drunkenness, and quarrelling, the People thinking that they sufficiently honoured God by hearing Mass and Mattins, though they understood nothing of it to their edifying; therefore thereafter the Holy-day should be spent, according to Gods Holy Will, in hearing and reading his Holy Word, in publick and private Prayers, in amending their Lives, receiving the Communion, Visiting the Sick, and reconciling themselves to their Neighbours. Yet the Curates were to declare to their People, that in Harvest-time they might upon the Holy and Festival-days labour in their Harvest: That Curates were to admit none to the Communion, who were not reconciled to their Neighbours: That all dignified Clergy-men should preach personally twice a year. That the People should be taught not to despise any of the Ceremonies not yet abrogated, but to beware of the Superstition of sprinkling their Beds with Holy Water, or the ringing of Bells, or using of Blessed Candles for driving away Devils. That all Monuments of Idolatry should be removed out of the Walls or Windows of Churches, and that there should be a Pulpit in every Church for preaching: That there should be a Chest with a hole in it for the receiving the Oblations of the People for the Poor, and that the People should be exhorted to Alms-giving as much more profitable than what they formerly bestowed on Superstitious Pilgrimages, Trentals, and decking of Images. That all Patrons who disposed of their Livings by Simoniacal Pactions should forfeit their Right for that vacancy to the King. That the Homilies should be read. That Priests should be used charitably and reverently for their Office sake. That no other Primer should be used but that set out by King *Henry*. That the Prime and the Hours should be omitted where there was a Sermon or Homily. That they should in Bidding the Prayers remember the King their Supream Head, the Queen Dowa-

" ger,

" ger, the Kings two Sisters, the Lord Protector, and the Council, the 1547.
" Lords, the Clergy, and the Commons of the Realm; and to pray " for Souls departed this life, that at the last day we with them may rest " both Body and Soul. All which Injunctions were to be observed, un- " der the pains of Excommunication, Sequestration, or Deprivation, as " the Ordinaries should answer it to the King, the Justices of Peace being " required to assist them.

Injunctions to the Bishops.

Besides these, there were other Injunctions given to the Bishops. " That they should see the former put in execution, and should preach " four times a year in their Diocesses: once at their Cathedral, and " three times in other Churches, unless they had a reasonable excuse for " their omission. That their Chaplains should be able to preach Gods " Word, and should be made labour oft in it: That they should give " Orders to none but such as would do the same; and if any did other- " wise, that they should punish him, and recall their Licence. These are the chief Heads of the Injunctions, which being so often printed, I shall refer the Reader that would consider them more carefully, to the Collection of these and other such curious things made by the Right Reverend Father in God *Anthony Sparrow* now Lord Bishop of *Norwich*.

These were much censured.

These being published, gave occasion to those who censured all things of that nature to examine them.

The removing Images that had been abused, gave great occasion of quarrel; and the thing being to be done by the Clergy only, it was not like that they, who lived chiefly by such things, would be very zealous in the removing them. Yet on the other hand, it was thought necessary to set some restraints to the heats of the People, who were otherwise apt to run too far where Bounds were not set to them.

The Article about the strict observance of the *Holy-day* seemed a little doubtful, whether by the Holy-day was to be understood, only the Lords-day, or that and all other Church-Festivals. The naming it singularly the *Holy-day*, and in the end of that Article adding Festival-days to the Holy-day, seemed to favour their opinion that thought this strict observance of the Holy-day was particularly intended for the Lords-day, and not for the other Festivals. And indeed the setting aside of large portions of time on that day for our Spiritual Edification, and for the Service of God, both in publick and private, is so necessary for the advancement of true Piety, that great and good effects must needs follow on it. But some came afterwards, who not content to press great strictness on that day, would needs make a Controversie about the Morality of it, and about the fourth Commandment, and framed many Rules for it, which were stricter than themselves or any other could keep, and so could only load Mens Consciences with many scruples. This drew an opposition from others who could not agree to these severities, and these Contests were, by the subtilty of the Enemies of the Power and Progress of Religion so improved, that in stead of all Mens observing that time devoutly as they ought, some took occasion from the strictness of their own way, to censure all as irreligious, who did not in every thing agree to their notion concerning it: Others by the heat of contradiction did too much slacken this great Bond and Instrument of Religion; which is since brought under so much neglect, that it is for most part a

day

1547. day only of Rest from Mens bodily labours, but perhaps worse employed than if they were at work: So hard a thing it is to keep the due mean, between the Extremes of Superstition on the one hand, and of Irreligion on the other.

The corruption of Lay-Patrons in their Simoniacal Bargains, was then so notorious, that it was necessary to give a Check to it, as we find there was by these Injunctions. But whether either this, or the Oath afterwards appointed to be taken, has effectually delivered this Church of that great abuse, I shall not determine. If those who bestow Benefices, did consider, that the charge of Souls being annexed to them, they shall answer to God severely for putting so sacred a Trust in mean or ill hands, upon any base or servile accounts, it would make them look a little more carefully to a thing of so high consequence; and neither expose so holy a thing to sale, nor gratifie a Friend or Servant by granting them the next Advowson, or be too easily overcome with the sollicitations of impudent Pretenders.

The Form of Bidding Prayer was not begun by King *Henry*, as some have weakly imagined; but was used in the times of Popery, as will appear by the Form of *Bidding the Beads* in King *Henry* the *7th's* time, which will be found in the *Collection*. Where the way was, first for the Preacher to name and open his Text, and then to call on the People to go to their Prayers, and to tell them what they were to pray for; after which, all the People said their Beads in a general silence, and the Minister kneeled down likewise, and said his. All the change King *Henry* the *8th* made in this, was, That the Pope and Cardinals names being left out, he was ordered to be mentioned with the addition of his Title of *Supream Head*, that the People hearing that oft repeated by their Priests, might be better perswaded about it, but his other Titles were not mentioned. And this Order was now renewed. Only the Prayer for departed Souls was changed from what it had been. It was formerly in these words. "Ye shall pray for the Souls that be departed, abiding "the Mercy of Almighty God, that it may please him, the rather at the "contemplation of our Prayers, to grant them the Fruition of his Pre-"sence; which did imply their being in a state where they did not enjoy the Presence of God; which was avoided by the more general words now prescribed.

Collection Number 8.

The Injunctions given the Bishops directed them to that which, if followed carefully, would be the most effectual means of Reforming, at least the next Age, if not that wherein they lived. For if Holy Orders were given to none, but to those who are well qualified, and seem to be internally called by a Divine Vocation, the Church must soon put on a new face: whereas, when Orders are too easily given, upon the credit of emendicated Recommendations, or Titles, and after a slight trial of the knowledge of such Candidates, without any exact scrutiny into their sense of things, or into the disposition of their minds; no wonder if by the means of Clergy-men so ordained, the Church lose much in the esteem aud love of the People, who being possessed with prejudices against the whole Society for the faults which they see in particular Persons, become an easie prey to such as divide from it.

Thus

Thus were the Visitors instructed, and sent out to make their Circuits, in *August*, about the time that the Protector made his Expedition into *Scotland*. For the occasion of it I shall refer the Reader to what is already said in the former part of this Work. Before they engaged deeper in the War, Sir *Francis Brian* was sent over to *France*, to congratulate the new King, and to see if he would confirm these Propositions that were agreed to during his Fathers life; and if he would pay the Pension that was to be given yearly till *Bulloigne* were restored; and chiefly to obtain of him to be neutral in the War of *Scotland*: complaining of that Nation that had broken their Faith with *England* in the matter of the Marriage. To all which the *French* King answered, That for these Articles they mentioned he thought it dishonourable for him to confirm them; and said his Fathers Agent *Poligny* had no Warrant to yield to them, for by them the *English* were at liberty to fortifie what they had about *Bulloigne*, which he would never consent to; That he was willing to pay what was agreed to by his Father, but would have first the conditions of the delivery of *Bulloigne* made more clear; As for the *Scots*, they were his perpetual Allies, whom he could not forsake if they were in any distress. And when it was pressed on him, and his Ambassador at *London*, That *Scotland* was subject to the Crown of *England*, they had no regard to it. When the Council desired the *French* Ambassador to look on the Records which they should bring him for proving their Title: He excused himself, and said his Master would not interpose in a Question of that nature, nor would he look back to what was pretended to have been done two or three hundred years ago; but was to take things as he found them; and that the *Scots* had Records likewise to prove their being a free Kingdom. So the Council saw they could not engage in the War with *Scotland*, without drawing on a War with *France*; which made them try their Interest with their Friends this year to see if the Marriage could be obtained. But the Castle of St. *Andrews* was now lost by the assistance of that *Leo Strozi* brought from *France*. And though they in *England* continued to send Pensions to their Party, (for in *May* 1300 *l.* was sent down by *Henry Balnaves*, and in *June* 125 *l.* was sent to the Earl of *Glencairn* for an half years payment of his Pension) yet they could gain no ground there; for the *Scots* now thought themselves safer than formerly; the Crown of *England* being in the hands of a Child, and the Court of *France* being much governed by their Queen Dowagers Brothers. They gave way to the Borderers to make In-rodes; of whom about 2000 fell into the Western Marches, and made great Depredations. The *Scots* in *Ireland* were also very ill Neighbours to the *English* there. There were many other Complaints of Pyracies at Sea, and of a Ship-Royal that robbed many *English* Ships; but how these came to be complained of, I do not see, for they were in open War, and I do not find any Truce had been made. The *French* Agent at *London* pressed much that there might be a Treaty on the Borders before the Breach were made wider. But now the Protector had given Orders for raising an Army; so that he had no mind to lose that Summer. Yet to let the *French* King see how careful they were of preserving his Friendship, they appointed the Bishop of *Duresme*, and Sir *Robert Bowes*, to give the *Scotch* Commissioners a Meeting on the Borders the 4th of *August*: but with these secret Instructions, That if the

1547. *August.* The Protector went into *Scotland*.

Thuanus.

Question made, whether *Scotland* was a free Kingdom or Subject to *England*.

1547. the *Scots* would confirm the Marriage, all other things should be presently forgiven, and Peace be immediately made up; but if they were not empowred in that particular, and offered only to treat about Restitutions, that then they should immediately break off the Treaty. The Bishop of *Duresme* was also ordered to carry down with him the Exemplifications of many Records, to prove the Subjection of the Crown of *Scotland* to *England*: some of these are said to have been under the Hands and Seals of their Kings, their Nobles, their Bishops, Abbots, and Towns. He was also ordered to search for all the Records that were lying at *Duresme*, where many of them were kept, to be ready to be shewed to the *Scots* upon any occasion that might require it. The Meeting on the Borders came to a quick issue, for the *Scottish* Commissioners had no Power to treat about the Marriage. But *Tonstall* searching the Registers of his See, found many Writings of great consequence to clear that Subjection, of which the Reader will see an account, in a Letter he writ to the Council, in the *Collection* of Papers. The most remarkable of these was, the Homage King *William* of *Scotland* made to *Henry* the second, by which he granted, That all the Nobles of his Realm should be his Subjects, and do Homage to him: and that all the Bishops of *Scotland* should be under the Arch-bishops of *York*: and that the King of *England* should give all the Abbeys and Honours in *Scotland*, at the least they should not be given without his consent, with many other things of the like nature. It was said that the Monks in those days, who generally kept the Records, were so accustomed to the forging of Stories and Writings, that little credit was to be given to such Records as lay in their keeping. But having so faithfully acknowledged what was alledged against the freedom of *Scotland*, I may be allowed to set down a Proof on the other side, for my Native Country, copied from the Original Writing yet extant under the Hands and Seals of many of the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom. It is a Letter to the Pope: and it was ordinary that of such publick Letters there were Duplicates Signed; The one of which was sent, and the other laid up among the Records, of which I have met with several Instances. So that of this Letter the Copy which was reserved being now in Noble Hands, was communicated to me, and is in the *Collection*. It was upon the Popes engaging with the King of *England* to assist him to subdue *Scotland* that they writ to him, and did assert most directly that their Kingdom was at all times free and independent. But now these Questions being waved, the other difference about the Marriage was brought to a sharper decision.

Collection Number 9.

Collection Number 10.

Aug. 21. On the 21*st* of *August* the Protector took out a Commission to be General, and to make War on *Scotland*: and did devolve his Power during his absence on the Privy Council; and appointed his Brother to be Lord-Lieutenant for the *South*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, (whom he carried with him) Lord-Lieutenant for the *North*; and left a Commission of Array to the Marquess of *Northampton* for *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; to the Earl of *Arundel*, for *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Hampshire*, and *Wiltshire*; and to Sir *Thom. Cheyney* for *Kent*. All this was in case of any Invasion from *France*. Having thus setled Affairs during his absence, he set out for *Newcastle*, having ordered his Troops to march thither before: and coming thither on the 27*th* of that Month, he saw his Army mustered on the 28*th*, and marched forward to *Scotland*. The

Aug. 27. 28.

Lord

Lord *Clinton* commanded the Ships that sailed on as the Army marched; 1547.
which was done, that Provisions and Ammunition might be brought by them from *Newcastle* or *Berwick*, if the Enemy should at any time fall in behind their Army. He entred into *Scotch* Ground the second of *September*, and advanced to the *Paths* the 5*th*, where the Passage being narrow and untoward, they looked for an Enemy to have disputed it, but found none; the *Scots* having only broken the Ways, which in that dry Season signified not much, but to stop them some hours in their March. When they had passed these, some little Castles, *Dunglas*, *Thornton*, and *Innerwick*, having but a few ill provided Men in them, rendred to them. On the 9*th* they came to *Falside*, where there was a long Fight in several Parties, in which there were 1300 of the *Scots* slain. And now they were in sight of the *Scotch* Army, which was for numbers of Men one of the greatest that they had ever brought together, consisting of 30000 Men: of which 10000 were commanded by the Governour, 8000 by the Earl of *Angus*, 8000 by the Earl of *Huntley*, and 4000 by the Earl of *Argile*, with a fair Train of Artillery, nine Brass, and 21 Iron Guns. On the other side, the *English* Army consisted of about 15000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, but all well appointed. The *Scots* were now heated with the old National Quarrel to *England*. It was given out that the Protector was come with his Army to carry away their Queen, and to enslave the Kingdom. And for the encouraging of the Army it was also said, that 12 Gallies and 50 Ships were on the Sea from *France*, and that they looked for them every day.

Sept. 2.
5.
Sept. 9.

The Protector finding an Army brought together so soon, and so much greater than he expected, began to be in some apprehension, and therefore he writ to the *Scots* to this effect: That they should remember they were both Christians, and so should be tender of the effusion of so much Blood; that this War was not made with any design, but for a perpetual Peace, by the Marriage of their two Princes which they had already agreed, and given their publick Faith upon it; and that the *Scots* were to be much more gainers by it than the *English*: The Island seemed made for one Empire; It was pity it should be more distracted with such Wars, when there was so fair and just a way offered for uniting it: and it was much better for them to marry their Queen to a Prince of the same Language, and on the same Continent, than to a Forreigner: but if they would not agree to that, he offered that their Queen should be bred up among them, and not at all contracted, neither to the *French*, nor to any other Forreigner, till she came of Age, that by the consent of the Estates she might choose a Husband for her self. If they would agree to this, he would immediately return with his Army out of *Scotland*, and make satisfaction for the damages the Country had suffered by the Invasion. This Proposition seems to justifie what the *Scotch* Writers say, though none of the *English* mention it, That the Protector, what for want of Provisions, and what from the apprehensions he had of so numerous an Army of the *Scots*, was in great straits, and intended to have returned back to *England*, without hazarding an Engagement. But the *Scots* thought they were so much superior to the *English*, and that they had them now at such a disadvantage, that they resolved to fall upon them next day. And that the fair offers made by the Protector might not raise division among them,

The Protectors Offers to the *Scots*.

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1547. the Governour having communicated these to a few whom he trusted, was by their advice perswaded to suppress them; but he sent a Trumpeter to the *English* Army with an Offer to suffer them to return without falling upon them: which the Protector had reason to reject, knowing that so mean an Action in the beginning of his Administration, would have quite ruined his Reputation. But to this, another that came with the Trumpeter added a Message from the Earl of *Huntley*, That the Protector and he with ten or twenty of a side, or singly, should decide the Quarrel by their Personal Valour. The Protector said, This was no private Quarrel, and the Trust he was in obliged him not to expose himself in such a way: and therefore he was to fight no other way but at the Head of his Army. But the Earl of *Warwick* offered to accept the Challenge. The Earl of *Huntley* sent no such Challenge, as he afterwards purged himself when he heard of it. For as it was unreasonable for him to expect the Protector should have answered it, so it had been an affronting the Governour of *Scotland* to have taken it off of his hands, since he was the only Person that might have challenged the Protector on equal terms. The truth of the matter was, a Gentleman that went along with the Trumpeter, made him do it without Warrant, fancying the Answer to it would have taken up some time, in which he might have viewed the Enemies Camp.

Rejected by them.

Sept. 10. The Battel of *Pinkey* near *Musselburgh*.

On the 10*th* of *September* the two Armies drew out, and fought in the Field of *Pinkey* near *Musselburgh*. The *English* had the advantage of the Ground. And in the beginning of the Action, a Canon Ball from one of the *English* Ships killed the Lord *Grames* eldest Son, and 25 Men more; which put the Earl of *Argiles* Highlanders into such a fright, that they could not be held in order. But after a Charge given by the Earl of *Angus*, in which the *English* lost some few Men, the *Scots* gave ground; and the *English* observing that, and breaking in furiously upon them, the *Scots* threw down their Arms and fled: The *English* pursued hard, and slew them without mercy. There were reckoned to be killed about 14000 and 1500 taken Prisoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and 500 Gentlemen; and all the Artillery was taken. This loss quite disheartned the *Scots*, so that they all retir'd to *Strivling*, and left the whole Country to the Protectors mercy. Who the next day went and took *Lieth*, and the Soldiers in the Ships burnt some of the Sea-Towns of *Fife*, and re-took some *English* Ships that had been taken by the *Scots*, and burnt the rest. They also put a Garrison in the Isle of St. *Columba* in the *Frith* of about 200 Soldiers, and left two Ships to wait on them. He also sent the Earl of *Warwick*'s Brother Sir *Ambrose Dudley* to take *Broughty*, a Castle in the Mouth of *Tay*; in which he put 200 Soldiers. He wasted *Edenburgh*, and uncovered the Abbey of *Holyrood-house*, and carried away the Lead and the Bells belonging to it. But he neither took the Castle of *Edenburgh*, nor did he go on to *Strivling* where the Queen with the straglers of the Army lay. And it was thought, that in the consternation wherein the late defeat had put them, every Place would have yielded to him. But he had some private reasons that pressed his return, and made him let go the advantages that were now in his hands, and so gave the *Scots* time to bring Succours out of *France*; whereas he might easily have made an end of the War now at once, if he had followed his success vigorously. The Earl of *Warwick*, who had a great share in the

A great defeat given the *Scots*.

Honour of the Victory, but knew that the errors in conduct would much diminish the Protectors glory, which had been otherwise raised to an unmeasurable height, was not displeased at it. So on the 18*th* of *September* the Protector drew his Army back into *England*, and having received a Message from the Queen and the Governour of *Scotland* offering a Treaty, he ordered them to send Commissioners to *Berwick* to treat with those he should appoint. As he returned through the *Merch*, and *Teviotdale*, all the chief Men in these Counties came in to him, and took an Oath to King *Edward*, the Form whereof will be found in the *Collection*, and delivered into his hands all the Places of strength in their Counties. He left a Garrison of 200 in *Home* Castle, under the Command of Sir *Edw. Dudley*; and fortified *Roxburgh*, where, for encouraging the rest, he wrought two hours with his own hands, and put 300 Soldiers and 200 Pioneers into it, giving Sir *Ralph Bulmer* the Command. At the same time the Earl of *Lennox* and the Lord *Wharton* made an in-road by the West Marches; but with little effect.

1547.

Sept. 18.

Collection Number 11.

On the 29*th* of *September* the Protector returned into *England* full of Honour, having in all that Expedition lost not above 60 Men, as one that then writ the account of it says: The *Scotch* Writers say he lost between 2 and 300. He had taken 80 Piece of Canon, and bridled the two chief Rivers of the Kingdom by the Garrisons he left in them; and had left many Garrisons in the strong Places on the Frontier. And now it may be easily imagined how much this raised his reputation in *England*; since Men commonly make Auguries of the Fortune of their Rulers, from the Successes of the first Designs they undertake. So now they remembred what he had done formerly in *Scotland*; and how he had in *France* with 7000 Men, raised the *French* Army of 20000 that was set down before *Bulloigne*, and had forced them to leave their Ordnance, Baggage, and Tents, with the loss of one Man only in the year 1544, and that next year he had fallen into *Picardy*, and built *New-haven* with two other Forts there. So that they all expected great success under his Government. And indeed if the breach between his Brother and him, with some other errors, had not lost him the advantages he now had, this prosperous Action had laid the foundation of great Fortunes to him.

Sept. 29. The Protector returned to *England*.

He left the Earl of *Warwick* to treat with those that should be sent from *Scotland*. But none came; for that Proposition had been made only to gain time. The Queen Mother there, was not ill pleased to see the interest of the Governour so much impaired by that misfortune, and perswaded the chief Men of that Kingdom to cast themselves wholly into the Arms of *France*, and to offer their young Queen to the Dolphin, and to think of no Treaty with the *English*. So the Earl of *Warwick* returned to *London*, having no small share in the Honour of this Expedition. He was Son to that *Dudley*, who was attainted and executed the first year of King *Henry* the 8*th*'s Reign. But whether it was that the King afterwards repented of his severity to the Father, or that he was taken with the qualities of the Son, he raised him by many degrees to be Admiral and Viscount *Lisle*. He had defended *Bulloigne*, when it was in no good condition, against the Dolphin, whose Army was believed 50000 strong; and when the *French* had carried the Basetown, he recovered it, and killed 800 of their Men: The Year after that, being in

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1547. Command at Sea, he offered the *French* Fleet Battel; which they declining, he made a descent upon *Normandy* with 5000 Men, and having burnt, and spoiled, a great deal, he returned to his Ships with the loss only of one Man. And he shewed he was as fit for a Court as a Camp; For being sent over to the *French* Court upon the Peace, he appeared there with much Splendour, and came off with great Honour. He was indeed a Man of great Parts, had not insatiable ambition with profound dissimulation stained his other Noble Qualities.

The Protector at his return was advised presently to meet the Parliament, (for which the Writs had been sent out before he went into *Scotland*) now that he was so covered with Glory, to get himself established in his Authority, and to do those other things which required a Session. He found the Visitors had performed their Visitation, and all had given obedience. And those who expounded the secret Providences of God with an Eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this; that on the same day in which the Visitors removed, and destroyed, most of the Images in *London*, their Armies were so successful in *Scotland* in *Pinkey* Field. It is too common to all Men to magnifie such Events much, when they make for them; but if they are against them, they turn it off by this, That Gods Ways are past finding out. So partially do Men argue where they are once engaged. *Bonner* and *Gardiner* had shewed some dislike of the Injunctions. *Bonner* received them with a Protestation, that he would observe them, if they were not contrary to Gods Law and the Ordinances of the Church. Upon which Sir *Anthony Cook*, and the other Visitors, complained to the Council. So *Bonner* was sent for, where he offered a submission, but full of vain *Quiddities*, (so it is expressed in the Council-Book,) But they not accepting of that, he made such a full one as they desired, which is in the *Collection*. Yet for giving terror to others he was sent to lie for some time in the Prison called the *Fleet*. *Gardiner* seeing the *Homilies*, was also resolved to protest against them. Sir *John Godsalve*, who was one of the Visitors, wrote to him not to ruine himself, nor lose his Bishoprick by such an Action. To whom he wrote a Letter, that has more of a Christian, and of a Bishop in it, than any thing I ever saw of his. He expresses in handsome terms a great contempt of the World, and a resolution to suffer any thing rather than depart from his Conscience. Besides that, (as he said) the things being against Law, he would not deliver up the Liberties of his Country, but would petition against them. This Letter will be found in the *Collection*, for I am resolved to suppress nothing of consequence on what side soever it may be. On the 25th of *September* it being informed to the Council, that *Gardiner* had written to some of that Board, and had spoken to others, many things in prejudice and contempt of the Kings Visitation; and that he intended to refuse to set forth the *Homilies* and *Injunctions*; he was sent for to the Council. Where being examined, he said, he thought they were contrary to the Word of God, and that his Conscience would not suffer him to observe them. He excepted to one of the *Homilies* that it exclude Charity from justifying Men, as well as Faith. This he said was contrary to the *Book* set out in the late Kings time, which was afterwards confirmed in Parliament in the Year 1542. he said further, that he could never see one place of Scripture nor any ancient Doctor that favoured it. He also said *Erasmus*'s Paraphrase was bad enough

The Visitors execute the Injunctions.

Acts and Monuments.

But they were not well received by *Bonner*.

Collection Number 12.

Nor by *Gardiner*.

Collection Number 13.

Sept. 15.

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in *Latin*, but much worſe in *Engliſh*, for the Tranſlator had oft out of ignorance, and oft out of deſign, miſrendred him palpably, and was one that neither underſtood *Latin* nor *Engliſh* well. He offered to go to *Oxford* to diſpute about Juſtification with any they ſhould ſend him to, or to enter in conference with any that would undertake his Inſtruction in Town. But this did not ſatisfie the Council. So they preſſed him to declare what he intended to do when the Viſitors ſhould be with him. He ſaid, he did not know; he ſhould further ſtudy theſe Points, for it would be three weeks before they could be with him; and he was ſure he would ſay no worſe than that he ſhould obey them as far as could conſiſt with Gods Law and the Kings. The Council urged him to promiſe that he would without any limitation ſet forth the *Homilies* and the *Injunctions*, which he refuſing to do, was ſent to the *Fleet*. Some days after that *Cranmer* went to ſee the *Dean* of St. *Pauls*, having the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Rocheſter* with Dr. *Cox* and ſome others with him. He ſent for *Gardiner* thither, and entred into diſcourſe with him about that Paſſage in the Homily, excluding Charity out of our Juſtification: and urged thoſe Places of St. *Paul*, *That we are juſtified by Faith without the Works of the Law:* He ſaid his deſign in that Paſſage was only to draw Men from truſting in any thing they did: and to teach them to truſt only to Chriſt. But *Gardiner* had a very different Notion of Juſtification. For as he ſaid, Infants were juſtified by Baptiſm, and Penitents by the Sacrament of Penance: and that the Conditions of the juſtifying of thoſe of Age were Charity as well as Faith, as the three Eſtates make a Law all joyned together: for by this Simile he ſet it out in the report he writ of that Diſcourſe to the Lord Protector, reckoning the King one of the three Eſtates, (a way of Speech very ſtrange, eſpecially in a Biſhop, and a Lawyer.) For *Eraſmus* it was ſaid, that though there were faults in his Paraphraſe, as no Book beſides the Scriptures is without faults, yet it was the beſt for that uſe they could find: and they did chooſe rather to ſet out what ſo learned a Man had written, than to make a new one which might give occaſion to more Objections; and he was the moſt indifferent Writer they knew. Afterwards *Cranmer* knowing what was likely to work moſt on him, let fall ſome words (as *Gardiner* writ to the Protector) of bringing him into the Privy-Council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on. But that not having its ordinary effect on him, he was carried back to the *Fleet*. 1547.

There were alſo many complaints brought by ſome Clergy-men, of ſuch as had uſed them ill for their obeying the Kings Injunctions, and for removing Images. Many were upon their ſubmiſſion ſent away with a ſevere rebuke; others that offended more hainouſly were put in the *Fleet* for ſome time, and afterwards giving Bond for their good behaviour were diſcharged. But upon the Protectors return, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* writ him a long Letter in his own vindication. "He complained "of the Viſitors proceeding in his abſence in ſo great a matter. He ſaid "the *Injunctions* were contrary to themſelves, for they appointed the "*Homilies* to be read, and *Eraſmus*'s *Paraphraſe* to be put in all Chur-"ches: ſo he ſelected many paſſages out of theſe, that were contrary to "one another. He alſo gathered many things out of *Eraſmus*'s *Para*-"*phraſe* that were contrary to the Power of Princes, and ſeveral other "cenſurable things in that Work, which *Eraſmus* wrote when he was

"young,

1547. "young, being of a far different strain from what he writ when he "grew older, and better acquainted with the World. But he conclu-"ded his Letter with a discourse of the extent of the King and Councils "Power, which is all I transcribed of it, being very long, and full of "things of no great consequence. He questions how far the King could "command against Common or Statute Law: of which himself had "many occasions to be well informed. Cardinal *Wolsey* had obtained "his Legatine Power at the Kings desire, but notwithstanding that, he "was brought into a *Præmunire*: and the Lawyers upon that Argument "cited many Precedents of Judges that were fined when they transgres-"sed the Laws, though commanded by Warrants from the King; and Earl "*Typtest*, who was Chancellor, lost his Head for acting upon the Kings "Warrant against Law. In the late Kings time the Judges would not set "Fines on the breakers of the Kings Proclamations, when they were "contrary to Law, till the *Act* concerning them was passed, about "which there were many hot words when it was debated. He mentions "a Discourse that passed between him and the Lord *Audley* in the Par-"liament concerning the Kings Supremacy. *Audley* bid him look the Act "of Supremacy, and he would see the Kings doings were restrained to "Spiritual Jurisdiction: and by another Act no Spiritual Law could take "place against the Common Law or an Act of Parliament: otherwise "the Bishops would strike in with the King, and by means of the Supre-"macy would order the Law as they pleased: but we will provide, said "he, that the *Præmunire* shall never go off of your backs. In some late "Cases he heard the Judges declare what the King might do against an "Act of Parliament, and what danger they were in that medled in such "matters. These things being so fresh in his memory he thought he might "write what he did to the Lords of Council. But by this it appears, that no sort of Men is so much for the Kings Prerogative, but when it becomes in any instance uneasie to them, they will shelter themselves under the Law. He continued afterwards by many Letters to the Protector to complain of his ill usage: "That he had been then seven weeks in the "*Fleet* without Servants, a Chaplain, or a Physician: that though he "had his Writ of Summons, he was not suffered to come to the Parlia-"ment, which might be a ground afterwards of questioning their Pro-"ceedings: He advised the Protector not to make himself a Party in "these matters, and used all the insinuations of decent flattery that he "could invent, with many sharp reflections on *Cranmer*, and stood much on "the force of Laws, that they could not be repealed by the Kings Will. "Concerning which he mentions a Passage that fell out between *Cromwel* "and himself before the late King. *Cromwel* said, That the King might "make or repeal Laws as the *Roman* Emperors did, and asked his opinion "about it, whether the Kings Will was not a Law? To which he an-"swered facetiously, That he thought it was much better for the King to "make the Law his Will, than to make his Will a Law. But notwithstanding all his Letters, (which are printed in the second Volume of *Acts* and *Monum.Edit.*1641.) yet he continued a Prisoner till the Parliament was over, and then by the Act of Pardon he was set at liberty. This was much censured as an invasion of Liberty; and it was said these at Court durst not suffer him to come to the House, lest he had confounded them in all they did. And the explaining Justification with so much nicety in Homilies

Collection Number 14.

that

that were to be read to the People, was thought a needless subtilty. But the former abuses, of trusting to the Acts of Charity that Men did, by which they fancied they bought Heaven, made *Cranmer* judge it necessary to express the matter so nicely; though the expounding those Places of St. *Paul*, was, as many thought, rather according to the strain of the *Germans*, than to the meaning of these Epistles. And upon the whole matter, they knew *Gardiners* haughty temper, aud that it was necessary to mortifie him a little, though the pretence on which they did it seemed too slight for such severities. But it is ordinary, when a thing is once resolved on, to make use of the first occasion that offers for effecting it. 1547.

The Party that opposed the Reformation, finding these attempts so unsuccessful, engaged the Lady *Mary* to appear for them. She therefore wrote to the *Protector*, that she thought all changes in Religion till the King came to be of Age, were very much contrary to the respect they owed the memory of her Father, if they went about to shake what he had setled; and against their duty to their young Master, to hazard the Peace of his Kingdom, and engage his Authority in such Points before he was capable of judging them. I gather this to have been the substance of her *Letter*, from the Answer which the *Protector* wrote, which is in the *Collection*. In it he wrote, "That he believed her Letter flowed not "immediately from her self, but from the instigation of some malicious "Persons. He protests they had no other design, but the Glory of "God, and the Honour and Safety of the King, and that what they had "done was so well considered, that all good Subjects ought rather to rejoyce at it than find fault with it. And whereas she had said, That "her Father had brought Religion to a godly order and quietness, to "which both Spiritualty and Temporalty did without compulsion give "their assent; he remembers her what opposition the stiff-necked Papists "gave him; and what Rebellions they raised against him; which he wonders how she came so soon to forget: Adding, that death had prevented him before he had finished these Godly Orders which he had designed; and that no kind of Religion was perfected at his death, but all "was left so uncertain, that it must inevitably bring on great disorders, if "God did not help them; and that himself and many others could witness what regret their late Master had, when he saw he must die before "he had finished what he intended. He wond'red that she, who had "been well bred, and was learned, should esteem true Religion, and the "knowledge of the Scriptures, *Newfangledness, or Fantasie.* He desired "she would turn the Leaf, and look on the other side, and would with "an humble Spirit, and by the assistance of the Grace of God, consider "the matter better.

The Lady *Mary* dissatisfied with the Reformation.

The Protector writ to her. Collection Number 15.

Thus things went on, till the Parliament met, which was summoned to meet the fourth of *November*. The day before it met, the Protector gave too publick an instance how much his prosperous success had lifted him up. For by a Patent under the Great Seal, he was warranted to sit in Parliament on the Right Hand of the Throne under the Cloath of State; and was to have all the Honours and Priviledges that at any time any of the Unkles of the Kings of *England*, whether by the Fathers or Mothers side, had enjoyed; with a *Non obstante* to the Statute of Precedence. The Lord *Rich* had been made Lord Chancellor on the 24*th* of *October*; but whether the Protector, or he, opened the Parliament

The Parliament meets. *Novemb.* 3. *Rot. Pat.* 1. *Reg.* 7. *Part.*

by

1547. by any Speech, does not appear from the *Journal* of the Lords House. On the 10*th* of *Decemb.* a Bill was brought in for the repealing several Statutes. It was read the second time on the 12*th*, and the third time on the 16*th* day. On the 19*th* some Provisoes were added to it, and it was sent down to the Commons, who sent it up the 23*d* of *December*, to which the Royal Assent was given. The Commons had formed a new Bill for repealing these Statutes, which upon some Conferences they were willing to let fall; only some Provisoes were added to the old one; upon which, the Bishops of *London*, *Duresme*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, and *Chichester*, dissented. The Preamble of it sets forth, "That nothing made a Government happier than when the Prince governed with much clemency, and "the Subjects obeyed out of love. Yet the late King and some of his "Progenitors, being provoked by the unruliness of some of their People, had made severe Laws; but they judging it necessary now to recommend the Kings Government to the affections of the People, repealed all Laws that made any thing to be Treason, but what was in the "Act of 25 of *Edw.* the 3*d*, as also two of the Statutes about Lollardies, "together with the Act of the six Articles, and the other Acts that followed in explanation of that. All Acts in King *Henry* the 8*th*'s time "declaring any thing to be Felony that was not so declared before, were "also repealed, together with the Acts that made the Kings Proclamations "of equal Authority with Acts of Parliament. It was also Enacted, "That all who denied the Kings Supremacy, or asserted the Popes, in "words, should for the first offence forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and "suffer Imprisonment during pleasure; For the second offence should incur the Pain of *Præmunire*; and for the third offence be attainted of "Treason. But if any did in Writing, Printing, or by any overt Act or "Deed, endeavour to deprive the King of his Estate, or Titles, particularly of his Supremacy; or to confer them on any other, after the "first of *March* next, he was to be adjudged guilty of High Treason: "and if any of the Heirs of the Crown should usurp upon another, or "did endeavour to break the Succession of the Crown, it was declared "high Treason, in them, their Aiders and Abettors. And all were to enjoy "the Benefit of Clergy, and the Priviledge of Sanctuary, as they had it "before King *Henry* the 8*th*'s Reign; excepting only such as were guilty of Murder, Poisoning, Burglary, Robbing on the High-way, the "stealing of Cattel, or stealing out of Churches or Chappels. Poisoners "were to suffer as other Murderers. None were to be accused of Words, "but within a Month after they were spoken. And those who called the "*French* King by the Title of King of *France*, were not to be esteemed "guilty of the Pains of translating the Kings Authority, or Titles, on "any other. This Act was occasioned by a Speech that Arch-bishop *Cranmer* had in Convocation, in which he exhorted the Clergy to give themselves much to the study of the Scripture, and to consider seriously what things were in the Church that needed Reformation, that so they might throw out all the Popish trash, that was not yet cast out. Upon this some intimated to him, that as long as the six Articles stood in force, it was not safe for them to deliver their Opinions. This he reported to the Council, upon which they ordered this Act of Repeal. By it the Subjects were delivered from many fears they were under, and had good hopes of a mild Government, when in stead of procuring new severe

Decimo. 10.
19.
23. *D.c.*
An Act repealing former severe Laws.
In Ch. Coll. Camb. among *Parkers* Papers.

Law, the old ones were let fall. The Council did also free the Nation of the jealousies they might have of them by such an abridgment of their own Power. But others judged it had been more for the interest of the Government, to have kept up these Laws still in force, but to have restrained the execution of them. This Repeal drew on another, which was sent from the Commons on the 20*th* of *December*, and was agreed to by the Lords on the 21*st*. It was of an Act in the 28*th* year of the last King by which all Laws made while his Son was under 24 years of Age might be by his Letters Patents, after he attained that Age, annulled as if they had never been. Which they altered thus, That the King, after that Age, might by his Letters Patents void any Act of Parliament for the future; but could not so void it from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling of it, which were still to be lawful Deeds. 1547.

The next Bill of a publick nature was concerning the Sacrament. Which was brought in, and read the first time, on the 12*th* of *Novemb.* the second time on the 15*th*, and was twice read on the 17*th*. And on the 24*th* a Bill was brought in for the Communion to be received in both kinds; on the third of *December* it was read the second time, and given to the Protector; on the 5*th* read again, and given to two Judges; on the 7*th* it was read again, and joyned to the other Bill about the Sacrament. And on the 10*th* the whole Bill was agreed to by all the Peers, except the Bishops of *London*, *Hereford*, *Norwich*, *Worcester*, and *Chichester*, and sent down to the Commons. On the 17*th* a *Proviso* was sent after it, but was rejected by the Commons, since the Lords had not agreed to it. On the 20*th* it was sent up agreed to, and had afterwards the Royal Assent. "By it, first, the value of the Holy Sacrament, commonly called "*the Sacrament of the Altar*, and in the Scripture the *Supper* and *Table of* "*the Lord*, was set forth; together with its first Institution; but it having "been of late marvellously abused, some had been thereby brought to a "contempt of it, which they had expressed in Sermons, Discourses, and "Songs, (*in words not fit to be repeated*;) therefore whosoever should "so offend after the first of *May* next was to suffer Fine and Imprisonment at the Kings Pleasure; and the Justices of the Peace were to take "Information, and make Presentments of Persons so offending within "three Months after the offences so committed, allowing them Witnesses for their own purgation. And it being more agreeable to Christs first "Institution, and the practice of the Church for 500 years after Christ, "that the Sacrament should be given in both the kinds of Bread and "Wine, rather than in one kind only; Therefore it was Enacted, That it "should be commonly given in both kinds, except necessity did otherwise "require it. And it being also more agreeable to the first Institution, and "the primitive Practice, that the People should receive with the Priest, "than that the Priest should receive it alone; therefore the day before "every Sacrament, an Exhortation was to be made to the People, to "prepare themselves for it, in which the benefits and danger of worthy "and unworthy receiving were to be expressed, and the Priests were "not without a lawful cause to deny it to any who humbly askt "it.

Act about the Communion.

This was an Act of great consequence, since it reformed two abuses that had crept into the Church. The one was the denying the Cup to

Communion appointed in both kinds.

1547. the Laity, the other was the Priests communicating alone. In the first Institution it is plain, that as *Christ* bad all drink of the Cup, and his Disciples all drank of it, so St. *Paul* directed every one to *examine himself, that he might eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup.* From thence the Church for many Ages continued this practice: and the Superstition of some who received only in one kind was severely censured, and such were appointed either to receive the whole Sacrament or to abstain wholly. It continued thus till the belief of the Corporal Presence of Christ was set up; and then the keeping and carrying about the Cup in Processions, not being so easily done, some began to lay it aside. For a great while the Bread was given dipt in the Cup, to represent a bleeding Christ, as it is in the *Greek* Church to this day. In other Places the Laity had the Cup given them, but they were to suck it through Pipes that nothing of it should fall to the ground. But since they believed that Christ was in every crumb of Bread, it was thought needless to give the Sacrament in both kinds: So in the Council of *Constance* the Cup was ordered to be denied the Laity, though they acknowledged it to have been instituted and practised otherwise. To this the *Bohemians* would never submit; though to compel them to it much Blood was shed in this Quarrel. And now in the Reformation this was every where one of the first things with which the People were possessed, the opposition of the *Roman* Church herein to the Institution of Christ being so manifest.

And all private Masses put down.

At first this Sacrament was also understood to be a Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, of which many were to be partakers: while the fervor of devotion lasted, it was thought a scandalous and censurable thing if any had come unto the Christian Assemblies, and had not stayed to receive these Holy Mysteries: and the denying to give any one the Sacrament was accounted a very great punishment. So sensible were the Christians of their ill condition when they were hindred to participate of it. But afterwards the former Devotion slackening, the good Bishops in the *4th* and *5th Centuries* complained oft of it, that so few came to Receive: yet the Custom being to make Oblations before the Sacrament, out of which the Clergy had been maintained during the poverty of the Church, the Priests had a great mind to keep up the constant use of these Oblations; and so perswaded the Laity to continue them, and to come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it: and in process of time they were made to believe that the Priest received in behalf of the whole People. And whereas this Sacrament was the Commemoration of Christs Sacrifice on the Cross, and so by a Phrase of Speech was called a *Sacrifice*, they came afterwards to fancy that the Priests consecrating and consuming the Sacrament was an Action of it self expiatory, and that both for the Dead and the Living. And there rose an infinite number of several sorts of Masses; some were for commemorating the Saints, and those were called the Masses of such Saints; others for a particular Blessing, for Rain, Health, *&c.* and indeed for all the accidents of Humane Life where the addition or variation of a Collect made the difference: So that all that Trade of Massing was now removed. An Intimation was also made of Exhortations to be read in it, which they intended next to set about. These abuses in the Mass gave great advantages to those who intended to change it into a Communion. But many in stead of managing them prudently, made unseemly Jests

about them: and were carried by a lightneſs of temper to make Songs, and Plays, of the Maſs: for now the Preſs went quick, and many Books were printed this year about matters of Religion; the greateſt number of them being concerning the Maſs; which were not written in ſo decent and grave a ſtyle as the matter required. Againſt this Act only five Biſhops proteſted. Many of that Order were abſent from the Parliament, ſo the oppoſition made to it was not conſiderable. 1547

An Act about the Admiſſion of Biſhops.

The next Bill brought into the Houſe of Lords, was concerning the admiſſion of Biſhops to their Sees by the Kings Letters Patents. Which being read, was committed to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterburies* care on the fifth of *November*, and was read the ſecond time on the 10*th*, and committed to ſome of the Judges, and was read the third time on the 28*th* of *November*, and ſent down to the Commons on the 5*th* of *December*. There was alſo another Bill brought in, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the Biſhops Courts, on the 17*th* of *November*, and paſs'd, and ſent down on the 13*th* of *December*. But both theſe Bills were put in one, and ſent up by the Commons on the 20*th* of that Month, and aſſented to by the King. By this Act it was ſet forth, "That the way of "chooſing Biſhops by *Conge d'Eſlire* was tedious and expenceful, that "there was only a ſhadow of Election in it, and that therefore Biſhops "ſhould thereafter be made by the Kings Letters Patents, upon which "they were to be conſecrated: And whereas the Biſhops did exerciſe "their Authority, and carry on Proceſſes, in their own Names, as they "were wont to do in the time of Popery; and ſince all Juriſdiction "both Spiritual and Temporal was derived from the King, that therefore "their Courts and all Proceſſes ſhould be from henceforth carried on in "the Kings Name, and be ſealed by the Kings Seal, as it was in the other "Courts of Common-Law, after the firſt of *July* next; excepting only "the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury's* Courts, and all Collations, Preſentations, or Letters of Orders, which were to paſs under the Biſhops "proper Seals as formerly. Upon this Act great advantages were taken to diſparage the Reformation, as ſubjecting the Biſhops wholly to the pleaſure of the Court.

The ancient ways of electing Biſhops.

At firſt, Biſhops were choſen and ordained by the other Biſhops in the Countries where they lived. The Apoſtles, by that Spirit of diſcerning, which was one of the extraordinary gifts they were endued with, did ordain the firſt Fruits of their Labours; and never left the Election of Paſtors to the diſcretion of the People: Indeed when they were to ordain Deacons, who were to be truſted with the diſtribution of the publick Alms, they appointed ſuch as the People made choice of; but when St. *Paul* gave directions to *Timothy* and *Titus* about the choice of Paſtors, all that depended on the People by them was that they ſhould be *blameleſs* and *of good report*. But afterwards, the poverty of the Church being ſuch, that Church-men lived only by the free bounty of the People, it was neceſſary to conſider them much; ſo that in many Places the choice began among the People; and in all Places it was done by their approbation and good liking. But great diſorders followed upon this, as ſoon as by the Emperors turning Chriſtians, the Wealth of Church-benefices made the Paſtoral Charge more deſirable: and the vaſt numbers of thoſe who turned Chriſtians with the Tide, brought in great Multitudes to have their Votes in theſe Elections. The inconvenience of this was felt

1547. early in *Phrygia*, where the Council of *Laodicea* made a Canon against these Popular Elections. Yet in other parts of *Asia*, and at *Rome*, there were great and often Contests about it. In some of these many Men were killed. In many Places the inferior Clergy chose their Bishops. But in most Places the Bishops of the Province made the choice, yet so as to obtain the consent of the Clergy and People. The Emperors by their Laws made it necessary that it should be confirmed by the Metropolitans: They reserved the Elections of the great Sees to themselves, or at least the Confirmation of them. Thus it continued till *Charles* the Great's time. But then the nature of Church-employments came to be much altered. For though the Church had Predial Lands with the other Rights that belonged to them by the *Roman* Law, yet he first gave Bishops and Abbots great Territories, with some branches of Royal Jurisdiction in them, who held these Lands of him, according to the Fewdal Laws. This, as it carried Church-men off from the humility and abstraction from the World which became their Function, so it subjected them much to the Humours and Interests of those Princes on whom they had their dependance. The Popes, who had made themselves Heads of the Hierarchy, could not but be glad to see Church-men grow rich and powerful in the World; but they were not so well pleased to see them made so much the more dependent on their Princes: and no doubt by some of those Princes that were thus become Patrons of Churches, the Bishopricks were either given for Money, or charged with reserved Pensions. Upon this the Popes filled the World with the complaints of Simony, and of enslaving Church-men to court Interests; and so would not suffer them to accept of Investitures from their Princes; but set up for free Elections, as they called them, which they said were to be confirmed by the See-Apostolick. So the Canons Secular or Regular in Cathedral Churches were to choose the Bishops, and their Election was to be confirmed at *Rome*: yet Princes in most Places got some hold of those Elections, so that still they went as they had a mind they should. Which was oft complained of as a great slavery on the Church; and would have been more universally condemned, if the World had not been convinced that the matter would not be much the better, if there should have been set up either the Popular or Synodical Elections, in which Faction was like to sway all. King *Henry* had continued the old way of the Elections by the Clergy, but so, as that it seemed to be little more than a mockery; but now it was thought a more ingenuous way of proceeding, to have the thing done directly by the King, rather than under the thin covert of an involuntary Election.

For the other Branch about Ecclesiastical Courts, The Causes before them concerning Wills and Marriages, being matters of a mixed nature, and which only belong to these by the Laws of the Land, and being no parts of the Sacred Functions; it was thought no Invasion of the Sacred Offices to have these tried in the Kings Name. But the Collation of Benefices, and giving of Orders, which are the chief parts of the Episcopal Function, were to be performed still by the Bishops in their own Names. Only Excommunication, by a fatal neglect, continued to be the punishment for contempts of these Courts; which belonging only to the Spiritual Cognisance, ought to have been reserved for the Bishop with the assistance of his Clergy. But the Canonists had so confounded all

the Ancient Rules about the Government of the Church, that the Reformers being called away by Considerations that were more obvious and pressing, there was not that care taken in this that the thing required. And these errors or oversights in the first concoction have by a continuance grown since into so formed a strength, that it is easier to see what is amiss, than to know how to rectifie it. 1547.

On the 29*th* of *November* the Bill against Vagabonds was brought in. By this it was Enacted, "That all that should any where loiter without "work, or without offering themselves to work, three days together; or "that should run away from work, and resolve to live idly, should be seized "on, and whosoever should present them to a Justice of Peace, was to have "them adjudged to be his Slaves for two years; and they were to be mark-"ed with the Letter *V.* imprinted with a hot Iron on their Breast. A great many Provisoes follow concerning Clerks so convict, which shew that this Act was chiefly levelled at the idle Monks and Friars, who went about the Country, and would betake themselves to no employment; but finding the People apt to have compassion on them, they continued in that course of life. Which was of very ill consequence to the State. For these Vagrants did every where alienate the Peoples Minds from the Government, and perswaded them that things would never be well setled, till they were again restored to their Houses. Some of these came often to *London*, on pretence of suing for their Pensions; but really to practise up and down through the Country: To prevent this, there was a Proclamation set out on the 18*th* of *September*, requiring them to stay in the Places where they lived, and to send up a Certificate where they were, to the Court of *Augmentations*; who should thereupon give order for their constant payment. Some thought this Law against Vagabonds was too severe, and contrary to that common liberty, of which the *English* Nation has been always very sensible, both in their own, and their Neighbours particulars. Yet it could not be denied but extream Diseases required extream Remedies: and perhaps there is no punishment too severe for Persons that are in health, and yet prefer a loitering course of life to an honest employment. There followed in the Act many excellent Rules for providing for the truly poor and indigent in the several Places where they were born, and had their abode. Of which this can only be said, That as no Nation has laid down more effectual Rules for the supplying the Poor, than *England*, so that indeed none can be in absolute want; so the neglect of these Laws is a just and great reproach on those who are charged with the execution of them, when such numbers of poor Vagabonds swarm every where without the due restraints that the Laws have appointed.

An Act against Vagabonds.

On the 6*th* of *December* the Bill for giving the Chantries to the King was brought into the House of Lords. It was read the second time on the 12*th*, the third time on the 13*th*, and the fourth time on the 14*th* of that Month. It was much opposed, both by *Cranmer* on the one hand, and the Popish Bishops on the other. The late Kings Executors saw they could not pay his Debts, nor satisfie themselves in their own pretensions formerly mentioned, out of the Kings Revenue; and so intended to have these to be divided among them. *Cranmer* opposed it long. For the Clergy being much empoverished by the Sale of the impropriated Tithes, that ought in all reason to have return'd into the Church, but

An Act giving the Chantries to the King.

upon

1547. upon the dissolution of the Abbies were all sold among the Laity; he saw no probable way remaining for their supply, but to save these Endowments till the King were of Age, being confident he was so piously disposed, that they should easily perswade him to convert them all to the bettering of the Condition of the poor Clergy that were now brought into extream misery. And therefore he was for reforming and preserving these Foundations, till the Kings full Age. The Popish Bishops liked these Endowments so well, that upon far different Motives, they were for continuing them in the state they were in. But those who were to gain by it were so many that the Act passed; the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Duresme*, *Ely*, *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*, and *Chichester*, dissenting. So it being sent down to the House of Commons, was there much opposed by some Burgesses; who represented that the Boroughs, for which they served, could not maintain their Churches, and other publick Works of the Guilds and Fraternities, if the Rents belonging to them were given to the King, for these were likewise in the Act. This was chiefly done by the Burgesses of *Linn*, and *Coventry*; who were so active, that the whole House was much set against that part of the Bill for the Guild-Lands. Therefore those who managed that House for the Court, took these off by an assurance that their Guild-Lands should be restored to them. And so they desisted from their opposition, and the Bill passed on the promise given to them, which was afterwards made good by the Protector. In the Preamble of the Act it is set forth, "That the great superstition of Christians, rising out of "their ignorance of the true way of Salvation by the death of Christ, "in stead of which they had set up the vain conceits of Purgatory, and "Masses satisfactory, was much supported by Trentals and Chantries. "And since the converting these to godly uses, such as the endowing of "Schools, Provisions for the Poor, and the augmenting of Places in the "Universities, could not be done by Parliament; they therefore com-"mitted it to the care of the King. And then reciting the Act made in "the 37*th* year of his Fathers Reign, they give the King all such Chan-"tries, Colledges, and Chappels, as were not possessed by the late King, "and all that had been in being any time these five years last past: as "also all Revenues belonging to any Church, for Anniversaries, Obits, "and Lights; together with all Guild-Lands, which any Fraternity of "Men enjoyed, for Obits, or the like: and appoint these to be convert-"ed to the maintenance of Gramar-Schools, or Preachers, and for the "encrease of Vicarages. After this followed the Act giving the King the Customs known by the Name of Tonnage and Poundage, besides some other Laws, of Matters that are not needful to be remembred in this History. Last of all came the Kings general Pardon; with the common mon Exceptions, among which, one was of these who were then Prisoners in the Tower of *London*, in which the Duke of *Norfolk* was included. So all business being ended, the Parliament was Prorogued from the 24*th* of *December* to the 20*th* of *April* following.

Acts that were proposed but not carried.

But having given this account of these Bills that were passed, I shall not esteem it an unfruitful piece of History to shew what other Bills were designed. There were put into the House of Lords, two Bills that were stifled. The one was, for the use of the Scriptures, which came not to a second reading. The other was a Bill for erecting a new Court of

Chancery

Chancery for Ecclesiastical and Civil Causes, which was committed to some Bishops and Temporal Lords, but never more mentioned. The Commons sent up also some Bills, which the Lords did not agree to. One was about Benefices with Cure, and Residence. It was committed, but never reported. Another was for the Reformation of divers Laws, and of the Courts of Common-Law; and a third was, that married Men might be Priests, and have Benefices. To this the Commons did so readily agree, that it being put in on the 19*th* of *December*, and read then for the first time, it was read twice the next day, and sent up to the Lords on the 21*st*. But being read there once, it was like to have raised such debates, that, it being resolved to end the Session before *Christmas*, the Lords laid it aside. 1547.

The Convocation meets.

But while the Parliament was sitting, they were not idle in the Convocation; though the Popish Party was yet so prevalent in both Houses, that *Cranmer* had no hopes of doing any thing, till they were freed of the trouble which some of the great Bishops gave them. The most important thing they did, was the carrying up four Petitions to the Bishops, which will be found in the *Collection*. 1. That according to the Statute made in the Reign of the late King there might be Persons empow'red for reforming the Ecclesiastical Laws. The second, That according to the ancient Custom of the Nation, and the Tenor of the Bishops Writ to the Parliament, the inferior Clergy might be admitted again to sit in the House of Commons, or that no Acts concerning matters of Religion might pass without the sight and assent of the Clergy. The third, That since divers Prelates, and other Divines, had been in the late Kings time appointed to alter the Service of the Church; and had made some progress in it, that this might be brought to its full perfection. The fourth, That some consideration might be had for the maintenance of the Clergy, the first year they came into their Livings, in which they were charged with the First-fruits; to which they added, a desire to know whether they might safely speak their minds about Religion, without the danger of any Law. For the first of these four Petitions, an account of it shall be given hereafter. As to the second it was a thing of great consequence, and deserves to be farther considered in this place.

The lower House made some Petitions. Number 16.

Anciently, all the free Men of *England*, or at least those that held of the Crown *in chief*, came to Parliament; and then the inferior Clergy had Writs as well as the Superior, and the first of the three Estates of the Kingdom were the Bishops, the other Prelates and the Inferior Clergy. But when the Parliament was divided into two Houses, then the Clergy made likewise a Body of their own, and sate in Convocation, which was the third Estate. But the Bishops having a double capacity, the one of Ecclesiastical Prelature, the other of being the Kings Barons, they had a Right to sit with the Lords as a part of their Estate, as well as in the Convocation. And though by parity of reason it might seem that the rest of the Clergy, being Freeholders as well as Clarks, had an equal Right to choose, or be chosen, into the House of Commons; yet whether they were ever in possession of it, or whether according to the Clause *Premonentes* in the Bishops Writ, they were ever a part of the House of Commons, is a just doubt. For besides this assertion in the Petition that was mentioned, and a more large one in the second Petition, which they presented to the same purpose, which is likewise in the *Collection*, I have Number 17.

The Inferior Clergy desire to be admited to have Representatives in the House of Commons.

never

1547. never met with any good reaſon to ſatisfie me in it. There was a general Tradition in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, that the Inferior Clergy departed from their Right of being in the Houſe of Commons; when they were all brought into the *Præmunire* upon Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Legatine Power, and made their ſubmiſſion to the King. But that is not credible: for as there is no footſtep of it, which in a time of ſo much writing and printing muſt have remained, if ſo great a change had been then made; ſo it cannot be thought, that thoſe who made this Addreſs but 17 years after that Submiſſion, (many being alive in this, who were of that Convocation, *Polidore Virgil* in particular, a curious obſerver ſince he was maintained here to write the Hiſtory of *England*) none of them ſhould have remembred a thing that was ſo freſh, but have appealed to Writs and ancient Practiſes. But though this deſign of bringing the Inferior Clergy into the Houſe of Commons did not take at this time, yet it was again ſet on foot, in the end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and Reaſons were offered to perſwade her to ſet it forward. Which not being then ſucceſsful, theſe ſame Reaſons were again offered to King *James*, to induce him to endeavour it. The Paper that diſcovers this was communicated to me by Dr. *Borlace* the Worthy Author of the Hiſtory of the *Iriſh* Rebellion. It is corrected in many places by the Hand of Biſhop *Ravis*, then Biſhop of *London*, a Man of great Worth. This, for the affinity of the matter, and the curioſity of the thing, I have put into

Number 18. the *Collection*, with a large Marginal Note, as it was deſigned to be tranſcribed for King *James*. But whether this Matter was ever much conſidered, or lightly laid aſide, as a thing unfit and unpracticable, does not appear; certain it is, that it came to nothing. Upon the whole matter it is not certain what was the Power or Right of theſe Proctors of the Clergy in former times: Some are of opinion, that they were only aſſi-

Coke 4. *Inſt.* 3. 4 ſtants to the Biſhops, but had no Voice in either Houſe of Parliament. This is much confirmed by an Act paſs'd in the Parliament of *Ireland*, in the 28*th* Year of the former Reign, which ſets forth in the Preamble, " That though the Proctors of the Clergy were always ſummoned to " Parliament, yet they were no part of it; nor had they any right to " Vote in it, but were only Aſſiſtants in caſe Matters of Controverſie or " Learning came before them, as the Convocation was in *England*, " which had been determined by the Judges of *England* after much en- " quiry made about it. But the Proctors were then pretending to ſo " high an Authority, that nothing could paſs without their conſents; " and it was preſumed they were ſet on to it by the Biſhops, whoſe " Chaplains they were for the moſt part. Therefore they were by that " Act declared to have no right to Vote.

From this ſome infer, they were no other in *England*, and that they were only the Biſhops Aſſiſtants and Council. But as the Clauſe *Premonentes* in the Writ, ſeems to make them a part of the Parliament; ſo theſe Petitions ſuppoſe that they ſate in the Houſe of Commons anciently, where it cannot be imagined they could ſit, if they came only to be Aſſiſtants to the Biſhops, for then they muſt have ſate in the Houſe of Lords rather; as the Judges, the Maſters of *Chancery*, and the Kings Council do. Nor is it reaſonable to think they had no Voice: for then their ſitting in Parliament had been ſo inſignificant a thing, that it is not likely they would have uſed ſuch endeavours to be reſtored to it ſince

their

their coming to Parliament, upon ſuch an account muſt have been only a charge to them. 1547.

There is againſt this Opinion an Objection of great force from the Acts paſs'd in the 21ſt Year of *Richard* the ſecond's Reign. In the ſecond Act of that Parliament it is ſaid, "That it was firſt prayed by the "Commons, and that the Lords Spiritual, and the Proctors of the Cler- "gy, did aſſent to it, upon which the King, by the aſſent of all the "Lords and Commons, did enact it. The 12*th* Act of that Parliament was a Repeal of the whole Parliament that was held in the 11*th* Year of that Reign; and concerning it, it is expreſſed, "That the Lords Spiri- "tual and Temporal, the Proctors of the Clergy, and the Commons, "being ſeverally examined, did all agree to it. From hence it appears, that theſe Proctors were then not only a part of the Parliament, but were a diſtinct Body of Men that did ſeverally from all the reſt deliver their Opinions. It may ſeem ſtrange, that if they were then conſidered as a part of either Houſe of Parliament, this ſhould be the only time in which they ſhould be mentioned as bearing their ſhare in the Legiſlative Power. In a matter that is ſo perplexed and dark, I ſhall preſume to offer a Conjecture which will not appear perhaps improbable. In the 129*th* Page of the former part, I gave the Reaſons that made me think the lower Houſe of Convocation conſiſted at firſt only of the Proctors of the Clergy. So that by the Proctors of the Clergy, both in the Statute of *Ireland*, and in thoſe made by *Richard* the ſecond, is perhaps to be underſtood the lower Houſe of Convocation: and it is not unreaſonable to think, that upon ſo great an occaſion as the annulling a whole Parliament, to make it paſs the better, in an Age in which the People payed ſo blind a Submiſſion to the Clergy, the concurrence of the whole Repreſentative of the Church might have been thought neceſſary. It is generally believed, that the whole Parliament ſate together in one Houſe before *Edward* the thirds time, and then the Inferior Clergy were a part of that Body without queſtion. But when the Lords and Commons ſate a-part, the Clergy likewiſe ſate in two Houſes, and granted Subſidies as well as the Temporalty. It may paſs for no unlikely conjecture that the Clauſe *Premonentes* was firſt put in the Biſhops Writ for the ſummoning of the lower Houſe of Convocation, conſiſting of theſe Proctors, and afterwards, though there was a ſpecial Writ for the Convocation, yet this might at firſt have been continued in the Biſhops Writ by the neglect of a Clark, and from thence be ſtill uſed. So that it ſeems to me moſt probable, that the Proctors of the Clergy were both in *England* and *Ireland* the lower Houſe of Convocation. Now before the Submiſſion which the Clergy made to King *Henry*, as the Convocation gave the King great Subſidies, ſo the whole buſineſs of Religion lay within their Sphere. But after the Submiſſion they were cut off from medling with it, except as they were authorized by the King. So that having now ſo little power left them, it is no wonder they deſired to be put in the ſtate they had been in before the Convocation was ſeparated from the Parliament: or at leaſt that Matters of Religion ſhould not be determined till they had been conſulted, and had reported their Opinions and Reaſons. The Extreme of raiſing the Eccleſiaſtical Power too high in the Times of Popery, had now produced another of depreſſing it too much. For ſeldom is the Counterpoiſe

1547. so justly ballanced, that Extremes are reduced to a well-tempered Mediocrity.

For the third Petition, it was resolved that many Bishops and Divines should be sent to *Windsor* to labour in the Matter of the Church-Service. But that required so much consideration, that they could not enter on it during a Session of Parliament. And for the fourth, what Answer was given to it doth not appear.

On the 29*th* of *November* a Declaration was sent down from the Bishops concerning the Sacraments being to be received in both kinds. To which, *Jo. Tyler* the *Prolocutor*, and several others set their Hands; and being again brought before them, it was agreed to by all without a contradictory Vote: 64 being present, among whom I find *Polidore Virgil* was one. And on the 17*th* of *December* the Proposition concerning the Marriage of the Clergy was also sent to them, and subscribed, by 35 affirmatively, and by 14 negatively: so it was ordered, that a Bill should be drawn concerning it. I shall not here digress to give an account of what was alledged for, or against this, reserving that to its proper place, when the thing was finally setled.

And this is all the account I could recover of this Convocation. I have chiefly gathered it from some Notes, and other Papers, of the then Dr. *Parker*, (afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) which are carefully preserved with his other *MSS.* in *Corpus Christi Colledge* Library, at *Cambridge*. To which Library I had free access by the favour of the most learned Master Dr. *Spencer*, with the other Worthy Fellows of that House: and from thence I collected many remarkable things in this History.

The Parliament being brought to so good a Conclusion, the Protector took out a new Commission, in which all the Addition that is made to that Authority he formerly had is, that in his absence he is empow'red to substitute another to whom he might delegate his Power.

The state of Affairs in *Germany*. And thus this Year ended in *England*, but as they were carrying on the Reformation here, it was declining apace in *Germany*. The Duke of *Saxe* and the Landgrave were this Year to command their Armies apart. The Duke of *Saxe* kept within his own Country, but having there unfortunately divided his Forces, the Emperor overtook him near the *Alb* at *Mulberg*; where the Emperors Soldiers crossing the River, and pursuing him with great fury, after some resistance, in which he himself performed all that could be expected from so great a Captain, was taken Prisoner, and his Country all possessed by *Maurice*, who was now to be invested with the Electoral Dignity. He bore his misfortunes with a greatness and equality of mind that is scarce to be paralleld in History. Neither could the insolence with which the Emperor treated him, nor the fears of death to which he adjudged him; nor that tedious imprisonment which he suffered so long, ever shake or disorder a Mind that was raised so far above the inconstancies of Humane Affairs. And though he was forced to submit to the hardest Conditions possible, of renouncing his Dignity and Dominions, some few Places being only reserved for his Family; yet no Entreaties nor Fears could ever bring him to yield any thing in Matters of Religion. He made the Bible his chief Companion and Comfort in his sharp Afflictions; which he bore so, as if he

1547. *Apr.* 24. Duke of *Saxe* taken.

he had been raiſed up to that end, to let the World ſee how much he was above it. It ſeemed unimitable; and therefore engaged *Thuanus*, with the other excellent Writers of that Age, to ſet it out with all the advantages that ſo unuſual a temper of mind deſerved. Yet had thoſe Writers lived in our Age, and ſeen a great King, not overpow'red by a Superior Prince, but by the meaneſt of his own People, and treated with equal degrees of malice and ſcorn, and at laſt put to death openly, with the Pageantry of Juſtice; and yet bearing all this with ſuch invincible Patience, Heroical Courage, and moſt Chriſtian Submiſſion to God, they had yet found a nobler Subject for their Eloquent Pens: but he ſaved the World the labour of giving a juſt Repreſentation of his behaviour in his Sufferings, having left his own Portraiture drawn by himſelf in ſuch lively and laſting Colours. 1547.

The Landgrave of *Heſſe* ſaw he could not long withſtand the Emperors Army, now ſo lifted up with ſucceſs; and therefore was willing to ſubmit to him on the beſt terms that his Sons-in-law the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and *Maurice* of *Saxe*, could obtain for him. Which were very hard, only he was to enjoy his Liberty, without any Impriſonment, and to preſerve his Dominions. But the Emperors Miniſters dealt moſt unfaithfully with him in this: For in the *German* Language there was but one Letters difference, and that only inverted, between perpetual Impriſonment, and any Impriſonment, (*Ewig* for *Emig*) ſo by this baſe Artifice, he was, when he came and ſubmitted to the Emperor, detained a Priſoner. He had not the Duke of *Saxes* temper, but was out of meaſure impatient, and did exclaim of his ill uſage: but there was no remedy, for the Emperor was now abſolute. All the Towns of *Germany*, *Magdeburg* and *Breme* only excepted, ſubmitted to him, and redeem'd his favour by great Sums of Money, and many Pieces of Ordnance. And the *Bohemians* were alſo forced to implore his Brothers mercy, who before he would receive them into his Hands, got his Revenue to be raiſed vaſtly. And now the Empire was wholly at the Emperors mercy. Nothing could withſtand him who had in one year turned out two Electors. For *Herman* Biſhop of *Colen*, as he was before condemned by the Pope, ſo was alſo degraded from that Dignity by the Emperor; and *Adolph*, whom he had procured to be made his *Coadjutor*, was declared Elector. Many of his Subjects and Neighbour Princes offered their Service, if he would ſtand to his own defence; but he was very old, and of ſo meek a temper, that he would ſuffer no Blood to be ſhed on his account; and therefore withdrew peaceably to a retirement in which he lived four years till his death. His Brother that was Biſhop of *Munſter* and Dean of *Bonne*, who had gone along with him in his Reformation, was alſo turned out; and *Gropper* was made Dean, who was eſteemed one of the learnedeſt and beſt Men of the Clergy at this time. He is ſaid to have expreſſed a generous contempt of the higheſt Dignity the See of *Rome* could beſtow on him, for he refuſed a Cardinals Hat when it was offered him: yet in this matter he had not behaved himſelf as became ſo good a Man, and ſo Learned a Divine. For he had conſented to the Changes had been made, and was in a correſpondence with *Martin Bucer*, whom *Herman* brought to *Colen*: (as will appear by an excellent Letter of *Bucers* to him, which will be found in the *Collection* concerning that matter) by which it is plain he went along with them from the beginning. But it ſeems

1545. *Apr* 16. *Herman* excommunicated at *Rome*.

Nov. 4. *Herman* reſigned.

Number 19.

1547. feems he did it covertly and fearfully, and was afterwards drawn off, either by the love of the World, or the fears of the Cross; of which it appears *Bucer* had then some apprehensions, though he expressed them very modestly. *Groppers* Memory being in such high esteem, and this Letter being found among *Bucers* Papers, I thought the publishing of it would not be unacceptable, though it be of a Forreign Matter.

Germany being thus under the Power and Dread of the Emperor, a *Diet* was summoned to *Ausburg*: Where the chief Church was taken from the Protestants, and put into the Cardinal of *Ausburg*'s Hands, to have the Mass set up again in it, though the Town was so much Protestant that they could find none that would come to it, but some poor People who were hired. The Emperor, among other Propositions he put in to the *Diet*, pressed this, That all differences in Religion, which had so distracted *Germany*, might be removed. The Ecclesiastical Princes answered, That the only way to effect that, was to submit to the General Council that was at *Trent*: Those that were for the *Ausburg* Confession, said, they could submit to no Council where the Pope Presided, and where the Bishops were sworn to obey him; but would submit to it, if that Oath was dispensed with, and their Divines admitted to defend their Opinions, and all the Decrees that had been made were again considered. In this difference of Opinion, the Emperor thought that if the whole matter should be left to his discretion, to which all should be bound to submit, he would then be able to determine it as he pleased. So he dealt privately with the Electors *Palatine*, and *Saxe*; and as they published it afterwards, gave them secret assurances about the freedom of their Religion, and that he only desired this to put him in a capacity of dealing on other terms with the Pope. Upon which, they consented to a Decree, referring the Matter of Religion wholly to his care. But the Deputies from the Cities, who looked on this as a giving up of their Religion, could not be wrought to do it, without Conditions, which they put into another Writing, as explanatory of the Submission: But the Emperor took no notice of that, and only thanked them for their confidence in him, and so the Decree was published. All this was in some sort necessary for the Emperor, who was then in very ill terms with the Pope about the business of *Placenzia*. For the Popes Natural Son *Petrus Aloisius* being killed by a Conspiracy, the Governour of *Millain* had seized on *Placenzia*, which made the Pope believe the Emperour was accessary to it: for which the Reader is referred to the *Italian* Historians. The Pope saw the Emperor in one Summer delivered of a War, which he had hoped would have entangled him his whole life; and though in decency he could not but seem to rejoyce, and did so no doubt, at the ruine of those whom he called Hereticks, yet he was not a little grieved to see the Emperor so much exalted.

1547. *Sept.* 10. *Petrus Aloisius* killed.

The Proceedings at *Trent*.

At *Trent* the Legates had been oft threatned and affronted by the Emperors Ambassadors and Bishops who were much set on reforming abuses, and lessening the Power of the *See* of *Rome*. So they had a mind to break up the Council; but that would have been so scandalous a thing, and so resented by the Emperor, that they resolved rather on a Translation into some Town of the Popes, to which it was not likely the Imperialists would follow them, and so at least the Council would be suspended, if not dissolved. For this Remove, they laid hold on the first colour

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lour they could find. One dying of a malignant Feaver, it was given out and certified by Physicians, that he died of the Plague; so in all hast they translated the Council to *Bologna*. The Imperialists protested against it; but in vain, for thither they went. The Emperor was hereby quite disappointed of his chief design, which was to force the *Germans* to submit to a Council held in *Germany*: and therefore no Plague appearing at *Trent*, he pressed the return of the Council thither. But the Pope said, it was the Councils act, and not his; and that their Honour was to be kept up; that therefore such as stayed at *Trent* were to go first to *Bologna*, and acknowledge the Council, and they should then consider what was to be done. So that now all the hope the *Germans* had, was, that this difference between the Pope and Emperor might give them some breathing; and time might bring them out of these extremities into which they were then driven. Upon these disorders the Forreign Reformers, who generally made *Germany* their Sanctuary, were now forced to seek it elsewhere. So *Peter Martyr*, in the end of *November* this Year, was brought over to *England*, by the Invitation which the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* sent him in the Kings Name. He was born in *Florence*, where he had been an *Augustinian*-Monk. He was learned in the *Greek*, and the *Hebrew*, which drew on him the envy of the rest of his Order, whose Manners he inveighed oft against. So he left them, and went to *Naples*, where he gathered an Assembly of those who loved to Worship God more purely. This being made known, he was forced to leave that Place, and went next to *Lucca*, where he lived in society with *Tremellius* and *Zanchius*. But being also in danger there, he went to *Zurick* with *Bernardinus Ochinus*, that had been one of the most celebrated Preachers of *Italy*, and now forsook his former Superstitions. From *Zurick* he went to *Basil*; and from thence by *Martin Bucers* means he was brought to *Strasburg*; where *Cranmers* Letter found both him and *Ochinus*. The Latter was made a Canon of *Canterbury*, with a Dispensation of Residence; and by other Letters Patents 40 Marks were given yearly to him, and as much to *Peter Martyr*.

1547.

Apr. 21. The first Session of *Bologna*.

There had been this Year some differences between the *English* and *French* concerning the Fortifications about *Bulloigne*. The *English* were raising a great Fort by the Harbour there. This being signified to King *Henry* by *Gaspar Coligny*, afterwards the famous Admiral of *France*, then Governour of the neighbouring Parts to *Bulloigne*; it was complained of at the Court of *England*. It was answered, That this was only to make the Harbour more secure, and so the Works were ordered to be vigorously carried on. But this could not satisfie the *French*, who plainly saw it was of another sort than to be intended only for the Sea. The King of *France* came and viewed the Country himself, and ordered *Coligny* to raise a Fort on a high Ground near it, which was called the *Chastilion* Fort, and commanded both the *English* Fort and the Harbour. But the Protector had no mind to give the *French* a colour for breaking with the *English*; so there was a Truce and further Cessation agreed on, in the end of *September*. These are all the considerable Forreign Transactions of this Year, in which *England* was concerned. But there was a secret contrivance laid at home of a high nature, which though it broke not out till the next Year, yet the beginnings of it did now appear.

The *French* quarrel about *Bulloigne*.

The

1547. The Breach between the Protector and the Admiral.

The Protectors Brother, *Thomas Seimour*, was brought to such a share in his Fortunes, that he was made a Baron, and Lord Admiral. But this not satisfying his ambition, he endeavoured to have linked himself into a nearer relation with the Crown, by marrying the Kings Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*. But finding he could not compass that, he made his Addresses to the Queen Dowager. Who enjoying now the Honour and Wealth the late King had left her, resolved to satisfie her self in her next Choice; and entertained him a little too early, for they were married so soon after the Kings death, that it was charged afterwards on the Admiral, that if she had brought a Child as soon as might have been after the Marriage, it had given cause to doubt whether it had not been by the late King: which might have raised great disturbance afterwards. But being thus married to the Queen, he concealed it for some time, till he procured a Letter from the King, recommending him to her for a Husband: upon which they declared their Marriage, with which the Protector was much offended. Being thus possessed of great Wealth, and being Husband to the Queen Dowager, he studied to engage all that were about the King to be his Friends: and he corrupted some of them by his Presents, and forced one on Sir *John Check*. That which he designed, was, That whereas in former times, the Infant Kings of *England* had had Governours of their Persons, distinct from the Protectors of their Realms; which Trusts were divided between their Unkles; it being judged too much to joyn both in one Person, who was thereby too great, whereas a Governour of the Kings Person might be a check on the Protector; he would therefore himself be made Governour of the Kings Person, alledging, that since he was the Kings Unkle as well as his Brother, he ought to have a proportioned share with him in the Government. About *Easter* this Year he first set about this design; and corrupted some about the King who should bring him sometimes privately through the Gallery to the Queens Lodgings, and he desired they would let him know when the King had occasion for Money, and that they should not always trouble the Treasury, for he would be ready to furnish him, and he thought a young King might be taken with this. So it happened that the first time *Latimer* preached at Court, the King sent to him to know what Present he should make him: *Seimour* sent him 40 *l.* but said he thought 20 enough to give *Latimer*, and the King might dispose of the rest as he pleased. Thus he gained ground with the King, whose sweet nature exposed him to be easily won by such Artifices.

It is generally said, that all this difference between the Brothers was begun by their Wives; and that the Protectors Lady, being offended that the younger Brothers Wife had the precedence of her, which she thought belonged to her self, did thereupon raise and inflame the differences. But in all the Letters that I have seen concerning this Breach, I could never find any such thing once mentioned. Nor is it reasonable to imagine that the Dutchess of *Somerset* should be so foolish as to think that she ought to have the precedence of the Queen Dowager. Therefore I look upon this Story as a meer Fiction, though it is probable enough there might upon some other accounts have been some Animosities between the two high-spirited Ladies, which might have afterwards be thought to have occasioned their Husbands quarrel.

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It is plain in the whole thread of this Affair, that the Protector was at first very easie to be reconciled to his Brother; and was only assaulted by him, but bore the trouble he gave him with much patience for a great while, though in the end, seeing his factious temper was incurable, he laid off Nature too much, when he consented to his Execution. Yet all along till then, he had rather too much encouraged his Brother to go on, by his readiness to be after every breach reconciled to him. When the Protector was in *Scotland*, the Admiral then began to act more avowedly, and was making a Party for himself; of which *Paget* took notice, and charged him with it in plain terms. He asked him, why he would go about to reverse that, which himself and others had consented to under their Hands? Their Family was now so great, that nothing but their mutual quarrelling could do them any prejudice: But there would not be wanting officious Men to inflame them, if they once divided among themselves; and the Breaches among near Friends commonly turn to the most irreconcilable Quarrels. Yet all was ineffectual; for the Admiral was resolved to go on, and either get himself advanced higher, or to perish in the Attempt. It was the knowledge of this which forced the Protector to return from *Scotland* so abruptly and disadvantageously, for the securing of his Interest with the King, on whom his Brothers Artifices had made some impression. Whether there was any reconciliation made between them before the Parliament met, is not certain. But during the Session, the Admiral got the King to write with his own Hand a Message to the House of Commons, for the making of him the Governour of his Person; and he intended to have gone with it to the House, and had a Party there, by whose means he was confident to have carried his business. He dealt also with many of the Lords and Counsellors to assist him in it. When this was known, before he had gone with it to the House, some were sent to him in his Brothers Name to see if they could prevail with him to proceed no further. He refused to hearken to them, and said, That if he were cross'd in his attempt, he would make this the blackest Parliament that ever was in *England*. Upon that, he was sent for by Order from the Council, but refused to come. Then they threatned him severely, and told him the Kings Writing was nothing in Law, but that he who had procured it, was punishable for doing an Act of such a nature, to the disturbance of the Government, and for engaging the young King in it. So they resolved to have sent him to the Tower, and to have turned him out of all his Offices. But he submitted himself to the Protector and Council: and his Brother and he seemed to be perfectly reconciled. Yet as the Protector had reason to have a watchful Eye over him, so it was too soon visible that he had not laid down, but only put off his high Projects, till a fitter conjuncture. For he began the next *Christmas* to deal Money again among the Kings Servants, and was on all occasions infusing into the King a dislike of every thing that was done, and did often perswade him to assume the Government himself. But the sequel of this Quarrel proved fatal to him, as shall be told in its proper place. And thus ended the Year 1547. 1547.

On the 8*th* of *Jan.* next year *Gardiner* was brought before the Council. 1548.
Where it was told him, that his former Offences being included in the Kings general Pardon, he was thereupon discharged; a grave admonition was *Jan.* 8.
given

1548. given him to carry himself reverently and obediently, and he was desired to declare whether he would receive the *Injunctions* and *Homilies*, and the Doctrine to be set forth from time to time by the King and Clergy of the Realm. He answered, he would conform himself as the other Bishops did, and only excepted to the *Homily* of *Justification*, and desired four or five days to consider of it. What he did at the end of that time does not appear from the Council-Book, no farther mention being made of this matter; for the Clerks of Council did not then enter every thing with that exactness that is since used. He went home to his Diocess, where there still appeared in his whole behaviour great malignity to *Cranmer*, and to all motions for Reformation; yet he gave such outward compliance, that it was not easie to find any advantage against him, especially now since the Councils great Power was so much abridged.

The Marquess of *Northampton* sues a Divorce for Adultery.

In the end of *Jan.* the Council made an Order concerning the Marquess of *Northampton*, which will oblige me to look back a little for the clear account of it. This Lord, who was Brother to the Queen Dowager, had married *Anne Bourchier*, Daughter to the Earl of *Essex*, the last of that Name. But she being convicted of Adultery, he was divorced from her; which according to the Law of the Ecclesiastical Courts was only a separation from Bed and Board. Upon which Divorce, it was proposed in King *Henry's* time to consider what might be done in favour of the Innocent Person, when the other was convicted of Adultery. So in the beginning of King *Edward's* Reign, on the *7th* of *May*, a Commission was granted to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Duresme* and *Rochester*, (this was *Holbeack*, who was not then translated to *Lincoln*) to Dr. *Ridley*, and six more, ten in all, of whom six were a *Quorum*, to try whether the Lady *Anne* was not by the Word of God so lawfully divorced, that she was no more his Wife, and whether thereupon he might not marry another Wife. This being a new Case, and of great importance, *Cranmer* resolved to examine it with his ordinary diligence, and searched into the Opinions of the Fathers aud Doctors, so copiously, that his *Collections* about it grew into a large Book, (the Original whereof I have perused;) the greatest part of it being either written, or marked, and interlined, with his own Hand. This required a longer time, than the Marquess of *Northampton* could stay; and therefore presuming on his great Power, without waiting for Judgment, he solemnly married *Eliz.* Daughter to *Brooke* Lord *Cobham*. On the *28th* of *Jan.* Information was brought to the Council of this, which gave great scandal, since his first Marriage stood yet firm in Law. So he being put to answer for himself, said, he thought that by the Word of God he was discharged of his tie to his former Wife; and the making Marriages indissoluble was but a part of the Popish Law, by which it was reckoned a Sacrament; and yet the Popes, knowing that the World would not easily come under such a Yoke, had by the help of the *Canonists* invented such distinctions, that it was no uneasie thing to make a Marriage void among them: and that the condition of this Church was very hard, if upon Adulteries, the Innocent must either live with the Guilty, or be exposed to temptations to the like sins, if a separation was only allowed, but the bond of the Marriage continued undissolved. But since he had proceeded so far before the Delegates had given sentence, it was Ordered, that he and his new Wife should be parted; and

Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet.

that

that she should be put into his Sister the Queen Dowagers keeping, till the matter were tried, whether it was according to the Word of God, or not; and that then further order should be given in it. Upon this the Delegates made hast, and gathered their Arguments together. Of which I shall give an Abstract, both for the clearing of this matter, (concerning which not many years ago there were great debates in Parliament) and also to shew the exactness of the Proceedings in that time. 1548.

The Grounds on which he was suffered to marry again.

Christ condemned all Marriages upon Divorces, *except in the Case of Adultery*; which seemed manifestly to allow them in that Case. And though this is not mentioned by St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke*, yet it is enough that St. *Mathew* has it. Christ also defined the state of Marriage, to be that in which *two are one flesh*; so that when either of the two hath broken that Union, by becoming one with another Person, then the Marriage is dissolved. And it is oft repeated in the Gospel, That married Persons have *power over one anothers Bodies*, and that they are to give *due benevolence* to each other; which is plainly contrary to this way of separation without dissolving the Bond. St. *Paul* putting the case of an Unbeliever departing from the Partner in Marriage, says, *The Believing Party, whether Brother or Sister, is not under Bondage* in such a case: which seems a discharge of the Bond in case of Desertion: and certainly Adultery is yet of a higher nature. But against this was alledged on the other side, That our Saviours allowing Divorce in the Case of Adultery was only for the *Jews*, to whom it was spoken, to mitigate the cruelty of their Law, by which the Adulteress was to be put to death: and therefore he yielded Divorce in that Case, to mitigate the severity of the other Law. But the Apostle writing to the *Gentile* Christians, at *Rome*, and *Corinth*, said, The Wife was *tied by the Law to the Husband, as long as he lived*. And that other general Rule, *Whom God has joyned together let no Man put asunder*, seems against the dissolving the Bond. To this it was answered, That it is against separating as well as dissolving: that the Wife is *tied to her Husband*; but if he ceaseth to be her Husband, that tie is at an end: That our Saviour left the Wife at liberty to divorce her Husband for Adultery, though the Law of *Moses* had only provided, That the Adulterous Wife, and he who defiled her, were to die, but the Husband who committed Adultery was not so punishable; therefore our Saviour had by that Provision declared the Marriage to be clearly dissolved by Adultery.

From hence they went to examine the Authorities of the Fathers. *Hermes* was for putting away the Adulteress, but so as to receive her again upon repentance. *Origen* thought the Wife could not marry again after divorce. *Tertullian* allowed Divorce, and thought it dissolved the Marriage as much as Death did. *Epiphanius* did also allow it. And *Ambrose* in one Place allows the Husband to marry after divorce for Adultery, though he condemns it always in the Wife. *Basil* allowed it on either side upon Adultery. *Jerome*, who condemns the Wife's marrying, though her Husband were guilty of Adultery; and who disliked the Husbands marrying again, though he allowed him to divorce upon Adultery, or the suspition of it; yet when his Friend *Fabiola* had married after a Divorce, he excuses it, saying it was better for her to marry than to burn. *Chromatius* allowed of second Marriages after Divorce.

1543. And so did *Chrysostome*, though he condemned them in Women so divorcing. St. *Austin* was sometimes for a Divorce, but against Marriage upon it; yet in his *Retractations*, he writ doubtfully of his former Opinion. In the *Civil* Law, the Christian Emperors allowed the power of Divorcing both to Husband and Wife, with the right of marrying afterwards. Nor did they restrain the Grounds of Divorce only to Adultery, but permitted it in many other Cases; as if the Wife were guilty of Treason, had treated for another Husband, had procured an Abortion, had been whole nights abroad, or had gone to see the publick Plays without leave from her Husband; besides many other Particulars. Against which, none of the *Fathers* had writ, nor endeavoured to get them repealed. All these Laws were confirmed by *Justinian*, when he gathered the Laws into a Body, and added to it where they were defective. In the *Canon* Law, it is provided, that he whose Wife is defiled must not be denied lawful Marriage. Pope *Gregory* denied a second Marriage to the guilty Person, but allowed it to the Innocent after Divorce. Pope *Zachary* allowed the Wife of an Incestuous Adulterer to be married, if she could not contain. In the *Canon* Law, the Council of *Tribury* is cited, for allowing the like Priviledge to the Husbands. By the Council of *Elvira*, a Man that finds that his Wife intends to kill him, may put her away, and marry another; but she must never marry. The Council of *Arles* recommended it to Husbands, whose Wives were found in Adultery, not to marry during their Lives. And that at *Elvira* denied the Sacrament, to a Wife who left an Adulterous Husband, and married another; but she might have the Communion when her first Husband died: So the second Marriage was accounted good, but only indecent. But the Council of *Milevi* forbids both Man and Wife to marry after Divorce. All these were Collected by *Cranmer*, with several very important Reflections on most of the Quotations out of the Fathers. With these, there is another Paper, given in by one who was against the dissolving the Bond, in which there are many Quotations brought both from the Canon Law, and the Fathers, for the contrary Opinion. But most of the Fathers there cited are of the latter Ages; in which the state of Cœlibate had been so exalted by the Monks, that, in all doubtful Cases, they were resolved still to prefer that Opinion which denied Liberty for further Marriages. In conclusion, this whole Question was divided into eight Queries, which were put to some learned Men; (who these were does not appear) and they returned their Answer in favour of the second Marriage, which will be found in the *Collection*. In end Sentence was given, allowing the second Marriage in that Case, and by consequence confirming the Marquess of *Northampton*'s Marriage to his second Wife, who upon that was suffered to cohabit with him. Yet four years after, he was advised to have a special Act of Parliament for confirming this Sentence; of which mention shall be made in its due time and Place.

Number 20.

Some further advance in the Reformation.

The next thing that came under consideration, was the great contradiction that was in most of the Sermons over *England*. Some were very earnest to justifie and maintain all the old Rites that yet remained; and others were no less hot to have them laid aside. So that in *London* especially, the People were wonderfully distracted by this variety among their Teachers. The Ceremonies of *Candlemas*, and their observance

of

of *Lent*, with the Rites used on *Palm-Sunday*, *Good-Friday*, and *Easter*, were now approaching. Those that were against them, condemned them as superstitious Additions to the Worship of God, invented in the dark Ages, when an outward Pageantry had been the chief thing that was looked after. But others set out the good use that might be made of these things, and taught that, till they were abolished by the Kings Authority, they ought to be still observed. In a Visitation that had been made, (when I cannot learn, only it seems to have been about the end of King *Henry's* Reign) it had been declared that Fasting in *Lent* was only a Positive Law. Several Directions were also given about the use of the Ceremonies, and some hints as if they were not to be long continued: and all Wakes, and Plough-Mondays, were suppressed, since they drew great Assemblies of People together, which ended in drinking and quarrelling. These I have also inserted in the *Collection*, having had a Copy of the Articles left at the Visitation of the Deanry of *Doncaster*, communicated to me by the favour of a most learned Physitian, and curious Antiquary, Dr. *Nathaniel Johnston*, who sent me this with several other Papers out of his generous zeal for contributing every thing in his power to the perfecting of this Work. 1548. Number 21.

The Country People generally loved all these Shews, Processions, and Assemblies, as things of diversion: and judged it a dull business, only to come to Church for Divine Worship, and the hearing of Sermons: therefore they were much delighted with the gayity and cheerfulness of those Rites. But others, observing that they kept up all these things, just as the Heathens did their Plays and Festivities for their Gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian Religion, and therefore were earnest to have them removed. This was so effectually represented to the Council, by *Cranmer*, that an Order was sent to him about it. He sent it to *Bonner*, who, being Dean of the Colledge of Bishops in the Province of *Canterbury*, was to transmit, all such Orders over the whole Province. By it, the carrying of Candles on *Candlemass* day, of Ashes on *Ash-Wednesday*, and Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, were forbid to be used any longer. And this was signified by *Bonner*, to *Thirleby* Bishop of *Westminster*, on the 28*th* of *June*, as appears by the Register.

After this, on the 6*th* of *February*, a Proclamation was issued out against such as should on the other hand rashly innovate, or perswade the People from the old accustomed Rites, under the Pains of Imprisonment, and other Punishments at the Kings pleasure; excepting only the formerly mentioned Rites; to which are added, the creeping to the Cross on *Good-Friday*, taking Holy Bread and Water, and any other that should be afterwards at any time certified by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* to the other Bishops in the Kings Name to be laid aside. And for preventing the mischiefs occasioned by rash Preachers, none were to preach without Licence from the King or his Visitors, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, or the Bishop of the Diocess, where they lived; excepting only Incumbents preaching in their own Parishes. Those who preached otherwise were to be imprisoned till Order were given for their punishment: and the inferior Magistrates were required to see to the execution of these Orders. This Proclamation, which is in the *Collection*, was necessary for giving Authority to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury's* Number 22.

A Proclamation against those who Innovated without Authority.

 Letters

1548. Letters, which were censured as a great presumption for him without any publick Order to appoint changes in Sacred Rites. Some observed, that the Council went on making Proclamations with arbitrary Punishments, though the Act was repealed that had formerly given so great Authority to them. To this it was answered, That the King by his Supremacy might still in matters of Religion make new Orders, and add Punishments upon the Transgressors; yet this was much questioned, though universally submitted to.

The general taking away of all Images. Number 23.

On the 11*th* of *Feb.* there was a Letter sent from the Council to the Arch-bishop for a more considerable Change. There were every where great Heats about the removing of Images which had been abused to superstition: Some affirming, and others denying, that their Images had been so abused. There were in the Churches some Images of so strange a nature, that it could not be denied that they had been abused. Such was the Image of the Blessed Trinity, which was to be censed, on the day of the *Innocents*, by him that was made the Bishop of the Children: This shews it was used on other days, in which it is like it was censed by the Bishop where he was present. How this Image was made, can only be gathered from the Prints that were of it at that time: In which the Father is represented sitting on the one hand as an old Man with a Triple Crown and Rayes about him, the Son on the other hand as a young Man with a Crown and Rayes, and the Blessed Virgin between them, and the Emblem of the Holy Ghost a Dove spread over her Head. So it is represented in a fair Book of the Hours according to the use of *Sarum*, printed *Anno* 1526. The impiety of this did raise horror in most Mens Minds, when that unconceivable Mystery was so grosly expressed. Besides, the taking the Virgin into it, was done in pursuance to what had been said by some blasphemous Friars, of her being assumed into the Trinity. In another Edition of these it is represented by three Faces formed in one Head. These things had not been set up by any publick Warrant; but having been so long in practice, they stood upon the general Plea that was for keeping the Traditions of the Church: for it was said, that the Promises made to the Church were the same in all Ages, and that therefore every Age of the Church had an equal Right to them.

Processionale in Festo Innocentium.

But for the other Images, it was urged against them, that they had been all consecrated with such Rites and Prayers, that it was certain they were every one of them superstitious; since it was prayed, that they might be so blessed and consecrated, that whosoever worshiped them might by the Saints Prayers and Aid, whom they represented, obtain every thing that he desired. So they resolved on an entire removal of all Images. And the Protector with the Council wrote to *Cranmer*, that for putting an end to all these Contests, and that the living Images of Christ might not quarrel about the dead ones, it was concluded they should all of them be taken down: and he was to give order to see this executed in his own Diocess, and to transmit it to the other Bishops to be in like manner executed by them. There were also Orders given, That all rich Shrines, with all the Plate belonging to them should be brought in to the Kings use, and that the Cloathes that covered them, should be converted to the use of the Poor. This gave *Gardiner*, and those of his Party, a new affliction. For in his Diocess he had been always on their side that were for keeping up the Images. But they all submitted, and

so

so the Churches were emptied of all these Pictures and Statues which had been for divers Ages the chief Objects of the Peoples Worship. 1548.

And now the greatest care of the Reformers was, to find the best Men they could, who should be licensed by the Kings Authority to preach. To whom the Council sent a Letter in the beginning of *May*, intimating, that by the restraint put on preaching, they only intended to put an end to the rash contentions of indiscreet Men, and not to extinguish the lively Preaching of the pure Word of God, made after such sort as the Holy Ghost should for the time put in the Preachers mind: They are therefore charged to preach sincerely, and with that caution and moderation, that the Time and Place shall require: and particularly, that they should not set on the People to make Innovations, or to run before those whom they should obey; but should perswade them to amend their Lives, and keep the Commandments of God, and to forsake all their old Superstitions. And for the things not yet changed, they ought to wait patiently, and to conclude that the Prince did either allow, or suffer them: and in delivering things to the People, they were ordered to have a special regard to what they could bear.

Some Restraints put on Preachers. *May* 4.

Number 24.

But this temper was not observed. Some plainly condemned it as a political patching, and said, Why should not all these Superstitions be swept away at once? To this it was answered by others, That as Christ forbade the pulling up of the Tares, lest with them they should pull up good Wheat; so if they went too forwardly to the changing of things, they might in that hast change much for the worse: and great care was to be had not to provoke the People too much, lest in the infancy of the King, or in some ill conjuncture of Affairs, they might be disposed to make Commotions. And the compliances that both Christ and his Apostles gave to the *Jews*, when they were to abrogate the Mosaical Law, were often insisted on. It was said, if they who were cloathed with a Power of Miracles, for the more effectual conviction of the World, condescended so far; it was much more reasonable for them, who had not that Authority over Mens Consciences, and had no immediate signs to shew from Heaven, to perswade the People rather by degrees to forsake their old mistakes, and not to precipitate things by an over hast.

This Winter there was a Committee of selected Bishops and Divines appointed for examining all the Offices of the Church, and for reforming them. Some had been in King *Henry*'s time employed in the same business, in which they had made a good progress, which was now to be brought to a full perfection. Therefore the Arch-bishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Duresme*, *Worcester*, *Norwich*, St. *Asaph*, *Salisbury*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Carlisle*, *Bristol*, *St. Davids*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Chichester*, *Hereford*, *Westminster*, and *Rochester*, with Doctors *Cox*, *May*, *Tailor*, *Heins*, *Robertson*, and *Redmayn*, were appointed to examine all the Offices of the Church, and to consider how far any of them needed amendment.

Bishops and Divines examine the Offices of the Church.

The thing they first examined was the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*; which being the chief Symbol of Christian Communion, was thought to deserve their chief care. And here they managed their Enquiries in the same manner that was used in the former Reign; in which, when any thing was considered in order to a Change, it was put into several Queries,

1548. ries, to which every one in Commission was to give his Answer in writing. It is no wonder if the confusions, that followed in Queen *Maries* Reign, have deprived us of most of these Papers; yet there is one Set of them preserved, relating to some Questions about the Priests single communicating; Whether one Mans receiving it can be useful to another? What was the Oblation or Sacrifice that was made of Christ in the Mass? Wherein the Mass consisted? When the Priests receiving alone began? Whether it was convenient to retain that, and continue Masses satisfactory for departed Souls? Whether the Gospel ought to be taught at the time of the Mass? Whether it were convenient to have it all in a known Tongue or not? And when the reserving or hanging up of the Sacrament first began? To these the Bishops made their several Answers. Some answered them all: others answered only a few of them; it is like, suspending their Opinions about those which they answered not. The Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Chichester*, and *Hereford*, gave in their Answers once in one Paper together; but afterwards they joyned with the Bishops of *Norwich*, and *St. Asaph*, and all those six gave a joynt Answer in one Paper. Those are not all subscribed, as those which I inserted in the former *Volume* were; or at least the Papers I have, are not the Originals. But *Cranmers* Hand is over every one of them, marking the Name of the Bishop to whom they belonged; and Dr. *Cox* hath set his Hand and Seal to his Answer. By these, which are in the *Collection*, the Reader will perceive how generally the Bishops were addicted to the old Superstition, and how few did agree in all things with *Cranmer*. It may be thought that these Questions were given out before the Act of Parliament passed, in which the Priests single communicating is turned into a Communion of more. Yet by that Act it was only provided, That all who came to receive should be admitted, but Priests were not forbid to Consecrate if none were to Communicate, which was the thing now inquired into.

Number 25.

The Corruptions in the Office of the Communion examined.

It is certain there was no part of Worship more corrupted than this Sacrament was. The first Institution was so plain and simple, that, except in the Words, *This is my Body*, there is nothing which could give a colour to the corruptions that were afterwards brought in. The Heathens had their Mysteries, which the Priests concealed with hard and dark words, and dressed up with much Pomp; and thereby supported their own esteem with the People; since they looked on these to be of so high a nature, that all those who had the ordering of them were accounted Sacred Persons. The Primitive Christians retained the first simplicity of Divine Institutions for some Ages. But afterwards, as their number encreased, they made use of some things not unlike those the Heathens had practised, to draw the *Gentiles* more easily into their belief; since external Shews make deep impressions in the Vulgar. And those that were thus brought over, might afterwards come to like these things for their own sakes, which were at first made use of only to gain the World. Others finding some advantage in such Services, that were easie, and yet appeared very pompous, that they might cover great faults by countenancing and complying with the follies that were in vogue contributed liberally to the improvement of them. And after the *Roman* Emperors turned Christian, much of that vast Wealth, of which they and their People were Masters, was brought into the Church, and

applied

applied to these Superstitions. Yet it became not so universally corrupted, till by the Invasion of the *Goths*, *Vandalls*, and other barbarous Nations, the *Roman* Empire was broken and divided into many Kingdoms. These new Conquerors were rude and ignorant, wholly given to sensible things, and Learning being universally extinguish'd, gross Superstition took place; for more refined Superstitions would not serve the turn of darker Ages: But as they grew in Ignorance they continued in the Belief and Practice of more absurd things. 1548.

The high opinion they justly had of this Sacrament being much raised by the Belief of the Corporal Presence of Christ in it, which came in afterwards, then the dull Wits of the Priests, and the Wealth of the People, were employed to magnifie it with all the pomp possible. All the Vessels and Garments belonging to it were consecrated and anointed with much devotion; the whole Office was in an unknown Tongue. A great part of it was to be secretly whispered, to make it appear the more wonderful charm. But chiefly the words of Consecration were by no means to be heard by the People; it being fabled, that when the words were spoken aloud, some Shepherds had repeated them over their Bread, which was thereupon presently turned into Flesh. Besides that it was but suitable that a Change which was not to be seen, should be made by words not to be heard. The Priest was not to approach it, but after so many Bowings, Crossings, and Kissings of the Altar; and all the while he went through with the Office, the People were only now and then blessed by a short Blessing, *The Lord be with you*, and even that in *Latin*. Then after Consecration, the Bread was lifted up, and all the People worshiped it, as if Christ had appeared in the Clouds. It was oft exposed on the Altar, and carried about in Processions, with the Ceremonies of carrying *Flambeaux* before it, which the greatest Persons accounted it an Honour to do; the Priest that carried it all the while going pompously under a rich Canopy.

This was also thought most effectual for all the accidents of life. And whereas it was first only intended to be a Commemoration and Communion of the Death of Christ; that seemed almost forgotten, but it was applied to all other ends imaginable. That which brought in most Custom was, *Trentalls*, which was a Method of delivering Souls out of Purgatory, by saying 30 Masses a year for them. And whereas it was observed, that Men on the Anniversaries of their Birth-days, Wedding, or other happy accidents of their Lives, were commonly in better humour; so that Favours were more easily obtain'd; they seemed to have had the same opinion of God and Christ. So they ordered it, that three of these should be said on *Christmas* day, three on *Epiphany*, three on the *Purification* of the Blessed Virgin, three on the *Annunciation*, three on the *Resurrection*, three on the *Ascension*, three on *Whit-Sunday*, three on *Trinity-Sunday*, three on the *Assumption* of the Blessed Virgin, and three on her *Birth-day*; hoping that these days would be the *Mollia tempora* when God and Christ, or the Blessed Virgin, would be of easier access, and more ready to grant their desires. Yet the most unaccountable part of all, was the Masses on the Saints days, praying that the Intercession of the Saint might make the Sacrifice acceptable, that the Saint, for whose Honour these Oblations were solemnly offered, would by his Merits procure them to be accepted, and that the Sacrifice might bring

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1548. to them a greater Indulgence, being offered up by the Suffrages of the Saint. If the Sacrifice was of Jesus Christ, and was of its own Nature expiatory, how this should be done in honour to a Saint, and become of greater vertue by his Intercession, was a thing very hard to be understood. There were many Pieces of ridiculous Pageantry also used in it, as the laying the Host in the Sepulchre they made for Christ on *Good-Friday*; and that not only the Candles that were to burn at the *Easter* Celebration, but the very Fire that was to kindle them, was particularly consecrated on *Easter Eve*. Some Masses were believed to have a peculiar Vertue in them. For in the Mass-Book printed at *London Anno* 1500. there is a Mass for avoiding sudden death; which Pope *Clement* made in the Colledge with all his Cardinals, and granted to all who heard it 270 days of Indulgence, charging them that they should hold in their Hand a burning Candle all the while it was saying, and for five days after should likewise hold a Candle, kneeling during the whole Mass: and to those that did so, sudden death should do no harm. And it is added, that this was certain, and approved, in *Avignion*, and all the neighbouring Places. All this I have opened the more largely, to let the Reader plainly understand, what things were then in this Sacrament that required Reformation: and I have gathered these things out of the Mass-Book, then most used in *England*, and best known by the Name of the *Missal after the use of Sarum*.

A new Office for the Communion set out.

The first step these deputed Bishops and Divines made, was to reform this. But they did not at once mend every thing that required it, but left the Office of the Mass as it was, only adding to it that which made it a Communion. It began first with an Exhortation, to be used the day before, which differs not much from that now used. Only after the advice given concerning Confession, it is added, That such as desired to make auricular Confession, should not censure those who were satisfied with a general Confession to God, and that these who used only Confession to God and to the Church should not be offended with those who used auricular Confession to a Priest; but that all should keep the Rule of Charity, every Man being satisfied to follow his own Conscience, and not judging another Mans in things not appointed by God. After the Priest had received the Sacrament, he was to turn to the People and read an Exhortation to them; the same we now use, only a little varied in words. After that, followed a Denunciation against Sinners, requiring them who were such, and had not repented, to withdraw, lest the Devil should enter into them as he did into *Judas*. Then after a little pause, to see if any would withdraw; there was to follow a short Exhortation, with a Confession of sins, and Absolution, the very same which we do yet retain. Then those Texts of Scripture were read, which we yet read; followed with the Prayer, *We do not presume*, &c. After this, the Sacrament was to be given in both kinds; first to the Ministers then present, and then to all the People, with these words, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy Body unto Everlasting Life*; and, *The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy Soul unto Everlasting Life*. When all was done, the Congregation was to be dismissed with a Blessing. The Bread was to be such as had been formerly used, and every one of the Breads so consecrated was to be broken in two or more pieces; and the People were to be taught

taught that there was no difference in the quantity they received, whether it were ſmall, or great, but that in each of them they received the whole Body of Chriſt. If the Wine, that was at firſt conſecrated, did not ſerve, the Prieſt was to conſecrate more; but all to be without any Elevation. This Office, being thus finiſhed, was ſet forth with a Proclamation, reciting, That whereas the Parliament had Enacted that the Communion ſhould be given in both kinds to all the Kings Subjects, it was now ordered to be given in the Form here ſet forth, and all were required to receive it with due reverence, and Chriſtian behaviour, and with ſuch uniformity as might encourage the King to go on in the ſetting forth godly Orders for Reformation, which he intended moſt earneſtly to bring to effect by the help of God: Willing his Subjects, not to run before his direction, and ſo by their raſhneſs to hinder ſuch things; aſſuring them of the earneſt zeal he had to ſet them forth, hoping they would quietly and reverently tarry for it. 1548.

This was publiſhed on the 8*th* of *March*, and on the 13*th* Books were ſent to all the Biſhops of *England*, requiring them to ſend them to every Pariſh in their Dioceſs, that the Curates might have time, both to inſtruct themſelves about it, and to acquaint their People with it; ſo that by the next *Eaſter* it might be univerſally received in all the Churches of the Nation. This was variouſly cenſured. Thoſe that were for the old Superſtition, were much troubled to have Confeſſion thus left indifferent, and a general Confeſſion of ſins to be uſed, with which they apprehended the People would for the moſt part content themſelves. In the Scripture there was a Power of Binding and Looſing ſins given to the Apoſtles. And St. *James* exhorted thoſe to whom he wrote, to confeſs their faults *to one another*. Afterwards Penitents came to be reconciled to the Church, when they had given publick ſcandal, either by their Apoſtacy, or ill Life, by an open Confeſſion of their ſins; and after ſome time of ſeparation from the other pure Chriſtians in Worſhip, and an abſtention from the Sacrament, they were admitted again to their ſhare of all the Priviledges that were given in common to Chriſtians. But according to the nature of their ſins, they were, beſides the publick Confeſſion, put under ſuch Rules as might be moſt proper for curing theſe ill Inclinations in them: and according to the ſeveral Ranks of ſins, the time and degrees of this Penitence was proportioned. And the Councils that met in the fourth and fifth *Centuries* made the regulating theſe penitentiary Canons the chief Subject of their Conſultations. In many Churches, there were penitentiary Prieſts, who were more expert in the knowledge of theſe Rules, and gave directions about them: which were taken away in *Conſtantinople* upon the indiſcretion of which one of them had been guilty. For ſecret ſins, there was no obligation to confeſs, ſince all the Canons were about publick ſcandals: yet for theſe, the devout People generally went to their Prieſts for their Counſel, but were not obliged to it; and ſo went to them for the diſtempers of their Minds, as they did to Phyſicians for the Diſeaſes of their Bodies.

It is variouſly cenſured.

Chiefly that Auricular Confeſſion was laid down.

About the end of the 5*th Century*, they began in ſome Places to have ſecret Penances; either within Monaſteries, or other Places which the Prieſts had appointed: and upon a ſecret Confeſſion, and performing the Penance impoſed, Abſolution was alſo given ſecretly: whereas in former times, Confeſſion and Abſolution had been performed openly in the

1548. Church. In the *7th Century* it was every where practised, that there should be secret Penance for secret sins: which *Theodore* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* did first bring into a Method, and under Rules. But about the end of the *8th Century*, the commutation of Penance, and exchanging it for Money, or other Services to the Church, came to be practised: and then began Pilgrimages to Holy Places, and afterwards the going to the Holy War: and all the severities of Penance were dispensed with to such as undertook these. This brought on a great Relaxation of all Ecclesiastical Discipline. Afterwards, Croisadoes came in use, against such Princes as were deposed by Popes: and to these was likewise added, to encourage all to enter into them, that all Rules of Penitence were dispensed with to such as put on that Cross. But Penitence being now no more publick, but only private, the Priests managed it as they pleased, and so by Confession entred into all Mens secrets, and by Absolution had their Consciences so entirely in their Power, that the People were generally governed by them. Yet because the Secular Priests were commonly very ignorant, and were not put under such an association as was needful to manage those designs, for which this was thought an excellent Engine; therefore the Friars were employed every where to hear Confessions, and to give Absolutions. And to bring in Customers to them, two new things were invented. The one was, a Reserving of certain Cases, in which such as were guilty of them could not be absolved but by the Popes, or those deputed by them: and the Friars had faculties in the Popes Name to absolve in these Cases. The other was on some occasion the use of certain new Secrets, by which Men were to obtain great Indulgences; either by saying such Prayers, or performing such Impositions; and these were all trusted to the Friars, who were to trade with them, and bring all the Money they could gather by that means to *Rome*. They being bred up to a voluntary Poverty, and expecting great Rewards for their Industry, sold those Secrets with as much cunning, as Mountebanks use in selling their Tricks: only here was the difference, that the ineffectualness of the Mountebanks Medicines was soon discovered, so their Trade must be but short in one Place; whereas the other could not be so easily found out; The chief Piece of the Religion of those Ages being to believe all that their Priests taught them. Of this sort the Reader will find in the *Collection* an Essay of Indulgences as they were printed in the *Hours* after the use of *Sarum*, which were set down in *English*, though the Prayers be all *Latine*, that so all the People might know the value of such Ware. Those had been all by degrees brought from *Rome*, and put into Peoples Hands, and afterwards laid together in their Offices. By them, Indulgences of many years, Hundreds, Thousands, and Millions of years, and of all sins whatsoever, were granted to such as devoutly said such Collects: but it was always understood that they must confess and be absolved, which is the meaning of those Expressions concerning their being in *a state of Grace*. And so the whole Business was a Cheat.

Collection Number 26.

And now all this Trade was laid aside, and Confession of secret sins was left to all Mens free choice: since it was certain that the Confession to a Priest was no where enjoyned in the Scriptures. It was a reasonable Objection, that as secret Confession and private Penance had worn out the primitive practice of the publick censuring of scandalous Persons, so

so it had been well if the reviving of that Discipline had driven out these later Abuses: but to let that lie unrestored, and yet to let Confession wear out, was to discharge the World of all outward restraints, and to leave them to their full liberty, and so to throw up that Power of Binding and Loosing, which ought to take place, chiefly, in admitting them to the Sacrament. This was confessed to be a great defect, and effectual endeavours were used to retrieve it, though without success: and it was openly declared to be a thing which they would study to repair: But the total disuse of all publick censure had made the Nation so unacquainted with it, that without the effectual concurrence of the Civil Authority, they could not compass it. And though it was acknowledged to be a great disorder in the Church, yet as they could not keep up the necessity of private Confession, since it was not commanded in the Gospel; so the generality of the Clergy being superstitious Men, whose chief influence on the People was by those secret Practices in Confession, they judged it necessary to leave that free to all People, and to represent it as a thing to which they were not obliged, and in the place of that ordered the general Confession to be made in the Church, with the Absolution added to it. For the Power of Binding and Loosing, it was by many thought to be only Declarative; and so to be exercised, when the Gospel was preached, and a General Absolution granted, according to the Ancient Forms. In which Forms, the Absolution was a Prayer that God would absolve; and so it had been still used in the Absolution which was given on *Maundy-Thursday*: but the Formal Absolution given by the Priest in his own Name, *I absolve thee*, was a late invention to raise their Authority higher, and signified nothing distinct from those other Forms that were anciently used in the Church. 1548.

Others censured the Words in distributing the two kinds in the Lords Supper: the *Body* being given for the preserving the *Body*, and the *Blood* of Christ for preserving the *Soul*. This was thought done on design to possess the People with an high value of the Chalice, as that which preserved their *Souls*; whereas the Bread was only for the preservation of their *Bodies*. But *Cranmer* being ready to change any thing for which he saw good reason, did afterwards so alter it, that in both it was said, *Preserve thy Body and Soul*. And yet it stands so in the Prayer, *We do not presume*, &c. On all this I have digressed so long, because of the importance of the matter, and for satisfying the Scruples that many still have upon the laying aside of Confession in our Reformation.

Commissions were next given to examine the state of the Chantries and Guildable Lands. The Instruction about them will be found in the *Collection*, of which I need give no abstract here, for they were only about the Methods of enquiring into their value, and how they were possessed, or what Alienations had been made of them. Collection Number 27.

The Protector and Council were now in much trouble. The War with *Scotland* they found was like to grow chargeable, since they saw it was supported from *France*. There was a Rebellion also broke out in *Ireland*, and the King was much indebted, nor could they expect any Subsidies from the Parliament; in which it had been said that they gave the *Chantry Lands*, that they might be delivered from all Subsidies. Therefore the Parliament was prorogued till Winter. Upon this the

 whole

1548. whole Council did on the 17th of *April* unanimously resolve, that it was necessary to sell 5000 *l.* a year of *Chantry Lands* for raising such a Sum as the Kings occasions required, and Sir *Hen. Mildmay* was appointed to treat about the Sale of them.

Gardiner falls into new Troubles. The new Communion-Book was received over *England* without any opposition. Only complaints were brought of *Gardiner*, that he did secretly detract from the Kings Proceedings. Upon which the Council took occasion to reflect on all his former behaviour. And here it was remembred, how at first upon his refusing to receive the Kings *Injunctions*, he had been put in the *Fleet*; where he had been as well used, as if it had been his own House; (which is far contrary to his Letters to the Protector, of which mention has been already made) and that he upon promise of Conformity had been discharged. But when he was come home, being forgetful of his Promises; he had raised much strife and contention, and had caused all his Servants to be secretly armed and harnessed, and had put publick affronts on those whom the Council sent down to preach in his Diocess; for in some Places, to disgrace them, he went into the Pulpit before them, and warned the People to beware of such Teachers, and to receive no other Doctrine but what he had taught them. Upon this he had been sent for a second time, but again upon his Promise of Conformity was discharged, and ordered to stay at his own House in *London*. That there he had continued still to meddle in publick Matters, of which being again admonished, he desired that he might be suffered to clear himself of all misrepresentations that had been made of him, in a *Sermon* which he should preach before the King, in which he should openly declare how well he was satisfied with his Proceedings: yet it is added, That in his *Sermon*, where there was a wonderful Audience, he did most arrogantly meddle with some Matters that were contrary to an express command given him both by word of Mouth and by Letters; and in other Matters, used such words as had almost raised a great Tumult in the very time, and had spoken very seditiously concerning the Policy of the Kingdom. So they saw that Clemency wrought no good effect on him; and it seeming necessary to terrifie others by their Proceedings with him, he was sent to the *Tower*, and the door of his Closet was sealed up. Thus it is entred in the Council-Book, Signed *E. Somerset*, *T. Cantuarien. W. St. Johns*, *J. Russel*, and *T. Cheyney*. Yet it seems this Order was not Signed when it was made, but some years after. For the Lord *Russel* Signed first *Bedford*, but remembring that at the time when this Order was made he had not that Title, therefore he dashed it out, (but so as it still appears) and Signed, *J. Russel*.

Fox's Acts and Monuments. The account that *Gardiner* himself gives of this Business, is, That being discharged upon the Act of Pardon, he was desired to promise that he would set forth the *Homilies*; and a Form was given him to which he should set his Hand; but he, considering of it a fortnight, returned, and said he could not subscribe it: so he was confined to his House. Then *Ridley* and Mr. *Cecil*, (afterwards the great Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treasurer to Queen *Eliz.* at that time Secretary to the Protector) were sent to him, and so prevailed, that he did set his Hand to it. But upon some Complaints that were made of him, he was sent for after *Whit-Sunday*, and accused, that he had carried Palms, had crept to the Cross, and had a

Sepulchre on *Good-Friday*, which was contrary to the Kings Proclamations: all which he denied, and said, he had and would still give obedience to what the King should command. That of affronting the Kings Preachers was objected to him, to which he answered telling matter of fact how it was done, but he does not in his Writing set it down. Then it was complained, that in a *Sermon* he had said, The Apostles came away rejoycing from *the Council, the Council, the Council*, repeating it thus, to make it seem applicable to himself. This he denied. Then it was objected, That he preached the *Real Presence* in the Sacrament, the Word *Real* not being in Scripture, and so it was not the setting forth the pure Word of God: He said, he had not used the Word *Real*, only he had asserted the Presence of Christ, in such words as he had heard the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* dispute for it against *Lambert*, that had been burnt. He was commanded to tarry in *London*; but he desired, that since he was not an Offender, he might be at his liberty. He complained much of the *Songs* made of him, and of the Books written against him, and particularly of one *Philpot* in *Westminster*, whom he accounted a mad Man. 1548.

Then he relates, That *Cecil* came to him, and proposed to him to preach before the King, and that he should write his *Sermon*; and also brought him some Notes which he wished him to put in his *Sermon*: he said he was willing to preach, but would not write it, for that was to preach as an Offender: nor would he make use of Notes prepared by other Men. Then he was privately brought to the Protector, none but the Lord *St. John* being present, who shewed him a Paper containing the opinion of some Lawyers, of the Kings Power, and of a Bishops Authority, and of the Punishment of disobeying the King: but he desired to speak with those Lawyers, and said, no subscription of theirs should oblige him to preach otherwise than as he was convinced. The Protector said, he should either do that, or do worse. Secretary *Smith* came to him to press him further in some Points, but what they were is not mentioned. Yet by the other Papers in that Business it appears, they related to the Kings Authority when under Age, and for justifying the Kings proceedings in what had been done about the Ceremonies, and that Auricular Confession was indifferent. So the Contest between him and the Protector ended; and there was no writing required of him; but he left the whole matter to him, so that he should treat plainly of those things mentioned to him by *Cecil*. He chose St. *Peters* day, because the Gospel agreed to his purpose. *Cecil* shewed him some Notes, written with the Kings Hand, of the *Sermons* preached before him; especially what was said of the Duty of a King; and warned him, that when ever he named the King he should add, *and his Council*. To this he made no Answer; for though he thought it wisely done of a King to use his Council, yet being to speak of the Kings Power according to Scripture, he did not think it necessary to add any thing of his Council: and hearing by a confused report some secret matter, he resolved not to meddle with it. Two days before he preached, the Protector sent him a Message, not to meddle with those Questions about the Sacrament, that were yet in controversie among Learned Men; and that therefore he was resolved there should be no publick determination made of them before-hand in the Pulpit. He said, he could not forbear to speak of the Mass, for he looked on it as the

1548. the chief foundation of Christian Religion: but he doubted not that he should so speak of it, as to give them all content. So the day following the Protector writ to him, (as will be found in the *Collection*) requiring him in the Kings Name, not to meddle with these Points, but to preach concerning the Articles given him, and about Obedience, and good Life, which would afford him matter enough for a long *Sermon*: since the other points were to be reserved to a publick Consultation. The Protector added, That he held it a great part of his Duty under the King, not to suffer wilful Persons to disswade the People from receiving such Truths as should be set forth by others. But *Gardiner* pretended that there was no Controversie about the Presence of Christ. And so the next day he took his Text out of the Gospel for the day, *Thou art Christ*, &c. In his *Sermon* (of which I have seen large Notes) he expressed himself very fully concerning the Popes Supremacy as justly abolished, and the Suppression of Monasteries and Chantries; he approved of the Kings Proceedings; he thought Images might have been well used, but yet they might be well taken away. He approved of the Sacrament in both kinds, and the taking away that great number of Masses satisfactory, and liked well the new Order for the Communion. But he asserted largely the Presence of Christs Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament: Upon which many of the Assembly, that were indiscreetly hot on both sides, cried out, some approving, and others disliking it. Of the Kings Authority under Age, and of the Power of the Council in that Case, he said not a word: and upon that he was imprisoned.

Number 28.

Parkers MSS. Ex C.Cb. Col. Cant.

He preached before the King.

The occasion of this was, the Popish Clergy began generally to have it spread among them, that though they had acknowledged the Kings Supremacy, yet they had never owned the Councils Supremacy. That the Council could only see to the execution of the Laws and Orders that had been made, but could not make new ones; and that therefore the Supremacy could not be exercised, till the King, in whose Person it was vested, came to be of Age to consider of Matters himself. Upon this, the Lawyers were consulted; who did unanimously resolve, that the Supremacy being annexed to the Regal Dignity, was the same in a King under Age, when it was executed by the Council, that it was in a King at full Age; and therefore, things ordered by the Council now, had the same Authority in Law that they could have when the King did act himself. But this did not satisfie the greater part of the Clergy. Some of whom, by the high Flatteries that had been given to Kings in King *Henry*'s time, seemed to fancy that there were degrees of Divine Illumination derived unto Princes, by the anointing them at the Coronation; and these not exerting themselves till a King attained to a ripeness of understanding, they thought the Supremacy was to lie dormant while he was so young. The Protector and Council endeavoured to have got *Gardiner* to declare against this, but he would not meddle in it. How far he might set forward the other Opinion, I do not know. These Proceedings against him were thought too severe, and without Law; but he being generally hated, they were not so much censured, as they had been, if they had fallen on a more acceptable Man.

And thus were the Orders made by the Council generally obeyed; many being terrified with the usage *Gardiner* met with, from which others inferred what they might look for, if they were refractory, when so great a Bishop was so treated.

The next thing *Cranmer* set about, was the compiling of a *Catechisme*, or large instruction of young Persons in the Grounds of the Christian Religion. In it, he reckons the two first Commandments but one; though, he says, many of the Ancients divided them in two. But the division was of no great consequence, so no part of the Decalogue were suppressed by the Church. He shewed that the excuses the Papists had for Images, were no other than what the Heathens brought for their Idolatry; who also said, they did not worship the Image, but that only which was represented by it. He particularly takes notice of the Image of the Trinity. He shews how St. *Peter* would not suffer *Cornelius*, and the Angel would not suffer St. *John*, to worship them. The believing that there is a vertue in one Image more than in another, he accounts plain Idolatry. *Ezekias* broke the Brazen Serpent, when abused, though it was a Type or Image of Christ, made by Gods command, to which a miraculous Vertue had been once given. So now there was good reason to break Images, when they had been so abused to superstition and Idolatry; and when they gave such scandal to *Jews* and *Mahometans*, who generally accounted the *Christians* Idolaters on that account. He asserts, besides the two Sacraments, of Baptisme, and the Lords Supper, the Power of reconciling Sinners to God, as a third; and fully owns the Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests; and wishes that the Canons and Rites of publick Penitence were again restored; and exhorts much to Confession, and the Peoples dealing with their Pastors about their Consciences, that so they might, upon knowledge, bind and loose according to the Gospel. Having finished this easie, but most useful work, he dedicated it to the King. And in his *Epistle* to him, complains of the great neglect, that had been in former times, of *Catechising*; and that *Confirmation* had not been rightly administred, since it ought to be given only to these of Age, who understood the Principles of the Christian Doctrine; and did upon knowledge, and with sincere minds, renew their Baptismal Vow. From this it will appear, that from the beginning of this Reformation, the Practice of the *Roman* Church in the matter of *Images* was held Idolatrous. *Cranmer's* zeal for restoring the Penitentiary Canons is also clear: and it is plain, that he had now quite laid aside those singular opinions which he formerly held of the Ecclesiastical Functions; for now, in a Work which was wholly his own, without the concurrence of any others, he fully sets forth their Divine Institution.

1548. *Cranmer* sets out a Catechisme.

All these things made way for a greater Work, which these selected Bishops and Divines, who had laboured in the setting forth of the Office of the Communion, were now preparing; which was, the entire Reformation of the whole Service of the Church. In order to this, they brought together all the Offices used in *England*. In the *Southern* Parts, those after the use of *Sarum* were universally received, which were believed to have been compiled by *Osmund* Bishop of *Sarum*. In the *North* of *England*, they had other Offices, after the use of *York*. In *South-Wales* they had them after the use of *Hereford*. In *North-Wales* after the use of *Bangor*. And in *Lincoln*, another sort of an Office proper to that See.

A General Reformation of all the Offices of the Church is set about.

In the Primitive Church, when the extraordinary Gifts ceased, the Bishops of the several Churches put their Offices and Prayers into such a

1548. Method, as was nearest to what they had heard or remembred from the Apostles. And these *Liturgies* were called by the Apostles Names from whose Forms they had been composed; as that at *Jerusalem* carried the Name of St. *James*, and that of *Alexandria* the Name of St. *Mark*; though those Books that we have now under these Names are certainly so interpolated, that they are of no great Authority: But in the fourth *Century* we have these *Liturgies* first mentioned. The Council of *Laodicea* appointed the same Office of Prayers to be used in the Mornings and Evenings. The Bishops continued to draw up new Additions, and to put old Forms into other Methods. But this was left to every Bishops care, nor was it made the Subject of any publick Consultation, till St. *Austins* time; when in their dealings with Hereticks, they found they took advantages from some of the Prayers that were in some Churches. Upon this he tells us, it was ordered, that there should be no Prayers used in the Church, but upon common advice: after that the *Liturgies* came to be more carefully considered. Formerly the Worship of God was a pure and simple thing, and so it continued, till Superstition had so infected the Church that those Forms were thought too naked, unless they were put under more Artificial Rules, and dressed up with much Ceremony. *Gregory* the Great was the first that took much care to make the Church Musick very regular, and he did also put the *Liturgies* in another Method than had been formerly used. Yet he had no such fondness of his own composures; but left it to *Austin* the Monk, whom he sent over into *England*, when he consulted him in it, either to use the *Roman* or *French* Rituals, or any other, as he should find they were most likely to edifie the People. After this, in most Sees there were great variations; for as any Prelate came to be Canonized, or held in high esteem by the People, some private *Collects* or particular Forms that he had used, were practised in his, or perhaps, as his Fame spread, in the neighbouring Dioceses. In every Age there were notable Additions made: and all the Writers almost, in the 8*th* and 9*th Centuries*, employed their Fancies to find out mystical significations for every Rite that was then used; and so, as a new Rite was added, it was no hard matter to add some Mystery to it. This had made the Offices swell out of measure, and there was a great variety of them, *Missals*, *Breviaries*, *Rituals*, *Pontificals*, *Portoises*, *Pies*, *Graduals*, *Antiphonalls*, *Psalteries*, *Houres*, and a great many more. Every Religious Order had likewise their peculiar Rites, with the Saints days that belonged to their Order, and Services for them; and the understanding how to officiate was become so hard a piece of the Trade, that it was not easie to learn it exactly, without a long practice in it. So now it was resolved to correct and examine these.

It was resolved there should be a new Liturgy.

I do not find it was ever brought under consideration, whether they should compose a Form for all the Parts of Divine Worship, or leave it to the sudden and extemporary heats of those who were to officiate, which some have called since that time, The worshiping *by the Spirit*: Of this way of serving God, they did not then dream; much less that the appointing of Forms of Prayer was an encroaching on the Kingly Office of Christ, but thought, what ever *praying in the Spirit* might have been in the Apostles time, (where yet every Man brought his Psalm, which are a sort of Prayers, as well as Praises, and these look like some

written

written Composures, as St. *Paul* expresses it) that now to pray with 1548.
warm affection and sincere devotion was Spiritual Worship: and that where it was the same thing that was to be daily asked of God, the using the same expressions, was the sign of a steady devotion, that was fixed on the thing prayed for; whereas the heat that new words raised, looked rather like a warmth in the fancy. Nor could it agree with the Principles of a Reformation, that was to devest the Church-men of that unlimited Authority which they had formerly exercised over Mens Consciences, to leave them at liberty to make the People pray after them, as they pleased; this being as great a resignation of the People, when their devotion depended on the sudden heats of their Pastors, as the former Superstition had made of their Faith and Conscience to them. So it being resolved to bring the whole Worship of God under set Forms: they set one General Rule to themselves, (which they afterwards declared) of changing nothing for novelties sake, or meerly because it had been formerly used. They resolved to retain such things as the Primitive Church had practised, cutting off such abuses as the later ages had grafted on them, and to continue the use of such other things, which, though they had been brought in not so early, yet were of good use to beget devotion; and were so much recommended to the People by the practice of them, that the laying these aside would perhaps have alienated them from the other changes they made. And therefore they resolved to make no change without very good and weighty reasons. In which they considered the practice of our Saviour; who did not only comply with the Rites of Judaism himself, but even the Prayer he gave to his Disciples, was framed according to their Forms; and his two great Institutions of Baptism, and the Eucharist, did consist of Rites that had been used among the *Jews*. And since he who was delivering a new Religion, and was authorized in the highest manner that ever any was, did yet so far comply with received Practices, as from them to take those which he sanctified for the use of his Church; it seemed much fitter for those who had no such extraordinary warrant to give them Authority in what they did, when they were reforming abuses, to let the World see, they did it not from the wanton desire of change, or any affectation of novelty: and with those resolutions they entred on their Work.

In the search of the former Offices, they found an infinite deal of superstition, in the Consecrations, of Water, Salt, Bread, Incense, Candles, Fire, Bells, Churches, Images, Altars, Crosses, Vessels, Garments, Palms, Flowers; all looked like the Rites of *Heathenism*, and seemed to spring from the same Fountain. When the Water or Salt were blessed, it was expressed to be to this end, that they might be health both to Soul and Body, and Devils (who might well laugh at these tricks which they had taught them) were adjured not to come to any place where they were sprinkled: and the Holy Bread was blessed, to be a defence against all Diseases, and snares of the Devil: and the Holy Incense, that Devils might not come near the smoak of it, but that all who smelled at it might perceive the Vertue of the Holy Ghost: and the Ashes were blessed so, that all who were covered with them, might deserve to obtain the remission of their sins. All those things had drawn the People to such confidence in them, that they generally thought that, without those harder terms of true holiness, they might upon such superstitious

1548. obſervances be ſure of Heaven. So all theſe they reſolved to caſt out, as things which had no warrant in Scripture, and were vain devices to draw Men away from a lively application to God through Chriſt, according to the method of the Goſpel. Then the many Rites in Sacramental Actions were conſidered, all which had ſwelled up to an infinite heap. And as ſome of theſe, which had no foundation in Scripture, were thrown out; ſo the others were brought back to a greater ſimplicity. In no part of Religion was the corruption of the former Offices more remarkable, than in the Prieſts granting Abſolution to the Living, and the Dead. To ſuch as Confeſſed, the Abſolution was thus granted; *I abſolve thee in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.* To which this was added, And *I grant to thee that all the Indulgences, given, or to be given thee, by any Prelate, with the Bleſſings of them, all the Sprinklings of Holy Water, all the Devout Beatings of thy Breaſt, the Contritions of thy Heart, this Confeſſion, and all thy other devout Confeſſions, all thy Faſtings, Abſtinencies, Almſgivings, Watchings, Diſciplines, Prayers, and Pilgrimages, and all the good thou haſt done, or ſhall do, and all the evils thou haſt ſuffered, or ſhalt ſuffer, for God; the Paſſions of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Merits of the Glorious and Bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *and of all other Saints, and the Suffrages of all the Holy Catholick Church, turn to thee for the remiſſion of theſe, and all other thy ſins, the encreaſe of thy Merits, and the attainment of Everlaſting Rewards.* When Extream Unction was given to dying Perſons, they applied it to the Ears, Lips, Noſe, and other Parts, with this Prayer; *By this Holy Unction, and his own moſt tender Mercy, and by the Interceſſion of the Bleſſed Virgin, and all the Saints, may God pardon thee whatever thou haſt ſinned, by thy Hearing, Speaking, or Smelling,* and ſo in the other Parts. And when the dead Body was laid in the Grave, this Abſolution was ſaid over it; *The Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who gave to St.* Peter *and his other Diſciples power to bind and looſe, abſolve thee from all the guilt of thy ſins; and in ſo far as is committed to my weakneſs, be thou abſolved before the Tribunal of our Lord, and may thou have Eternal Life, and live for evermore.* This was thought the higheſt abuſe poſſible; when in giving the hopes of Heaven, and the pardon of ſins, which were of all the other parts of Religion the moſt important, there were ſuch mixtures: and that which the Scriptures had taught could be only attained by *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that upon the ſincere belief and obedience of his Goſpel, was now aſcribed to ſo many other procuring Cauſes. Theſe things had poſſeſſed the World with that conceit that there was a trick for ſaving Souls, beſides that plain method which Chriſt had taught; and that the Prieſts had the ſecret of it in their Hands; ſo that thoſe who would not come under the Yoak of Chriſt, and be ſaved that way, needed only to apply themſelves to Prieſts, and purchaſe their favour, and the buſineſs would be done.

There were two other Changes, which run through the whole Offices. The one was, The tranſlating them into a Vulgar Tongue. The *Jewiſh* Worſhip was either in *Hebrew*, or, after the Captivity, in the *Syriack*, the Vulgar Tongues of *Paleſtine*. The Apoſtles always officiated in the Tongues that were beſt underſtood: So that St. *Paul* did copiouſly cenſure thoſe who in Prayers or Pſalms, uſed any Language that was not underſtood. And *Origen*, *Baſil*, with all the Fathers that had occaſion to mention

this,

this, took notice, that every one in their own Tongue worſhiped God. After the renting of the *Roman* Empire by the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations, the *Roman* Tongue did ſlowly mix with their Tongues, till it was much changed, and altered from it ſelf by degrees; yet it was ſo long a doing that, that it was not thought neceſſary to tranſlate the Liturgy into their Languages. But in the ninth *Century*, when the *Slavons* were converted, it being deſired that they might have Divine Offices in their own Language; while ſome oppoſed it, a Voice was ſaid to be heard, *Let every Tongue Praiſe God*; Upon which, Pope *John* the 8*th* writ to *Methodius* their Biſhop, that it might be granted, and founded it on St. *Pauls Epiſt.* to the *Cor.* and on theſe words of *David*, *Let every Tongue praiſe the Lord.* And in the fourth Council of *Lateran* it was decreed, That Biſhops who lived in Places where they were mixed with *Greeks*, ſhould provide fit Prieſts for performing Divine Offices, according to the Rites and Language of thoſe to whom they miniſtred. But the *Roman* Church, though ſo merciful to the *Greeks*, and *Slavons*, was more cruel to the reſt of *Europe*; and ſince only *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, had been written on the Croſs of Chriſt by *Pilate*, they argued that theſe Languages were thereby conſecrated: though it is not eaſie to apprehend what Holineſs could be derived into theſe Tongues by *Pilate*, who ordered theſe Inſcriptions. It was alſo pretended, that it was a part of the Communion of Saints, that every where the Worſhip ſhould be in the ſame Tongue. But the truth was, they had a mind to raiſe the value of the Prieſtly Function, by keeping all Divine Offices in a Tongue not underſtood; which in People otherwiſe well ſeaſoned with ſuperſtition, might have that effect; but it did very much alienate the reſt of the World from them. There was alſo a vaſt number of Holy-days formerly obſerved, with ſo many Prayers and Hymns belonging to them, and ſo many Leſſons that were to be read; which were many of them ſuch impudent Forgeries, that, the whole *Breviary* and *Miſſal* being full of theſe, a great deal was to be left out. There is in the whole *Breviary* ſcarce one Saint, but the Leſſons concerning him contain ſome ridiculous Legend, ſuch as indeed could not be well read in a Vulgar Tongue without the ſcorn and laughter of the Hearers; and for moſt part the Prayers and Hymns do relate to theſe lying Stories. Many of the Prayers and Hymns were alſo in ſuch a Style, that the pardon of Sin, Grace, and Heaven, were immediately deſired from the Saints; as if theſe things had come from their Bounty, or by their Merits; or were given by them only, of which the Reader ſhall have a little taſt in the *Collection*, in ſome of the Addreſſes made to them. Collection Number 29.

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The Reformers having thus conſidered the corruptions of the former Offices, were thereby better prepared to frame new ones. But the Prieſts had officiated in ſome Garments, which were appropriated to that uſe, as Surplices, Copes, and other Veſtments; and it was long under conſideration whether theſe ſhould continue. It was objected, that theſe Garments had been parts of the Train of the Maſs, and had been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed, only to ſet it off with the more pomp. On the other hand it was argued, That as White was anciently the Colour of the Prieſts Garments in the Moſaical Diſpenſation, ſo it was uſed in the *African* Churches in the fourth *Century*: And it was thought a natural expreſſion of the purity and decency that became Prieſts: beſides the

1548. Clergy were then generally extream poor, so that they could scarce afford themselves decent Cloaths; the People also running from the other Extream of submitting too much to the Clergy, were now as much enclined to despise them, and to make light of the Holy Function; so that if they should officiate in their own mean Garments, it might make the Divine Offices grow also into contempt. And therefore, it was resolved to continue the use of them; and it was said, that their being blessed, and used superstitiously, gave as strong an Argument against the use of Churches, and Bells; but that St. *Paul* had said, *That every Creature of God was good*, and even the Meat of the Sacrifice offered to an Idol, than which there could be no greater abuse, might lawfully be eaten; therefore they saw no necessity because of a former abuse to throw away Habits, that had so much decency in them, and had been formerly in use.

In the compiling the Offices, they began with Morning and Evening Prayer. These were put in the same Form they are now; only there was no Confession nor Absolution; the Office beginning with the Lords Prayer. In the Communion Service, the Ten Commandements were not said, as they are now; but in other things, it was very near what it is now. All that had been in the Order of the Communion formerly mentioned was put into it. The Offertory was to be made of Bread and Wine mixed with Water. Then was said the Prayer for the state of Christs Church, in which they gave thanks to God for his wonderful Grace declared in his Saints, in the Blessed Virgin, the Patriarchs, Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs; and they commended the Saints departed to Gods Mercy and Peace, that at the day of the Resurrection we with them might be set on Christs Right Hand. To this, the consecratory Prayer which we now use, was joyned as a part of it; only with these words that are since left out, *With thy Holy Spirit vouchsafe to Ble†ss, and Sanc†tifie, these thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son*, &c. To the Consecration was also joyned the Prayer of Thanksgiving now used. After the Consecration, all Elevation was forbidden, which had been first used as a Rite expressing how Christ was lifted up on the Cross; but was, after the belief of the Corporal Presence, made use of to shew the Sacrament, that the People might all fall down and worship it. And it was ordered, That the whole Office of the Communion, except the Consecratory Prayer, should be used on all Holy-days, when there was no Communion, to put People in mind of it, and of the Sufferings of Christ. The Bread was to be unleavened, round, but no print on it, and somewhat thicker than it was formerly. And though it was anciently put in the Peoples Hands, yet because some might carry it away, and apply it to superstitious uses, it was ordered to be put by the Priest into their Mouths. It is clear that Christ delivered it into the Hands of the Apostles, and it so continued for many Ages, as appears by several remarkable Stories of Holy Men carrying it with them in their Journeys. In the *Greek* Church, where the Bread and Wine were mingled together, some began to think it more decent to receive it in little Spoons of Gold, than in their Hands; but that was condemned by the Council in *Trullo*: Yet soon after they began in the *Latin* Church to appoint Men to receive it with their Hands, but Women to take it in a Linnen

Linnen Cloath, which was called their *Dominical*. But when the belief 1548.
of the Corporeal Presence was received, then a new way of receiving was invented among other things to support it: The People were now no more to touch that which was conceived to be the Flesh of their Saviour, and therefore the Priests Thumb and Fingers were particularly anointed, as a necessary disposition for so holy a Contact, and so it was by them put into the Mouths of the People. A *Letany* was also gathered, consisting of many short Petitions, interrupted by Suffrages between them: and was the same that we still use, only they had one Suffrage that we have not, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, and all his detestable enormities.

In Baptism there was, besides the Forms which we still retain, a Cross at first made on the Childs Forehead, and Breast, with an adjuration of the Devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. Then the Priest was to take the Child by the Right Hand, and to place him within the Font: there he was to be dipt thrice, once on the right side, once on the left, and once on the Breast; which was to be discreetly done: but if the Child were weak, it was sufficient to sprinkle Water on his Face. Then was the Priest to put a White Vestment or Chrisome on him, for a token of Innocence, and to anoint him on the Head, with a Prayer for the Unction of the Holy Ghost. In Confirmation, those that came, were to be Catechised, which having in it a formal engagement to make good the Baptismal Vow, was all that was asked: (The *Catechism* then was the same that is now, only there is since added an Explanation of the Sacraments:) This being said, the Bishop was to Sign them with the Cross, and to lay his Hands on them, and say, *I Sign thee with the Sign of the Cross, and lay my Hands on thee, in the Name of the Father*, &c. The Sick, who desired to be anointed, might have the Unction on their Forehead, or their Breast only; with a Prayer, that as their Body was outwardly anointed with Oyl, so they might receive the Holy Ghost, with Health, and victory over Sin, and Death. At Funerals, they recommended the Soul departed to Gods Mercy, and prayed that his sins might be pardoned, that he might be delivered from Hell, and carried to Heaven, and that his Body might be raised at the last day.

They also took care that those who could not come, or be brought to Church, should not therefore be deprived of the use of the Sacraments. The Church of *Rome* had raised the belief of the indispensable necessity of the Sacraments so high, that they taught they did *ex opere operato* by the very action it self without inward acts, justifie and confer Grace, unless there were a barr put to it by the Receiver: and the first rise of the Questions about Justification seems to have come from this: For that Church teaching that Men were justified by Sacramental Actions, the Reformers opposed this, and thought Men were justified by the Internal Acts of the Mind: If they had held at this, the Controversie might have been managed with much greater advantages; which they lost in a great measure by descending to some minuter subtleties. In the Church of *Rome* pursuant to their belief concerning the necessity of the Sacraments, Women were allowed in extream Cases to Baptize: and the Midwives commonly did it; which might be the beginning of their being licensed by Bishops to exercise that Calling. And they also believed that a simple attrition with the Sacraments was sufficient for Salvation in those

1548. those who were grown up, and upon these Grounds the Sacraments were administred to the Sick.

In the Primitive Church they sent Portions of the Sacrament to those who were sick, or in Prison: and did it not only without Pomp or Processions, but sent it often by the hands of Boys and other Laicks, as appears from the famed Story of *Serapion:* which as it shews they did not then believe it was the very Flesh and Blood of Christ; so when that Doctrine was received it was a natural effect of that belief, to have the Sacrament carried by the Priest himself with some Pomp and Adoration. The Ancients thought it more decent and sutable to the Communion of Saints to consecrate the Elements only in the Church, and to send Portions to the Sick, thereby expressing their Communion with the rest. The Reformers considering these things steered a middle course: They judged the Sacraments necessary, where they could be had; as appointments instituted by Christ: and though they thought it more expedient to have all Baptisms done in the Church at the Fonts, than in private Houses; thereby signifying that the Baptized were admitted to the fellowship of that Church; yet since our Saviour had said, That *where two or three are gathered together he will be in the midst of them*; they thought it savoured too much of a Superstition to the Walls or Fonts of Churches, to tie this Action so to these, that where Children, either through infirmity, or the sharpness of Weather, could not be, without danger, carried to Church, they should be denied Baptism. But still they thought publick Baptism more expressive of the Communion of the Saints, so that they recommended it much, and only permitted the other in Cases of necessity. This has since grown to a great abuse; many thinking it a piece of state to have their Children Baptized in their Houses; and so bringing their pride with them even into the most Sacred Performances. There may be also a fault in the Ministers, who are too easily brought to do it. But it is now become so universal, that all the endeavours of some of our Bishops have not been able to bring it back, to the first design of not Baptizing in private Houses; excepting only where there was some visible danger in carrying the Children to Church.

As for the other Sacrament, it was thought by our Reformers, that according to the mind of the Primitive Church, none should be denied it in their extremities: it never being more necessary, than at that time, to use all means that might strengthen the faith, and quicken the devotion of dying Persons; it being also most expedient that they should then profess their dying in the Faith, and with a good Conscience, and in Charity with all Men: Therefore they ordered the Communion to be given to the Sick, and that before it were so given, the Priest should examine their Consciences; and upon the sincere profession of their Faith, and the confession of such sins as oppressed their Consciences, with the doing of all that was then in their power, for the compleating of their Repentance, as the forgiving injuries, and dealing justly with all People, he should give them the Peace of the Church in a formal Absolution, and the Holy Eucharist. But that they might avoid the pomp of vain Processions on the one hand, and the indecencies of sending the Sacrament by common Hands on the other, they thought it better to gather a Congregation about the Sick Person, and there to consecrate and give

give the Sacrament to that small Assembly: where, as Christs Promise, of *being in the midst of two or three that were gathered together in his Name*, should have put an end to the weak exceptions some have made to these private Communions; so on the other hand it is to be feared, that the greater part retain still too much of the Superstition of Popery; as if the Priests Absolution with the Sacrament, and some slight sorrow for sin, would be a sure Pass-port for their admittance to Heaven: which it is certain can only be had, upon so true a Faith as carries a sincere Repentance with a change of Heart and Life along with it: for to such only the Mercies of God through the Merits of Jesus Christ are applied in all ordinary Cases. 1548.

To all this they prefixed a Preface concerning Ceremonies, the same that is still before the Common-Prayer-Book. In which Preface they make a difference between those Ceremonies that were brought in with a good intent, and were afterwards abused; and others that had been brought in out of vanity and superstition at first, and grew to be more abused: The one they had quite rejected, the other they had reformed, and retained, for decency and edification. Some were so set on their old Forms, that they thought it a great matter to depart from any of them; others were desirous to innovate in every thing; between both which they had kept a mean. The burthen of Ceremonies in St. *Austins* days was such that he complained of them, then as intolerable, by which the state of Christians was worse than that of the *Jews*; but these were swelled to a far greater number since his days, which did indeed darken Religion, and had brought Christians under a heavy Yoke. Therefore they had only reserved such as were decent, and apt to stir up Mens Minds with some good signification. Many Ceremonies had been so abused by superstition and avarice, that it was necessary to take them quite away: But since it was fit to retain some, for decency and order, it seemed better to keep those which were old, than to seek new ones. But these that were kept, were not thought equal with Gods Law, and so were upon just causes to be altered: they were also plain, and easie to be understood, and not very subject to be abused. Nor did they in retaining these, condemn other Nations, or prescribe to any but their own People. And thus was this Book made ready against the next meeting of Parliament.

The Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer.

In it, the use of the Cross was retained, since it had been used by the ancient Christians, as a publick declaration that they were not ashamed of the Cross of Christ. Though they acknowledged this had been strangely abused in the later Ages, in which the bare use of the Cross was thought to have some Magical Vertue in it: And this had gone so far, that in the *Roman Pontifical* it was declared, that the Crosier Staff was to be worshiped with that supream degree of Adoration, called *Latria*. But it was thought fit to retain it in some parts of Worship; and the rather, because it was made use of among the People to defame the Reformers, that they had no Veneration for the Cross of Christ. And therefore as an outward expression of that, in the Sacrament of Baptism, and in the Office of Confirmation, and in the consecration of the Sacramental Elements, it was ordered to be retained, but with this difference, that the Sign of the Cross was not made with the opinion of any vertue or efficacy in it to drive away evil Spirits, or to preserve one out of dangers,

Reflections made on the new Liturgy.

1548. gers, which were thought Vertues that followed the use of it in the *Roman* Church; for in Baptism, as they used the Sign of the Cross, they added an Adjuration to the *evil Spirit not to violate it*, and in the making it said, *Receive the Sign of the Cross both in thy Forehead and in thy Heart, and take the Faith of the Heavenly Precepts.* Thus a Sacramental Vertue was pretended to be affixed to it; which the Reformers thought could not be done without a Warrant from a Divine Institution, of which it is plain there was none in Scripture. But they thought the use of it only as an expression of the Belief of the Church, and as a Badge of Christianity, with such words added to it as could import no more, was liable to no exception. This seems more necessary to be well explained, by reason of the Scruples that many have since raised against significant Ceremonies, as if it were too great a presumption in any Church to appoint such; since these seem to be of the nature of Sacraments. Ceremonies that signifie the Conveyance of a Divine Grace, and Vertue, are indeed Sacraments, and ought not to be used without an express Institution in Scripture: but Ceremonies that only signifie the sense we have, which is sometimes expressed as significantly in dumb shows as in words, are of another kind; and it is as much within the power of the Church to appoint such to be used, as it is to order Collects or Prayers, words and signs being but different ways of expressing our thoughts. The belief of Christs Corporal Presence was yet under consideration. And they observing wisely how the *Germans* had broken, by their running too soon into Contests about that, resolved to keep up still the old general Expressions, of the Sacraments being the whole and true Body of Christ, without coming to a more particular explanation of it. The use of Oyl on so many occasions, was taken from the Ancient Christians, who, as *Theophilus* says, began early to be anointed; and understood those words of St. *Paul*, of *Gods anointing* and *sealing*, literally. It was also anciently applied to the receiving of Penitents. But it was not used about the Sick, from the Apostles times till about the 10*th Century.* And then, from what St. *James* writ to those in the Dispersion, of sending for the Elders to come to such as were sick, who should anoint them with Oyl, and their sins should be forgiven them, and they should recover; they came to give it to those that were dying; but not while there was any hope of Life left in them. Though it is clear, that what St. *James* writ, related to that extraordinary Gift of Healing, by imposition of Hands, and anointing with Oyl, which yet continued in the Church when he writ that *Epistle.* And it is plain, that this Passage in St. *James* was not so understood by the Ancients, as it is now in the *Roman* Church; since the Ancients, though they used Oyl on many other occasions, yet applied it not at all to the Sick, till after so many Ages, that gross Superstition had so disposed the World to new Rites, that there could be no discovery or invention more acceptable, than the addition of a new Ceremony; though they were then much oppressed with the old ones.

The Changes that were made, and those that were designed to be made, occasioned great heats every where. And the Pulpits generally contending with one another; to restrain that clashing, the power of granting Licences to Preach, was taken from the Bishops of each Diocess, so that none might give them, but the King and the Arch-bishop of

of *Canterbury*. Yet that not proving an effectual restraint, on the 23d of *September* a Proclamation is said to have come out, setting forth, That whereas according to former Proclamations none was to preach, but such as had obtained Licenses from the King or the Arch-bishop; yet some of those that were so licensed, had abused that permission, and had carried themselves irreverently contrary to the Instructions that were sent them. Therefore the King intending to have shortly an uniform Order over all the Kingdom, and to put an end to all Controversies in Religion; about which some Bishops and other Learned Men were then assembled; and though many of the Preachers so licensed had carried themselves wisely, to the Honour of God, and the Kings great contentation; yet till the Order now preparing should be set forth, he did inhibit all manner of Persons to preach in any publick Audience; to the intent that the Clergy might apply themselves to Prayer, for a Blessing on what the King was then about to do: not doubting but the People would be employed likewise in Prayer, and hearing the *Homilies* read in their Churches, and be ready to receive that uniform Order that was to be set forth: and the inferior Magistrates were required to see to the execution of this. I never met with any footstep of this Proclamation, neither in Records, nor in Letters, nor in any Book written at that time. But Mr. *Fuller* has printed it, and Dr. *Heylin* has given an Abstract of it from him. If *Fuller* had told how he came by it, it might have been further examined. But we know not whether he saw the printed Proclamation, or only a Copy of it. And if he saw but a Copy, we have reason to doubt of it; for that might have been only the Essay of some projecting Man's Pen. But because I found it in those Authors, I thought best to set it down as it is, and leave the Reader to judge of it.

1548. All Preaching was for a time restrained.

Having thus given an account of the Progress of the Reformation this Summer, I shall now turn to transactions of State, and shall first look towards *Scotland*. The *Scots* gaining time the last Winter, and being in daily expectation of Succours from *France*, were resolved to carry on the War. The Governour began the Year with the Siege of *Broughty Castle*, a little below *Dundee*. But the *English* that were in it defended themselves so well, that after they had been besieged three Months, the Siege was raised, and only so many were left about it as might cover the Country from their excursions. The *English* on the other side had taken, and fortified, *Hadingtoun*; and were at work also at *Lauder* to make it strong. The former of these, lying in a Plain, and in one of the most fruitful Counties of *Scotland*, within twelve Miles of *Edenburgh*, was a very fit Place to be kept as a Curb upon the Country. About the end of *May* 6000 Men were sent from *France* under the Command of *Dessie*: 3000 of these were *Germans*, commanded by the *Rhinegrave*; 2000 of them were *French*, and a Thousand were of other Nations. They landed at *Lieth*; and the Governour having gathered 8000 *Scots* to joyn with them, they sate down before *Hadingtoun*; and here the *Scotish* Nobility entred into a long Consultation about their Affairs.

The Affairs in *Scotland* this Year.

The Protector had sent a Proposition to them, that there might be a Truce for Ten Years. (But whether he offered to remove the Garisons, does not appear.) This he was forced to upon many accounts. He saw the War was like to last long, and to draw on great expence, and would certainly end in another War with *France*; he durst not any more go from

1548. Court, and march himself at the Head of the Army, and leave the King to the Practices of his Brother: There were also great discontents in *England*, many were offended with the Changes made in Religion; the Commons complained generally of oppression, and of the enclosing of Grounds, of which the sad effects broke out next Year: He began to labour under the envy of the Nobility; the Clergy were almost all displeased with him; and the state of Affairs in *Germany* made it necessary to joyn with the King of *France* against the *Emperour*. All this made him very desirous of such a Peace with *Scotland*, as might at least preserve the Queen from being disposed of, for Ten Years. In that time, by Treaty and Pensions, they might hope to gain their ends; more certainly than by a War, which only inflamed the *Scots* against them; according to the witty Saying of one of the *Scots*, who being asked what he thought of the Match with *England*, said, he knew not how he should like the Marriage, but he was sure he did not like the way of wooing. On the other hand, the *French* pressed the *Scots* to send their young Queen into *France*, in the Ships that had brought over their Forces; who should be married to the *Dolphin*, and then they might depend on the Protection of *France*. Many were for accepting the Proposition from *England*, (particularly all those who secretly favoured the Reformation) they thought it would give them present quiet, and free them from all the distractions, which they either felt, or might apprehend, from a lasting War with so powerful an Enemy: whereas the sending away of their Queen would put them out of a capacity of obtaining a Peace, if the War this year proved as unsuccessful as it was the last; and the defence they had from *France* was almost as bad as the Invasions of the *English*, for the *French* were very insolent, and committed great disorders. But all the Clergy were so apprehensive of their ruine by the Marriage with *England*, that they never judged themselves safe till the thing was out of their power, by the sending their Queen into *France*. And it was said, that when once the *English* saw the hopes of the Marriage irrecoverably lost, they would soon grow weary of the War: for then the King of *France* would engage in the defence of *Scotland* with his whole Force, so that nothing would keep up the War so much as having their Queen still among them. To this many of the Nobility yielded, being corrupted by Money from *France*; and the Governour consented to it, for which he was to be made Duke of *Chastelherault* in *France*, and to have an Estate of 12000 Livres a year. And so it was agreed to send their Queen away. This being gained, the *French* Ships set sail to Sea, as if they had been to return to *France*; but sailed round *Scotland* by the Isles of *Orkney*, and came into *Dunbriton* Frith, near to which the Queen was kept in *Dunbriton* Castle; and receiving her from thence, with an Honourable Convoy that was sent to attend on her, they carried her over to *Britaigne* in *France*, and so by easie Journeys she was brought to Court, where her Unkles received her with great joy, hoping by her means to raise and establish their Fortunes in *France*.

The *Scotish* Queen is sent to *France*.

August Queen of *Scots* sent into *France*.

The Siege of *Hadingtoun*.

In the mean time the Siege of *Hadingtoun* was carried on with great valour, on both sides. The *French* were astonished at the courage, the nimbleness, and labours, of the *Scotch* Highlanders; who were half naked; but capable of great hardships, and run used to on with marvellous swift-

Thuanus.

ſwiftneſs. In one Sally which the Beſieged made, one of thoſe got an English Man on his Shoulders, and carried him away, with that quickneſs that nothing could ſtop him: and though the *English* Man bit him ſo in the Neck, that as ſoon as he had brought him into the Camp, he himſelf fell down as dead, yet he carried him off; for which he was nobly rewarded by *Deſſie*. The *English* defended themſelves no leſs couragiouſly; and though a Recruit of about 1000 Foot and 300 Horſe, that was ſent from *Berwick*, led by Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Tho. Palmer*, was ſo fatally intercepted, that they were almoſt all to a Man killed, yet they loſt no Heart. Another Party, of about 300, eſcaped the Ambuſh laid for them, and got into the Town, with a great deal of Ammunition and Proviſions, of which the Beſieged were come to be in want. But at the ſame time both *Home* Caſtle and *Faſcaſtle* were loſt. The former was taken by treachery: for ſome coming in as deſerters, ſeeming to be very zealous for the *English* quarrel, and being too much truſted by the Governour, and going often out to bring intelligence, gave the Lord *Home* notice, that on that ſide where the Rock was, the *English* kept no good Watches, truſting to the ſteepneſs of the Place; ſo they agreed that ſome ſhould come and climb the Rock, to whom they ſhould give aſſiſtance; which was accordingly done, and ſo it was ſurprized in the night. The Governour of *Faſcaſtle* had ſummoned the Country People to bring him in Proviſions; upon which (by a common Stratagem) Soldiers, coming as Country-men, threw down their Carriages at the Gates, and fell on the Sentinels: and ſo the Signal being given, ſome, that lay concealed near at hand, came in time to aſſiſt them, and took the Caſtle. 1548.

The Protector, till the Army was gathered together, ſent a Fleet of Ships to diſturb the *Scots*, by the deſcents they ſhould make in divers places: and his Brother being Admiral, he commanded him to go to his charge. He landed firſt in *Fife*, at St. *Minins*, but there the Queens natural Brother, *James*, afterwards Earl of *Murray*, and Regent of *Scotland*, gathered the Country-People together, and made Head againſt them. The *English* were 1200, and had brought their Canon to Land; but the *Scots* charged them ſo home, that they forced them to their Ships: Many were drowned, and many killed; the *Scots* reckoned the number of the ſlain to be 600, and a hundred Priſoners taken. The next deſcent they made was no more proſperous to them. For landing in the night at *Mountroſe*, *Ærskin* of *Dun* gathered the Country together, and divided them in three Bodies, ordering one to appear ſoon after the former had engaged: the Enemy, ſeeing a ſecond, and a third Body come againſt them, apprehending greater numbers, run back to their Ships; but with ſo much loſs, that of 800 who had landed, the third Man got not ſafe to the Ships again. So the Admiral returned, having got nothing but loſs and diſgrace by the Expedition.

A Fleet ſent againſt Scotland.

But was not ſucceſsful.

But now the *English* Army came into *Scotland*, commanded by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: though both the *Scotch* Writers and *Thuanus* ſay, the Earl of *Lennox* had the chief command; but he only came with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, as knowing the Country and People beſt, and ſo being the fitter both to get intelligence, and to negotiate, if there was room for it. The *Scots* were by this time gone home for the moſt part; and the Nobility with *Deſſie* agreed that it was not fit to put all

1548. to hazard, and therefore raised the Siege of *Hadingtoun*, and marched back to *Edenburgh*. The Lord *Gray* with a great part of the *English* Army followed him in the Rear, but did not engage him into any great Action: by which a good opportunity was lost, for the *French* were in great disorder. The *English* Army came into *Hadingtoun*. They consisted of about 17000 Men: of which Number 7000 were Horse; and 3000 of the Foot were *German Landsknights*, whom the Protector had entertained in his Service. These *Germans* were some of the broken Troops of the Protestant Army, who, seeing the state of their own Country desperate, offered their Service to the Protector. He too easily entertained them; reckoning, that being Protestants, they would be sure to him, and would depend wholly on himself. But this proved a fatal Counsel to him; the *English* having been always jealous of a standing, but much more of a Forreign Force about their Prince: so there was great occasion given by this to those who traded in sowing Jealousies among the People. The *English*, having victualled *Hadingtoun*, and repaired the Fortifications, returned back into their own Country. But had they gone on to *Edenburgh*, they had found things there in great confusion. For *Dessie*, when he got thither, having lost 500 of his Men in the Retreat, went to quarter his Soldiers in the Town; but the Provost, (so is the chief Magistrate there called) opposed it. The *French* broke in with force, and killed him and his Son, with all they found in the Streets, Men, Women, and Children: and as a Spie, whom the *English* had in *Edenburgh*, gave them notice, the *Scots* were now more alienated from the *French* than from the *English*. The *French* had carried it very gently till the *Queen* was sent away; but reckoned *Scotland* now a Conquered Country, and a Province to *France*. So the *Scots* began, though too late, to repent the sending away of the *Queen*. But it seems the *English* had orders not to venture too far; for the hopes of the Marriage were now gone, and the Protector had no mind to engage in a War with *France*. These things happened in the beginning of *October*. *Dessie*, apprehending that at *Hadingtoun* they were now secure, the Siege being so lately raised, resolved to try if he could carry the Place by surprize. The *English* from thence had made Excursions as far as *Edenburgh*; in one of which the *French* fell on them, pursued them, and killed about 200, and took sixscore Prisoners, almost within their Works. Soon after, *Dessie* marched in the night, and surprized one of their Out-works, and was come to the Gates; where the Place had been certainly lost, if it had not been for a *French* Deserter, who knew, if he were taken, what he was to expect. He therefore fired one of the great Canon, which being discharged amongst the thickest of the *French*, killed so many, and put the rest in such disorder, that *Dessie* was forced to quit the Attempt. From thence he went and fortified *Lieth*, which was then but a mean Village; but the situation of the Place being recommended by the security it now had, it soon came to be one of the best Peopled Towns in *Scotland*. From thence he intended to have gone on, to take *Broughty Castle*, and to recover *Dundee*, which were then in the Hands of the *English*, But he was ordered by the Queen Regent to make an Inroad into *England*. There, after some slight Engagements, in which the *English* had the worst, the *Scotch* and *French* came in as far as *Newcastle*, and returned loaded with Spoil: which the *French* divided among them-

Aug. 20. The Siege of *Hadingtoun* rais'd.

themſelves, allowing the *Scots* no ſhare of it. An *Engliſh* Prieſt was taken, who bore that diſgrace of his Country ſo heavily, that he threw himſelf on the ground, and would not eat, nor ſo much as open his Eyes, but lay thus proſtrate till he died. This the *French*, who ſeldom let their misfortunes afflict them, look'd on with much aſtoniſhment. But at that time, the *Engliſh* had fortified *Inch-keith*, an Iſland in the *Frith*, and put 800 Men in it. Seventeen days after that, *Deſſie* brought his Forces from *Lieth*, and recovered it; having killed 400 *Engliſh*, and forced the reſt to ſurrender. 1548.

Thus ended this Year, and with it *Deſſie*'s Power in *Scotland*. For the Queen Mother and the Governour had made great complaints of him at the Court of *France*, that he put the Nation to vaſt charge to little purpoſe; ſo that he was more uneaſie to his Friends than his Enemies: and his laſt diſorder at *Edenburgh*, had on the one hand ſo raiſed the inſolence of the *French* Soldiers, and on the other hand ſo alienated and inflamed the People, that unleſs another were ſent to command, who ſhould govern more mildly, there might be great danger of a defection of a whole Kingdom. For now, the Seeds of their diſtaſt of the *French* Government were ſo ſown, that Men came generally to condemn their ſending the Queen away; and to hate the Governour for conſenting to it, but chiefly, to abhor the Clergy, who had wrought it for their own ends. Diſcontents in *Scotland*.

Monſieur de Thormes was ſent over to command; and *Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence* came with him to govern the Councils, and be Chancellor of the Kingdom. He had lately returned from his Ambaſſy at *Conſtantinople*. He was one of the wiſeſt Men of that time, and was always for moderate Councils in Matters of Religion: which made him be ſometime ſuſpected of hereſie. And indeed the whole ſequel of his life declared him to be one of the greateſt Men of that Age: only his being ſo long, and ſo firmly, united to Queen *Katharine Medici*'s Intereſt, takes off a great deal of the high Character which the reſt of his Life has given of him. But he was at this time unknown, and ill repreſented, in *Scotland*; where they that looked for advantages from their alliance with *France*, took it ill to ſee a *French* Man ſent over to enjoy the beſt Office in the Kingdom. The Queen Mother her ſelf was afraid of him: So to avoid new grounds of diſcontent, he left the Kingdom, and returned into *France*. *Monluc* ſent thither to be Lord Chancellor. But was not well received.

Thus ended the War between *Scotland* and *England* this Year, in almoſt an equal mixture of good and bad ſucceſs. The *Engliſh* had preſerved *Hadingtoun*, which was the chief matter of this Years Action. But they had been at great charge in the War, in which they were only on the defenſive: they had loſt other Places, and been unſucceſsful at Sea: and which was worſt of all, they had now loſt all hopes of the Marriage, and were almoſt engaged in a War with *France*, which was like to fall on the King, when his Affairs were in an ill condition, his People being divided and diſcontented at home, and his Treaſure much exhauſted by this War.

The ſtate of *Germany* was at this time moſt deplorable: The *Pope* and *Emperor* continued their quarrelling about the tranſlation of the Council. *Mendoza* at *Rome*, and *Velaſco* at *Bologna*, declared in the Emperors Name, that a Council being called by his great and long endeavours The Affairs of *Germany*.

1548. deavours for the quieting of *Germany*, and he being engaged in a War to get it to be received; and having procured a submission of the Empire to the Council, it was, upon frivolous and feigned causes, removed out of *Germany*, to one of the Popes Towns: by which the *Germans* thought themselves disengaged of their promise, which was to submit to a Council in *Germany*: and therefore that he protested against it, as an unlawful Meeting, to whose Decrees he would not submit; and *that if they did not return to Trent, he would take care of setling Religion some other way. But the Pope, being encouraged by the French King, was not ill pleased to see the Emperor anew embroil himself with the Germans:* and therefore intended the Council should be continued at *Bologna*. Upon this the *Emperor* ordered three Divines, *Julius Flugius* Bishop of *Naumburg*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *Islebius Agricola*, to draw a Form of Religion. The two former had been always Papists, and the latter was formerly a Protestant, but was believed to be now corrupted by the *Emperor*, that the Name of one of the *Ausburg* Confession might make what they were to set out, pass the more easily. They drew up all the Points of Religion in a *Book* which was best known by the Name of the *Interim*, because it was to last during that Interval, till a General Council should meet in *Germany*. In it, all the Points of the *Romish* Doctrine were set forth in the smoothest terms possible: only married Men might officiate as Priests, and the Communion was to be given in both kinds. The *Book* being thus prepared, a *Diet* was summoned to *Ausburg* in *Feb.* where the first thing done was the solemn Investiture of *Maurice* in the *Electorate* of *Saxony*. He had been declared *Elector* last year by the *Emperor* before *Wittenberg*; but now it was performed with great Ceremony on the 24*th* of *Feb.* which was the Emperors Birth-day: *John Frederick* looking on with his usual constancy of mind. All he said, was, "Now they triumph in that Dignity, of which they have against Justice and Equity spoiled me: God grant they may enjoy it peaceably and happily, and may never need any assistance from me or my Posterity. And without expressing any further concern about it, he went to his Studies, which were almost wholly employed in the Scriptures.

The Emperor being displeased with the Translation of the Council, orders the *Interim* to be drawn.

Feb. *Diet* at *Ausburg*.

Feb. 24. *Maurice* made Elector of *Saxony*.

The Book of the *Interim* being prepared, the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* sent for *Martin Bucer*, who was both a learned and moderate Divine; and shewed it him. *Bucer* having read it, plainly told him, that it was nothing but downright Popery, only a little disguised: at which the *Elector* was much offended, for he was pleased with it; and *Bucer* not without great danger returned back to *Strasburg*. On the 15*th* of *March*, the *Book* was proposed to the *Diet*: and the *Elector* of *Mentz*, without any order, did in all the Princes Names, give the *Emperor* thanks for it: which he interpreted as the assent of the whole *Diet*; and after that would not hear any that came to him to stop it, but published it as agreed to by the *Diet*.

March 15. The *Interim* received in the *Diet*.

The Papists offended at it as well as the Protestants.

At *Rome*, and *Bologna*, it was much condemned, as an high attempt in the Emperor to meddle with Points of Religion; such as dispensing with the Marriage of Priests, and the Communion in both kinds. Wherefore some of that Church writ against it. And Matters went so high, that wise Men of that side began to fear the Breach between the *Emperor* and them might, before they were aware, be past reconciling: for they had

had not forgot that the last Popes stiffness had lost *England*, and they were not a little afraid they might now lose the *Emperor*. But if the *Pope* were offended for the concessions in these two Particulars, the *Protestants* thought they had much greater cause to dislike it; since in all other controverted Points it was against them. So that several of that side writ likewise against it. But the *Emperor* was now so much exalted with his success, that he resolved to go through with it, little regarding the opposition of either hand. The new *Elector* of *Saxony* went home, and offered it to his Subjects. But they refused to receive it, and said, (as Sir *Philip Hobbey*, then Ambassador from *England* at the *Emperors* Court, writ over) that they had it under the Emperors Hand and Seal, that he should not meddle with Matters of Religion, but only with reforming the Common-wealth: and that if their Prince would not protect them in this matter, they should find another, who would defend them from such oppression. An Exhortation for the receiving of it was read at *Ausburg*; but they also refused it. Many Towns sent their Addresses to the Emperor, desiring him not to oppress their Consciences. But none was of such a nature as that from *Linda*, a little Town near *Constance*, which had declared for the *Emperor* in the former War. They returned answer, That they could not agree to the *Interim*, without incurring Eternal Damnation: but to shew their submission to him in all other things they should not shut their Gates, nor make resistance, against any he should find, though it were to spoil and destroy their Town. This let the *Emperor* and his Council see how difficult a work it would be to subdue the Consciences of the *Germans*. But his Chancellor *Granvell* pressed him to extream Councils, and to make an example of that Town, who had so peremptorily refused to obey his Commands. Yet he had little reason to hope he should prevail on those who were at liberty, when he could work so little on his Prisoner the Duke of *Saxe*. For he had endeavoured by great offers to perswade him to agree to it: but all was in vain, for he always told them that kept him, that his Person was in their Power, but his Conscience was in his own, and that he would not on any terms depart from the *Ausburg* Confession. Upon this he was severely used, his Chaplain was put from him, with most of his Servants; but he continued still unmoved, and as cheerful as in his greatest Prosperity. The *Lutheran* Divines entred into great disputes how far they might comply. *Melanchthon* thought that the Ceremonies of Popery might be used, since they were of their own nature indifferent. Others, as *Amstorfius*, *Illiricus*, with the greatest part of the *Lutherans*, thought the receiving the Ceremonies would make way for all the errors of Popery; and though they were of their own nature indifferent, yet they ceased to be so, when they were enjoyned as things necessary to Salvation. But the *Emperor* going on resolutely, many Divines were driven away; some concealed themselves in *Germany*, others fled into *Switzerland*, and some came over into *England*.

1548.

Cotton Library Titus B. 2.

When the news of the Changes that were made here in *England* were carried beyond Sea, and after *Peter Martyr*'s being with *Cranmer*, were more copiously written by him to his friends; *Calvin*, and *Mar. Bucer*, who began to think the Reformation almost opprest in *Germany*, now turned their Eyes more upon *England*. *Calvin* writ to the *Protector* on the 29*th* of *October*, encouraging him to go on notwithstanding the Wars: as

Calvin writ to the Protector.

Heze-

1548. *Hezekias* had done in his Reformation. He lamented the heats of some that professed the Gospel, but complained that he heard there were few lively Sermons preached in *England*; and that the Preachers recited their discourses coldly. He much approves a set-form of Prayers, whereby the consent of all the Churches did more manifestly appear. But he advises a more compleat Reformation: he taxed the *Prayers for the Dead*, the *use of Chrisme* and *Extream Unction*, since they were no where recommended in Scripture. He had heard that the reason why they went no further was, because the Times could not bear it; but this was to do the Work of God by Political Maximes; which though they ought to take place in other things, yet should not be followed in Matters in which the Salvation of Souls was concerned. But above all things he complained of the great impieties and vices that were so common in *England*; as *Swearing*, *Drinking*, and *Uncleanness*; and prayed him earnestly that these things might be looked after.

Bucer writ against *Gardiner*.

Martin Bucer writ also a Discourse, congratulating the Changes then made in *England*, which was translated into *English* by Sir *Philip Hobbey*'s Brother. In it he answered the Book that *Gardiner* had written against him; which he had formerly delayed to do, because King *Henry* had desired he would let it alone, till the *English* and *Germans* had conferr'd about Religion. That Book did chiefly relate to the Marriage of the Clergy: *Bucer* shewed from many Fathers, that they thought every Man had not the Gift of Chastity, which *Gardiner* thought every one might have that pleased. He taxed the open lewdness of the *Romish* Clergy, who being much set against Marriage, which was Gods Ordinance, did gently pass over the impurities which the forbidding it had occasioned among themselves. He particularly taxed *Gardiner* himself, that he had his Rents payed him out of *Stews*. He taxed him also for his state and pompous way of living, and shewed how indecent it was for a Churchman to be sent in Ambassies: and that St. *Ambrose*, though sent to make Peace, was ashamed of it, and thought it unbecoming the Priesthood. Both *Fagius*, and *he*, being forced to leave *Germany*, upon the business of the *Interim*, *Cranmer* invited them over to *England*; and sent them to *Cambridge*, as he had done *Peter Martyr* to *Oxford*. But *Fagius*, not agreeing with this Air, died soon after, a Man greatly learned in the *Oriental* Tongues, and a good Expounder of the Scripture.

Nov. 24. Parliament sits.

This being the state of Affairs both abroad and at home, a Session of Parliament was held in *England* on the 24*th* of *November*, to which day it had been prorogued from the 15*th* of *October*, by reason of the Plague then in *London*. The first *Bill* that was finished, was that about the Marriage of the Priests. It was brought into the House of *Commons* the 3*d* of *December*, read the second time on the 5*th*, and the third time the 6*th*. But this *Bill* being only that married Men might be made Priests, a new Bill was framed, that, besides the former Provision, Priests might marry. This was read the first time the 7*th*, the second time the 10*th*, and was fully argued on the 11*th*, and agreed on the 12*th*, and sent up to the Lords on the 13*th* of *December*. In that *House* it stuck as long, as it had been soon dispatched, by the *Commons*. It lay on the Table till the 9*th* of *February*. Then it was read the first time, and the 11*th* the second time; on the 16*th* it was committed to the *Bishops* of

Ely

Ely and *Westminster*, the Lord *Chief-Justice*, and the *Attorney-General:* 1548.
and on the 19*th* of *Feb.* it was agreed to; the Bishops of *London*, *Duresme*, *Norwich*, *Carlisle*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Bristol*, *Chichester*, and *Landaff*; and the Lords *Morley*, *Dacres*, *Windsor*, and *Wharton*, dissenting. It had the Royal Assent, and so became a Law. The Preamble sets forth, "That it were better for Priests and other Ministers of the "Church to live chast and without Marriage; whereby they might better attend to the Ministry of the Gospel, and be less distracted with "secular cares: so that it were much to be wished, that they would of "themselves abstain. But great filthiness of living, with other inconveniencies, had followed on the Laws that compelled Chastity, and "prohibited Marriage: so that it was better they should be suffered to "marry, than be so restrained. Therefore all Laws and Canons that "had been made against it, being only made by humane Authority, are "repealed. So that all Spiritual Persons of what degree soever might "lawfully marry, providing they married according to the Order of the "Church. But a *Proviso* was added, that because many Divorces of Priests "had been made after the six Articles were enacted, and that the Women "might have thereupon married again, all these Divorces, with every thing "that had followed on them, should be confirmed. There was no Law that passed in this Reign with more contradiction and censure than this, and therefore the Reader may expect the larger account of this matter.

An Act about the Marriage of the Clergy.

The unmarried state of the Clergy had so much to be said for it, as being a course of life that was more disengaged from secular cares, and pleasures; that it was cast on the Reformers every where as a foul reproach, that they could not restrain their appetites, but engaged in a life that drew after it domestick cares, with many other distractions. This was an Objection so easie to be apprehended, that the People had been more prejudiced against the Marriage of the Clergy, if they had not felt greater inconveniencies by the debaucheries of Priests; who being restrained from Marriage, had defiled the Beds, and deflow'red the Daughters of their Neighbours, into whose Houses they had free and unsuspected access, and whom under the Cloak of receiving Confessions they could more easily entice. This made them that they were not so much wrought on by the noise of Chastity, (when they saw so much and so plainly to the contrary) as otherwise they would have been, by a thing that sounded so well. But on the other hand, there was no Argument which the Reformers had more considered. There were two things upon which the Question turned: The one was, the Obligation that Priesthood brought with it to live unmarried; the other was, the tie they might be under by any Vow they had made. For the former, they considered, that God having ordained a Race of Men te be Priests under *Moses* Law, who should offer up expiatory Sacrifices for the sins of the *Jews*, did not only not forbid Marriage, but made it necessary, for that Office was to descend by inheritance; so that Priesthood was not inconsistent with that state. In the New Testament some of the qualifications of a Bishop and Deacon are their being the Husband of one Wife, and their having well ordered their House, and brought up their Children: St. *Peter* and other *Apostles* were married; it was thought St. *Paul* was so likewise; *Aquila* was certainly married to *Priscilla*, and carried her about with him. Our *Saviour*, speaking of the help that an unmarried state was to the Kingdom

Which was much enquired into.

Arguments for it from Scripture.

1548. of God, recommended it equally to all Ranks of Men as they could bear it. St. *Paul* said, *Let every Man have his own Wife*; *It is better to marry than to burn*; and, *Marriage is honourable in all*; and the *forbidding to marry* is reckon'd by him a mark of the Apostacy of the latter times; so that the matter seemed clear from the Scriptures.

And from the Fathers. In the first Ages *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, *Montanus*, *Novatus*, and the *Encratites* condemned Marriage as a state of liberty more than was fit for Christians. Against those was asserted by the Primitive Fathers the lawfulness of Marriage to all Christians without discrimination: and they who entring into Holy Orders forsook their Wives, were severely condemned by the *Apostolical Canons*, and by the Council of *Gangra* in the beginning of fourth, and the Council in *Trullo* in the fifth Age. Many great Bishops in these times lived still with their Wives, and had Children by them, as namely both *Nazianzen*'s and *Basil*'s Fathers: and *Hilary* of *Poictiers* when banished to *Phrygia* and very old, writing to his own Daughter *Abra*, bid her ask her Mother the meaning of those things which she by reason of her Age understood not; by which it appears that his Daughter was then very young, and by consequence born to him after he was a Bishop. In the Council of *Nice*, it being proposed that Clergy-men should depart from their Wives, *Paphnutius*, though himself unmarried, opposed it as an unreasonable Yoke. And *Heliodorus* Bishop of *Trica*, the Author of the first of those Love-Fables, now known by the Name of *Romances*, being suspected of too much lasciviousness, and concerned to clear himself of that charge, did first move that Clergy-men should be obliged to live single, which the *Historian* says they were not tied to before, but Bishops as they pleased lived still with their Wives. The *Fathers* in those times extolled a single Life very high, and yet they all thought a Man once married might be a Bishop though his Wife were yet living; they did not allow it indeed to him that had married twice; but for this they had a distinction, that if a Man had been once married before his Baptism, and again after his Baptism, he was to be understood to be in the state of a single Marriage. So that *Jerome*, who writ warmly enough against second Marriages, yet says, *Ad Oceanum*, that the Bishops in his Age who were but once married in that sense were not to be numbred, and that more of these could be reckoned than were at the Council of *Ariminum*, who are said to have been 800 Bishops. It is true that in that Age they began to make *Canons* against the Marriage of those who were in Orders, especially in the *Roman* and *African* Churches; but those were only Positive Laws of the Church, and the frequent repeating of those Canons shews that even there, they were not generally obeyed. Of *Synesius* we read, that when he was ordained Priest, he declared that he would not live secretly with his Wife as some did, but that he would dwell publickly with her, and wisht that he might have many Children by her. In the *Eastern* Church all their Clergy below the Order of Bishops are usually married before they be ordained, and afterward live with their Wives, and have Children by them, without any kind of Prohibition. In the *Western* Church the Married Clergy are taken notice of in many of the *Spanish* and *Gallican* Synods, and the Bishops and Priests Wives are called *Episcopæ* and *Presbyteræ*. In most of the Cathedrals of *England* the Clergy were married in the *Saxon* times, but as was shewn, *Page* 22. of the *first* Part, because they would

not

not quit their Wives they were put out, not of Sacred Orders, but only out of the Seats they were then in, and those were given to the Monks. When Pope *Nicolas* had pressed the Cœlibate of the Clergy in the 9*th Century*, there was great opposition made to it, chiefly by *Huldericus* Bishop of *Ausburg*, who was held a Saint notwithstanding this opposition. *Restitutus* Bishop of *London* lived openly with his Wife: nor was the Cœlibate of the Clergy generally imposed till Pope *Gregory* the 7*th*'s time in the *eleventh Century*, who projecting to have the Clergy depend wholly on himself, and so to separate them from the Interests of those Princes in whose Dominions they lived, considered that by having Wives and Children they gave Pledges to the State where they lived, and reckoned that if they were free from this incumbrance, then their Persons being Sacred, there would be nothing to hinder, but that they might do as they pleased in obedience to the Popes, and opposition to their own Princes Orders. The *Writers* near *Gregory* the 7*th*'s time called this a new thing, against the Mind of the Holy Fathers, and full of rashness in him thus to turn out married Priests. *Lanfranc* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* did not impose Cœlibate on the Clergy in the Villages, but only on those that lived in Towns, and on Prebendaries. But *Anselm* carried it further, and simply imposed it on all the Clergy; yet himself laments that *Sodomy* was become then very common, and even publick, which was also the complaint of *Petrus Damiani* in Pope *Gregories* time. *Bernard* said that, *that* sin was frequent among the Bishops in his time, and that this with many other abominations was the natural effect of prohibiting Marriage. This made Abbot *Panormitan* wish that it were left to Mens liberty to marry if they pleased. And *Pius* the second said there might have been good reasons for imposing Cœlibate on the Clergy, but he believed there were far better Reasons for taking away these Laws that imposed it. Yet even since those Laws have been made *Petrarch* had a License to marry, and keep his Preferments still. *Boniface* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Geofrey* Bishop of *Ely* are said to have had Wives; and though there were not so many Instances of Priests marrying after Orders, yet if there were any thing in the nature of Priesthood inconsistent by the Law of God with Marriage, then it was as unlawful for them to continue in their former Marriages as to contract a new one. Some few Instances were also gathered out of Church History of Bishops and Priests marrying after Orders: but as these were few, so there was just reason to controvert them. 1548.

The Vows and other Reasons against it examined.

Upon the whole matter it was clear that the Cœlibate of the Clergy flowed from no law of God, nor from any general Law of the Church; but the contrary, of Clergy-mens living with their Wives, was universally received for many Ages. As for Vows, it was much questioned how far they did bind in such Cases. It seemed a great sin to impose such on any, when they were yet young, and did not well know their own dispositions. Nor was it in a Mans power to keep them. For, Continence being none of those Graces that are promised by God to all that ask it, as it was not in a Mans Power without extream severities on himself to govern his own constitution of Body, so he had no reason to expect God should interpose when he had provided another remedy for such Cases. Besides, the Promise made by Clergy-men, according to

1548. the Rites of the *Roman Pontifical*, did not oblige them to Cœlibate. The words were, *Wilt thou follow Chastity and Sobriety?* to which the Sub-Deacon answered, *I will.* By *Chastity* was not to be understood a total abstinence from all, but only from unlawful embraces; since a Man might live chast in a state of Marriage, as well as out of it. But whatever might be in this, the *English* Clergy were not concerned in it: for there was no such Question nor Answer made in the Forms of their Ordination. So they were not by any Vow precluded from Marriage: And for the Expediency of it, nothing was more evident, than that these Laws had brought in much uncleanness into the Church, and those who pressed them most had been signally noted for these Vices. No Prince in the *English* History lewder than *Edgar* that had so promoted it. The *Legate* that in King *Henry* the second's time got that severe Decree made, that put all the married Clergy from their Livings, was found the very night after (for the credit of Cœlibate) in bed with a Whore. On this Subject many undecent Stories were gathered, especially by *Bale*, who was a learned Man, but did not write with that temper and discretion that became a Divine. He gathered all the lewd Stories that could be raked together to this purpose; and the many abominable things found in the Monasteries were then fresh in all Mens memories. It was also observed, that the unmarried Clergy had been, as much as the married could be, intent upon the raising Families, and the enriching of their Nephews and Kindred, (and sometimes of their Bastards, witness the present Pope *Paul* the third, and not long before him *Alexander* the *6th*) so that the married Clergy could not be tempted to more Covetousness than had appeared in the unmarried. And for the Distraction of Domestick Affairs, the Clergy had formerly given themselves up to such a secular course of Life, that it was thought nothing could encrease it; but if the married Clergy should set themselves to raise more than a decent maintenance for their Children, such as might fit them for Letters or Callings, and should neglect Hospitality, become covetous, and accumulate Livings and Preferments, to make Estates for their Children; this might be justly curbed by new Laws, or rather the renewing of the ancient Canons, by which Clergy-men were declared to be only entrusted with the Goods of the Church for publick ends, and were not to apply them to their own private uses, nor to leave them to their Children and Friends.

Thus had this Matter been argued in many Books that were written on this Subject, by *Poinet*, and *Parker*, the one afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, and the other Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; also by *Bale* Bishop of *Ossory*, with many more. Dr. *Ridley*, Dr. *Taylor*, (afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*) Dr. *Benson*, and Dr. *Redmayn*, appeared more confidently in it, than many others; being Men that were resolved never to marry themselves; who yet thought it necessary, and therefore pleaded, (according to the Pattern that *Paphnutius* had set them) that all should be left to their liberty in this matter.

The Debate about it was brought into the Convocation, where Dr. *Redmayn's* Authority went a great way. He was a Man of great Learning and Probity, and of so much greater weight, because he did not in all Points agree with the Reformers: but being at this time sick, his opinion was brought under his Hand, which will be found in the *Collection*, copied

Collection Number 30.

copied from the Orignal. It was to this purpose, "That though the "Scriptures exhorted Priests to live chast, and out of the cares of the "World; yet the Laws forbidding them Marriage, were only Canons "and Constitutions of the Church; not founded on the Word of God: "and therefore he thought that a Man once married might be a Priest: "and he did not find the Priests in the Church of *England* had made any "Vow against Marriage; and therefore he thought that the King and "the higher Powers of the Church, might take away the Clog of perpetual continence from the Priests, and grant that such as could not or "would not contain, might marry once, and not be put from their "holy Ministration. It was opposed by many in both Houses, but carried at last by the major Vote. All this I gather from what is printed concerning it. For I have seen no Remains of this, or of any of the other Convocations that came afterwards in this Reign; the Registers of them being destroyed in the Fire of *London*. This Act seemed rather a connivance, and permission of the Clergy to marry, than any direct allowance of it, So the Enemies of that state of life continued to reproach the married Clergy still: and this was much heightned by many undecent Marriages, and other light behaviour of some Priests. But these things made way for a more full Act concerning this matter about three years after. 1548.

The next Act that past in this Parliament was about the publick Service; which was put into the House of *Commons* on the 9*th* of *December*, and the next day was also put into the House of *Lords*: It lay long before them, and was not agreed to till the 15*th* of *Jan*. The Earl of *Derby*, the Bishops of *London*, *Duresme*, *Norwich*, *Carlisle*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, and *Chichester*, and the Lords, *Dacres*, and *Windsor*, protesting. The Preamble of the *Act* sets forth, "That there "had been several Forms of Service, and that of late there had been great "difference in the Administration of the Sacraments, and other parts of "Divine Worship: and that the most effectual endeavours could not stop "the Inclinations of many to depart from the former Customs: which "the King had not punished, believing they flowed from a good zeal. But "that there might be an uniforme way over all the Kingdom, the King, "by the advice of the Lord Protector and his Council, had appointed "the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, with other learned and discreet Bishops "and Divines, to draw an Order of Divine Worship, having respect to "the pure Religion of Christ taught in the Scripture, and to the practice "of the Primitive Church, which they by the Aid of the Holy Ghost, "had with one uniforme agreement concluded on; wherefore the Parliament having considered the *Book*, and the things that were altered or "retained in it, they gave their most humble thanks to the King for his "care about it: and did pray that all who had formerly offended in these "matters, except such as were in the Tower of *London*, or the Prison "of the *Fleet*, should be pardoned; and did Enact, that from the Feast "of *Whit-Sunday* next, all Divine Offices should be performed according to it, and that such of the Clergy as should refuse to do it, or continue to officiate in any other manner, should upon the first conviction "be imprisoned six Months, and forfeit a years Profit of their Benefice: For the second offence forfeit all their Church Preferments, and "suffer a years Imprisonment: And for the third offence should be impri-

An Act confirming the Liturgy.

"soned

1548. "soned during life. And all that should write, or put out things in print "against it, or threaten any Clergy-men for using it, were to be fined in "10 *l.* for the first offence, 20 for the second, and to forfeit all their "Goods, and be imprisoned for life, upon a third offence. Only at the "*Universities* they might use it in *Latin* and *Greek*, excepting the Office "of the Communion. It was also lawful to use other *Psalms* or *Prayers* "taken out of the Bible, so these in the Book were not omitted. This Act was variously censured by those who disliked it. Some thought it too much, that it was said the *Book* was drawn *by the Aid of the Holy Ghost*. But others said this was not to be so understood, as if they had been inspired by extraordinary assistance; for then there had been no room for any correction of what was now done: and therefore it was only to be understood in that sense, as all good Motions and Consultations are directed or assisted by the secret influences of Gods Holy Spirit; which do oft help good Men, even in their imperfect actions, where the good that is done is justly ascribed to the Grace of God. Others censured it, because it was said to be done by uniform agreement, though four of the Bishops that were employed in the drawing of it, protested against it. These were the Bishops of *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Chichester*, and *Westminster*; but these had agreed in the main parts of the Work, though in some few Particulars they were not satisfied, which made them dissent from the whole.

The Censures passed upon it.

Singing of Psalms brought in.

The *Proviso* for the *Psalms* and *Prayers* taken out of the Bible, was for the *Singing Psalms*, which were translated into Verse, and much sung by all who loved the Reformation, and were in many Places used in Churches. In the Ancient Church the Christians were much exercised in repeating the *Psalms* of *David*: many had them all by heart, and used to be reciting them when they went about their Work; and those who retired into a Monastical course of life, spent many of their hours in repeating the *Psalter*. *Apollinaris* put them in verse, as being easier for the memory. Other devout *Hymns* came to be also in use. *Nazianzen* among the *Greeks*, and *Prudentius* among the *Latines*, laboured on that Argument with the greatest success. There were other *Hymns* that were not put in verse, the chief of which were, that most ancient Hymn which we use now after the Sacrament, and the Celebrated *Ambrosian* Hymn that begins *Te Deum Laudamus*. But as when the Worship of the departed Saints came to be dressed up with much pomp, Hymns were also made for their honour: and in *Latin* Tongue, as well as *Prosody*, being then much decayed, these came to be cast into Rithmes, and were written generally in a fantastical affected Style: So now at the Reformation, some Poets, such as the times afforded, translated *Davids* Psalms into verse; and it was a sign by which Mens affections to that Work were every where measured, whether they used to sing these, or not. But as the *Poetry* then was low, and not raised to that justness to which it is since brought, so this Work, which then might pass for a tolerable composure, has not been since that time so reviewed or changed as perhaps the thing required: hence it is that this piece of Divine Worship, by the meanness of the Verse, has not maintained its due esteem. Another thing, that some thought deserved to be considered in such a Work, was, that many of the *Psalms*, being such as related more specially to *Davids* Victories, and contained Passages in them not easily understood, it seemed

better

better to leave out these, which it was not so easie to sing with Devotion, because the meaning of them either lay hid, or did not at all concern *Christians*. 1548.

The Parliament was adjourned from the 22*d* of *December* to the second of *Jan.* On the 7*th* of *Jan.* the Commons sent an Address to the Protector to restore *Latimer* to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*: but this took no effect, for that good old Man did choose rather to go about and preach, than to engage in a matter of Government, being now very ancient. A Bill was put in by the Lords for appointing of Parks, and agreed to, the Earl of *Arundel* only dissenting; but being sent down to the Commons, it was upon the second reading thrown out, yet not so unanimously but that the House was divided about it. 1549. Jour. Proc.

On the fourth of *Feb.* a Bill was put in against eating Flesh in *Lent*, and on Fasting days; it was committed to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*, and *Chichester*; and sent to the Commons on the 16*th*, who sent it up on the 7*th* of *March*, with a *Proviso* to which the Lords agreed. In the *Preamble* it is said, "That though "it is clear by the Word of God, that there is no Day, nor kind of "Meat, purer than another, but that all are in themselves alike; yet "many out of sensuality had contemned such abstinence, as had been "formerly used; and since due abstinence was a mean to vertue, and to "subdue Mens Bodies to their Soul and Spirit, and was also necessary to "encourage the Trade of Fishing, and for saving of Flesh; therefore all "former Laws about Fasting and Abstinence were to be after the first of "*May* repealed, and it was Enacted, That from the first of *May*, none "should eat Flesh on *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, *Ember-days*, in *Lent*, or any "other days that should be declared Fish-days, under several Penalties. "A *Proviso* was added for excepting such as should obtain the Kings Licence, or were sick, or weak, and that none should be indicted but "within three Months after the Offence. An Act about Fasts.

Christ had told his Disciples, that when he should *be taken from them, then they should fast.* Accordingly the Primitive Christians used to fast oft, more particularly before the Anniversary of the *Passion* of Christ, which ended in a high Festivity at *Easter*. Yet this was differently observed, as to the number of days. Some abstained 40 days in imitation of Christs Fast, others only that Week, and others had only an entire Fast from the time of Christs death till his Resurrection. On these Fasts they eat nothing till the Evening, and then they eat most commonly Herbs and Roots. Afterwards the *Fridays* were kept as Fasts, because on that day Christ suffered. *Saturdays* were also added in the *Roman* Church, but not without contradiction. *Ember-weeks* came in afterwards, being some days before those *Sundays*, in which *Orders* were given. And a General Rule being laid down, that every Christian *Festival* should be preceded by a *Fast*, thereupon the Vigils of Holy-days came, though not so soon, into the Number. But this, with the other good Institutions of the Primitive times, became degenerate; even in St. *Austins* time, Religion came to be placed in these observances, and anxious Rules were made about them. Afterwards in the Church of *Rome* they were turned into a Mockery; for, as on Fast-days they dined, which the Ancients did not, so the use of the most delicious Fish, drest in the most

1549. most exquisite manner, with the richest Wines that could be had, was allowed, which made it ridiculous. So now they resolved to take off the severities of the former Laws, and yet to keep up such Laws about Fasting and Abstinence, as might be agreeable to its true end: which is, to subdue the Flesh to the Spirit, and not to gratifie it by a change of one sort of diet into another, which may be both more delicate, and more inflaming. So fond a thing is Superstition, that it will help Men to deceive themselves by the slightest Pretences that can be imagined.

It was much lamented then, and there is as much cause for it still, that carnal Men have taken advantages from the abuses that were formerly practised, to throw off good and profitable Institutions: since the frequent use of Fasting, with Prayer and true Devotion joyned to it, is perhaps one of the greatest helps that can be devised, to advance one to a spiritual temper of Mind, and to promote a holy course of Life: And the mockery that is discernable in the way of some Mens Fasting, is a very slight excuse for any to lay aside the use of that which the Scriptures have so much recommended.

Some Bills were rejected.

There were other *Bills* put in into both Houses, but did not pass. One was, for declaring it Treason to marry the Kings Sisters without consent of the King and his Council: but it was thought that King *Henry*'s Will, disabling them from the Succession in that case, would be a stronger restraint; and so it was laid aside. Another *Bill* was put in for Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. Great Complaints were made of the abounding of Vices and Immoralities, which the Clergy could neither restrain nor punish, and so they had nothing left but to preach against them, which was done by many with great freedom. In some of these *Sermons*, the Preachers expressed their apprehensions of signal and speedy Judgments from Heaven, if the People did not repent; but their Sermons had no great effect, for the Nation grew very corrupt, and this brought on them severe punishments. The Temporal Lords were so jealous of putting power in Church-mens hands, especially to correct those vices of which themselves perhaps were most guilty, that the Bill was laid aside. The pretence of opposing it, was, that the greatest part of the Bishops and Clergy were still Papists in their Hearts; so that if Power were put into such Mens hands, it was reasonable to expect, they would employ it chiefly against those who favoured the Reformation, and would vex them on that score, though with Pretences fetched from other things.

A design for digesting the Common Law into a Body.

There was also put into the House of Commons a *Bill* for reforming of Processes at Common Law, which was sent up by the Commons to the Lords, but it fell in that House. I have seen a large Discourse written then upon that Argument; in which it is set forth, that the Law of *England* was a barbarous kind of Study, and did not lead Men into a finer sort of Learning, which made the Common Lawyers to be generally so ignorant of Forreign Matters, and so unable to negotiate in them; therefore it was proposed, that the *Common* and *Statute* Laws, should be, in imitation of the *Roman* Law, digested into a *Body* under *Titles* and *Heads*, and put in good *Latin*. But this was too great a Design to be set on, or finished under an Infant King. If it was then necessary, it will be readily acknowledged to be much more so now, the Volume of our *Statutes* being so much swell'd since that time; besides the vast number of *Reports*, and *Cases*, and the *Pleadings* growing much

much longer than formerly: yet whether this is a thing to be much expected or desired, I refer it to the learned and wise Men of that Robe. 1549.

The only Act that remains of this Session of Parliament, about which I shall inform the Reader, is the *Attainder* of the *Admiral*. The *Queen Dowager* that had married him died in *September* last, not without suspition of Poison. She was a good and vertuous Lady, and in her whole Life had done nothing unseemly, but the marrying him so indecently, and so soon after the Kings death. There was found among her Papers a Discourse written by her concerning her self; entituled, *The Lamentation of a Sinner*, which was published by *Cecil*, who writ a Preface to it. In it, she, with great sincerity, acknowledges the sinful course of her Life for many years, in which she, relying on External Performances, such as *Fasts*, and *Pilgrimages*, was all that while a Stranger to the Internal and True Power of Religion: which she came afterwards to feel by the study of the Scripture, and the calling upon God for his Holy Spirit. She explains clearly the Notion she had of Justification by Faith, so that Holiness necessarily followed upon it: but lamented the great scandal given by many Gospellers: So were all these called who were given to the reading of the Scriptures.

The Admirals Attainder.

She being thus dead, the *Admiral* renewed his Addresses to the Lady *Elizabeth*, but in vain; for as he could not expect that his Brother and the Council would consent to it, so if he had married her without that, the possibility of succeeding to the Crown was cut off by King *Henry's* Will. And this Attempt of his occasioned that *Act* to be put in, which was formerly mentioned, for declaring the marrying the Kings Sisters, without consent of Council, to be Treason. Seeing he could not compass that design, he resolved to carry away the King to his House of *Holt* in the Country; and so to displace his Brother, and to take the Government into his own hands. For this end, he had laid in Magazines of Arms, and listed about 10000 Men in several Places: and openly complained, that his Brother intended to enslave the Nation, and make himself Master of all; and had therefore brought over those *German* Soldiers. He had also entred into Treaty with several of the Nobility, that envied his Brothers greatness, and were not ill pleased to see a breach between them, and that grown to be irreconcilable. To these he promised that they should be of the Council, and that he would dispose of the King in Marriage to one of their Daughters: the Person is not named. The *Protector* had often told him of these things, and warned him of the danger into which he would throw himself by such ways; but he persisted still in his designs; though he denied and excused them as long as was possible. Now his restless ambition seeming incurable, he was on the 19*th* of *Jan.* sent to the *Tower*. The original Warrant, Signed by all the Privy Council, is in the Council-Book formerly mentioned; where the Earl of *Southampton* Signs with the rest; who was now, in outward appearance reconciled to the *Protector*. On the day following the *Admirals* Seal of his Office was sent for, and put into Secretary *Smiths* Hands. And now many things broke out against him; and particularly a Conspiracy of his with Sir *W. Sharington*, Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at *Bristol*, who was to have furnished him with 10000 *l.* and had already coined about 12000 *l.* false Money, and had clipt a great deal more, to

The Queen Dowager dying, he courted the Lady *Eliz.*

Jan. 19. The Admiral sent to the *Tower*.

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1549. the value of 40000 *l.* in all; for which he was attainted by a Process at Common Law, and that was confirmed in Parliament. *Fowler* also, that waited in the Privy Chamber, with some few others, were sent to the *Tower*: Many complaints being usually brought against a sinking Man, the Lord *Russel*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Secretary *Petre*, were ordered to receive their Examinations. And thus the Business was let alone till the 28 of *Feb.* in which time his Brother did again try if it were possible to bring him to a better temper: And as he had, since their first breach, granted him 800 *l.* a year in Land, to gain his friendship; so means were now used to perswade him to submit himself, and to withdraw from Court, and from all employment. But it appeared that nothing could be done to him that could cure his ambition, or the hatred he carried to his Brother. And therefore on the 22*d* of *Feb.* a full report was made to the Council of all the things that were informed against him; consisting not only of the Particulars formerly mentioned, but of many foul misdemeanours in the discharge of the Admiralty: several Pirates being entertained by him, who gave him a share of their Robberies, and whom he had protected, notwithstanding the Complaints made by other Princes, by which the King was in danger of a War from the Princes so complaining. The whole Charge consists of 33 Articles, which will be found in the *Collection*. The Particulars, as it is entred in the Council-Book, were so manifestly proved, not only by Witnesses, but by Letters under his own Hand, that it did not seem possible to deny them. Yet he had been sent to, and examined, by some of the Council, but refused to make a direct Answer to them, or to Sign those Answers that he had made. So it was ordered, that the next day, all the Privy Council, except the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *John Baker*, Speaker to the House of Commons, who was engaged to attend in the House, should go to the *Tower*, and examine him. On the 23*d* the Lord *Chancellor*, with the other Councellors, went to him, and read the Articles of his Charge, and earnestly desired him to make plain Answers to them, excusing himself where he could, and submitting himself in other things: and that he would shew no obstinacy of Mind. He answered them, That he expected an open Trial, and his Accusers to be brought face to face. All the Councellors endeavoured to perswade him to be more tractable, but to no purpose. At last the Lord *Chancellor* required him on his Allegiance to make his Answer. He desired, they would leave the Articles with him, and he would consider of them, otherwise he would make no Answer to them. But the Councellors resolved not to leave them with him on those terms. On the 24*th* of *Feb.* it was resolved in Council, that the whole Board should after Dinner acquaint the King with the state of that Affair, and desire to know of him whether he would have the Law to take place; and since the thing had been before the Parliament, whether he would leave it to their determination: so tender they were of their young King in a Case that concerned his Unkles Life. But the King had begun to discern his seditious temper, and was now much alienated from him.

Collection Number 31.

The Council desired the King to refer the Matter to the Parliament.

When the Councellors waited on him, the Lord *Chancellor* opened the Matter to the King, and delivered his Opinion for leaving it to the Parliament. Then every Councellor by himself spake his mind, all to the same purpose. Last of all the *Protector* spake; he protested this was a most

most sorrowful business to him, that he had used all the means in his power to keep it from coming to this extremity; but were it Son or Brother he must prefer his Majesties safety to them, for he weighed his Allegiance more than his Blood: and that therefore he was not against the request that the other Lords had made; and said, if he himself were guilty of such offences, he should not think he were worthy of life; and the rather because he was of all Men the most bound to his Majesty, and therefore he could not refuse Justice. The King answered them in these words. "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to "my Lord *Admiral* my Unkle, and they tend to Treason, and We perceive that you require but Justice to be done, We think it reasonable, "and We Will, that you proceed according to your Request. Which "words, (as it is marked in the Council-Book) coming so suddenly from "his *Graces* Mouth, of his own motion, as the Lords might well perceive, "they were marvellously rejoyced, and gave the King most hearty praise "and thanks: yet resolved, that some of both Houses should be sent to the "*Admiral*, before the Bill should be put in against him, to see what he "could or would say. All this was done to try if he could be brought to a Submission. So the Lord *Chancellor*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Warwick*, and *Southampton*, and Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, and Sir *Anth. Denny*, were sent to him. He was long obstinate, but after much perswasion was brought to give an Answer to the first three Articles, which will be found in the *Collection* at the end of the Articles: and then on a sudden he stopt, and bade them be content, for he would go no further: and no entreaties would work on him, either to answer the rest, or to set his Hand to the Answers he had made.

1549.

Who consented to it.

On the 25*th* of *Feb.* the *Bill* was put in for attainting him, and the *Peers* had been so accustomed to agree to such *Bills* in King *Henry*'s time, that they did easily pass it. All the Judges, and the Kings Council, delivered their Opinions, that the Articles were Treason. Then the Evidence was brought, many Lords gave it so fully, that all the rest with one Voice consented to the *Bill*; only the *Protector*, *for natural pities sake*, as is in the Council-Book, desired leave to withdraw. On the 27*th* the *Bill* was sent down to the *Commons*, with a Message, That if they desired to proceed as the *Lords* had done, those Lords that had given their Evidence in their own House, should come down and declare it to the *Commons*. But there was more opposition made in the House of *Commons*. Many argued against *Attainders* in absence, and thought it an odd way that some *Peers* should rise up in their Places in their own House, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should be thereupon attainted: therefore it was pressed, that it might be done by a *Trial*, and that the *Admiral* should be brought to the Barr, and be heard plead for himself. But on the fourth of *March* a Message was sent from the King, that he thought it was not necessary to send for the *Admiral*: and that the *Lords* should come down and renew before them the Evidence they had given in their own House. This was done: and so the *Bill* was agreed to by the *Commons* in a full House, judged about 400, and there were not above ten or twelve that voted in the negative. The Royal Assent was given on the 5*th* of *March*. On the 10*th* of *March*, the Council resolved to press the King that Justice might be done on the *Admiral*: and since the Case was so heavy and lamentable

The Bill passed in both Houses.

1549. to the *Protector*, (so it is in the Council-Book) though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the King, nor he, should be further troubled with it. After Dinner they went to the King, the *Protector* being with them. The King said, he had well observed their Proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his safety, and commanded them to proceed in it without further molesting him or the *Protector*: and ended, *I pray you my Lords do so.* Upon this they ordered the Bishop of *Ely* to go to the *Admiral*, and to instruct him in the things that related to another Life: and to prepare him to take patiently his deserved Execution. And on the 17*th* of *March*, he having made report to them of his attendance on the *Admiral*, the Council Signed a Warrant for his Execution, which will be found in the *Collection*, to which both the Lord *Protector* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* set their Hands. And on the 20*th* his Head was cut off. What his behaviour was on the Scaffold I do not find.

Collection Number 32.

March 20. The Admiral beheaded.

Thus fell *Tho.* Lord *Seimour*, Lord high *Admiral* of *England*, a Man of high thoughts, of great violence of temper, and ambitious out of measure. The *Protector* was much censured for giving way to his Execution, by those who looked only at that relation between them, which they thought should have made him still preserve him. But others, who knew the whole *Series* of the Affair, saw it was scarce possible for him to do more for the gaining his Brother than he had done. Yet the other being a Popular Notion, that it was against Nature for one Brother to destroy another, was more easily entertain'd by the Multitude, who could not penetrate into the Mysteries of State. But the way of Proceeding was much condemned; since to attaint a Man without bringing him to make his own defence, or to object what he could say to the Witnesses that were brought against him, was so illegal and unjust, that it could not be defended. Only this was to be said for it, that it was a little more regular than *Parliamentary Attainders* had been formerly; for here the Evidence upon which it was founded was given before both Houses.

Censures past upon it.

And on *Cranmers* signing the Warrant for his Execution.

One Particular seemed a little odd, that *Cranmer* Signed the Warrant for his Execution; which being in a *Cause of Blood*, was contrary to the *Canon Law*. In the Primitive Times, Church-men had only the Cure of Souls lying on them, together with the reconciling of such differences as might otherwise end in Suits of Law before the Civil Courts, which were made up of Infidels. When the Empire became Christian, these Judgments, which they gave originally on so charitable an account, were by the Imperial Laws made to have great Authority; but further than these, or the care of Widows and Orphans, they were forbid, both by the Council of *Chalcedon*, and other lesser Councils, to meddle in Secular Matters. Among the Endowments made to some Churches, there were Lands given, where the Slaves, according to the *Roman* Law, came within the Patrimony of these Churches, and by that Law Masters had Power of Life and Death over their Slaves.

Laws against Church-mens medling in Matters of Blood.

In some Churches this Power had been severely exercised, even to maiming and death, which seemed very indecent in a Church-man. Besides, there was an Apprehension that some severe Church-men, who were but Masters for life, might be more profuse of the Lives of such Slaves, than those that were to transmit them to their Families. Therefore

fore to prevent the wast that would be made in the Churches Patrimony, 1549.
it was agreed on that Church-men should not proceed capitally against any of their Vassals or Slaves. And in the Confusions that were in *Spain*, the Princes that prevailed, had appointed Priests to be Judges, to give the greater reputation to their Courts. This being found much to the prejudice of the Church, it was decreed in the fourth Council of *Toledo* that Priests who were chosen by Christ to the Ministry of Salvation, should not judge in Capital Matters, unless the Prince should swear to them, that he would remit the punishment: and such as did otherwise, were held guilty of Blood-shedding, and were to lose their Degree in the Church. This was soon received over all the *Western* Church; and Arguments were found out afterwards by the *Canonists* to prove the necessity of continuing it; from *Davids* not being suffered to build the Temple, since he was *a Man of Blood*; and from the qualification required by St. *Paul* in a Bishop, *That he should be no striker*, since he seemed to strike, that did it either in Person, or by one whom he deputed to do it. But when afterwards *Charles* the Great, and all the Christian Princes in the *West*, gave their Bishops great Lands and Dominions; they obliged them to be in all their Councils, and to do them such *Services* as they required of them by vertue of their Tenures. The Popes, designing to set up a Spiritual Empire, and to bring all Church-lands within it; required the Bishops to separate themselves from a dependance on their Princes, as much as it was possible: And these Laws formerly made about Cases of Blood, were judged a Colour good enough why they should not meddle in such Trials; so they procured these Cases to be excepted. But it seems *Cranmer* thought his Conscience was under no tie from those *Canons*, and so judged it not contrary to his Function to Sign that Order.

Subsidies granted by the Clergy and Laity.

The *Parliament* was on the 14*th* of *March* Prorogued to the 4*th* of *Nov.* the Clergy having granted the King a Subsidy of 6 *s.* in the Pound to be paid in three Years. In the *Preamble* of the *Bill* of Subsidy they acknowledged the great quietness they enjoyed under him, having no Let nor Impediment in the Service of God. But the Laity set out their Subsidy with a much fuller *Preamble*, of the great happiness they had by the true Religion of Christ; declaring that they were ready to forsake all things rather than Christ; as also to assist the King in the Conquest of *Scotland*, which they call a part of his Dominion; therefore they give 12 *d.* in the Pound of all Mens Personal Estates to be paid in three Years.

A New Visitation.

But now to look into Matters of Religion, there was, immediately after the Act of *Uniformity* pass'd, a new *Visitation*, which, it is probable, went in the same Method that was observed in the former. There were two things much complained of; the one was, that the Priests read the Prayers generally with the same tone of Voice that they had used formerly in the *Latin* Service: so that, it was said, the People did not understand it much better than they had done the *Latin* formerly. This I have seen represented in many Letters; and it was very seriously laid before *Cranmer* by *Martin Bucer*. The course taken in it, was, that in all *Parish* Churches the Service should be read in a plain audible Voice; but that the former way should remain in *Cathedrals*, where there were great *Quires*, who were well acquainted with that Tone, and where it agreed better with the Musick that was used in the *Anthems*. Yet even

there,

1549. there, many thought it no proper way in the *Letany*, where the greatest gravity was more agreeable to such humble Addresses, than such a modulation of the Voice, which to those unacquainted with it seemed light, and for others that were more accustomed to it, it seemed to be rather use that had reconciled them to it, than the natural decency of the thing, or any fitness in it to advance the devotion of their Prayers. But this was a thing judged of less importance: It was said that those who had been accustomed to read in that Voice, could not easily alter it: but as those dropt off and died, others would be put in their places, who would officiate in a plainer Voice. Other Abuses were more important. Some used in the *Communion-Service* many of the old *Rites*, such as kissing the Altar, crossing themselves, lifting the Book from one place to another, breathing on the Bread, shewing it openly before the distribution, with some other of the old Ceremonies. The People did also continue the use of their praying by *Beads*, which was called an Innovation of *Peter* the Hermite in the *12th Century*. By it, ten *Aves* went for one *Pater Noster*, and the reciting these so oft in *Latin*, had come to be almost all the devotion of the Vulgar: and therefore the People were ordered to leave that unreasonable way of Praying, it seeming a most unaccountable thing that the reciting the Angels Salutation to the Blessed Virgin, should be such a high piece of Divine Worship. And that this should be done ten times, for one Prayer to God, looked so like *preferring the Creature to the Creator*, that it was not easie to defend it from an appearance of Idolatry. The Priests were also ordered to exhort the People to give to the Poor. The Curates were required to preach and declare the *Catechism*, at least every sixth Week. And some Priests continuing secretly the use of *Soul-Masses*, in which, for avoiding the censure of the Law, they had one to communicate with them, but had many of these in one day; It was ordered, that there should be no selling of the Communion, in *Trentals*, and that there should be but one Communion in one Church, except on *Easter-day* and *Christmas*; in which the People coming to the Sacrament in greater numbers, there should be one Sacrament in the Morning, and another near Noon. And there being great abuses in Churches, and Church-yards, in which in the times of Popery, Markets had been held, and Bargains made, *that* was forbid, chiefly in the time of Divine Service or Sermon.

Some of the old Abuses coninued in the new Service.

These Instructions, which the Reader will find in the *Collection*, were given in charge to the Visitors. *Cranmer* had also a *Visitation* about the same time, in which the Articles he gave out are all drawn according to the Kings Injunctions. By some Questions in them, they seem to have been sent out before the Parliament, because the Book of Service is not mentioned: but the last Question save one, being of such as contemned married Priests, and refused to receive the Sacrament at their hands, I conceive that these were compiled after the *Act* concerning their Marriage was past; but before the Feast of *Whit-Sunday* following, for till then the *Common-Prayer-Book* was not to be received. There were also Orders sent by the Council to the Bishop of *London*, to see that there should be no special Masses in *St. Pauls* Church; which, being the Mother-Church in the chief City of the Kingdom, would be an example to all the rest; and that therefore there should be only one Communion at the great Altar, and that at the time when the high Mass was wont to be celebrated, unless

Collection Number 33.

some

some desired a Sacrament in the Morning, and then it was to be celebrated at the high Altar. *Bonner*, who resolved to comply in every thing, sent the Councils Letter to the *Dean* and *Residentiaries* of St. *Pauls*, to see it obeyed: and indeed all *England* over the Book was so universally received, that the Visitors did return no complaint from any corner of the whole Kingdom. Only the Lady *Mary* continued to have Mass said in her House, of which the Council being advertised, writ to her to conform her self to the Laws, and not to cast a reproach on the Kings Government; for the nearer she was to him in Blood, she was to give the better example to others: and her disobedience might encourage others to follow her in that contempt of the Kings Authority. So they desired her to send to them, her *Comptroller*, and Dr. *Hopton* her Chaplain, by whom she should be more fully advertised of the King and Councils Pleasure. Upon this she sent one to the *Emperor* to interpose for her, that she might not be forced to any thing against her Conscience.

1549.

All received the new Service except the Lady *Mary*.

At this time there was a Complaint made at the *Emperours* Court, of the *English* Ambassador Sir *Philip Hobby*, for using the new *Common-Prayer-Book* there: To which he answered, He was to be obedient to the Laws of his own Prince and Country; and as the *Emperors* Ambassador had Mass at his Chappel at *London*, without disturbance, though it was contrary to the Law of *England*, so he had the same reason to expect the like liberty. But the *Emperor* espousing the Interest of the Lady *Mary*, both *Paget*, (who was sent over Ambassador Extraordinary to him upon his coming into *Flanders*) and *Hobby* promised in the Kings Name that he should dispense with her, for some time, as they afterwards declared upon their Honours, when the thing was further questioned: though the *Emperor* and his Ministers pretended, that without any Qualification it was promised that she should enjoy the free exercise of her Religion. The *Emperor* was now grown so high with his success in *Germany*, and that at a time when a War was coming on with *France*, that it was not thought advisable to give him any offence. There was likewise a Proposition sent over by him to the *Protector* and *Council*, for the Lady *Mary* to be married to *Alphonso*, Brother to the King of *Portugal*. The Council entertained it: and though the late King had left his Daughters but 10000 *l.* a-piece, yet they offered to give with her 100000 Crowns in Money, and 20000 Crowns worth of Jewels. The *Infant* of *Portugal* was about her own Age, and offered 20000 Crowns Jointure. But this Proposition fell, on what hand I do not know. The Lady *Mary* writ on the 22*d* of *June* to the Council, that she could not obey their late Laws; and that she did not esteem them Laws, as made when the King was not of Age, and contrary to those made by her Father, which they were all bound by Oath to maintain. She excused the not sending her *Comptroller*, (Mr. *Arundel*) and her Priest: the one did all her business, so that she could not well be without him; the other was then so ill that he could not travel. Upon this the Council sent a peremptory Command to these, requiring them to come up, and receive their Orders. The Lady *Mary* wrote a second Letter to them on the 27*th* of *June*, in which she expostulated the matter with the Council. She said, She was subject to none of them, and would obey none of the Laws they made; but protested great Obedience and Subjection to the King. When her Officers came to Court, they were commanded to declare to the Lady *Mary*,

The Ambassador at the Emperors Court not suffered to use it.

A Treaty of Marriage for the Lady *Mary*.

Cotton lib. Galba E. 12.

She writ to the Council concerning the new Service.

1549. *Mary*, that though the King was young in Person, yet his Authority was now as great as ever: that those who have his Authority and act in his Name are to be obeyed; and though they as single Persons were her humble Servants, yet when they met in Council, they acted in the Kings Name, and so were to be considered by all the Kings Subjects as if they were the King himself: they had indeed sworn to obey the late Kings Laws, but that could bind them no longer than they were in force; and being now repealed, they were no more Laws; other Laws being made in their room: There was no exception in the Laws, all the Kings Subjects were included in them; and for a Reformation of Religion made when a King was under Age, one of the most perfect that was recorded in Scripture was so carried on, when *Josiah* was much younger than their King was: therefore they gave them in charge to perswade her *Grace*, (for that was her *Title*) to be a good example of obedience, and not to encourage peevish and obstinate Persons, by her stiffness. But this Business was for some time laid aside.

Who required her to obey as other Subjects did.

And now the Reformation was to be carried on to the establishing of a Form of *Doctrine*, which should contain the chief Points of Religion. In order to which, there was this Year great enquiry made into many particular Opinions, and chiefly concerning the *Presence* of *Christ* in the *Sacrament*. There was no Opinion, for which the Priests contended more ignorantly and eagerly, and that the People generally believed more blindly and firmly, as if a strong Belief were nothing else but winking very hard. The Priests, because they accounted it the chief support now left of their falling Dominion, which being kept up, might in time retrieve all the rest. For while it was believed, that their Character qualified them for so strange and mighty a Performance, they must needs be held in great reverence. The People, because they thought they received the very Flesh of Christ, and so (notwithstanding our Saviours express Declaration to the contrary, that *the Flesh profiteth nothing*) looked on those who went about to perswade them otherwise, as Men that intended to rob them of the greatest Priviledge they had. And therefore it was thought necessary to open this fully, before there should be any change made in the Doctrine of the Church.

The manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament examined.

The *Lutherans* seemed to agree with that which had been the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church, that in the Sacrament there was both the Substance of Bread and Wine, and Christs Body likewise. Only many of them defended it by an Opinion that was thought a-kin to the *Eutychian* Heresie, that his humane Nature by vertue of the union of the God-head, was every where: though even in this way it did not appear that there was any special Presence in the Sacrament, more than in other things. Those of *Switzerland* had on the other hand, taught that the Sacrament was only an Institution to commemorate the Sufferings of Christ. This, because it was intelligible, was thought by many too low and mean a thing, and not equal to the high expressions that are in the Scripture, of its being *the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ*. The *Princes* of *Germany* saw what mischief was like to follow on the diversity of Opinions in explaining the *Sacrament*: and as *Luther*, being impatient in his temper, and too much given to dictate, took it very ill to see his Doctrine so rejected; so by the undecent way of writing in matters of Controversie, to which the *Germans* are too much inclined, this diffe-

rence

rence turned to a direct breach among them. The *Landgrave* of *Hesse* had laboured much to have these diversities of Opinion laid asleep, since nothing gave their common Enemies such advantage, as their quarrelling among themselves. *Martin Bucer* was of a moderate temper, and had found a middle Opinion in this matter, though not so easie to be understood. He thought there was more than a *Remembrance*, to wit, a *Communication* of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament; that in general a *Real Presence* ought to be asserted, and that the way of explaining it ought not to be anxiously enquired into: and with him *Calvin* agreed, that it was *truly* the *Body and Blood of Christ*, not *figuratively*, but *really* present. The advantage of these general Expressions was, that thereby they hoped to have silenced the Debates between the *German* and *Helvetian* Divines, whose Doctrine came likewise to be received by many of the *Cities* of the *Empire*, and by the *Elector Palatine*. And among *Martin Bucers* Papers, I met with an Original Paper of *Luthers*, (which will be found in the *Collection*) in which he was willing to have that difference thus setled: "Those of the *Ausburg* "Confession should declare, that in the Sacrament there was truly Bread "and Wine, and those of the *Helvetian* Confession should declare, that "Christs Body was truly present, and so without any further curiosities "in the way of explaining it, in which Divines might use their liberty, "the difference should end. But how this came to take no effect, I do not understand. It was also thought that this way of expressing the Doctrine would give least offence; for the People were scarce able to bear the Opinion of the Sacraments being only a *Figure*: but wherein this *Real Presence* consisted, was not so easie to be made out. Some explained it more intelligibly in a sense of Law, that in the Sacrament there was a real application of the Merit of Christs Death, to those who received it worthily: so that Christ as crucified was really present: and these had this to say for themselves, that the Words of the Institution do not call the Elements simply Christs *Body* and *Blood*, but his *Body broken*, and his *Blood shed*, and that therefore Christ was really present, as he was crucified, so that the importance of *Really* was *Effectually*. Others thought all ways of explaining the manner of the Presence were needless curiosities, and apt to beget differences: that therefore the Doctrine was to be established in general words, and to save the labour both of explaining and understanding it, it was to be esteemed a Mystery. This seems to have been *Bucers* Opinion, but *Peter Martyr* inclined more to the *Helvetians*.

1549.

Collection Number 34.

Publick Disputations about it.

There were publick Disputations held this Year both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge* upon this Matter. At *Oxford* the Popish Party did so encourage themselves by the Indulgence of the Government, and the gentleness of *Cranmers* temper, that they became upon this Head insolent out of measure. *Peter Martyr* had read in the Chair concerning the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which he explained according to the Doctrine of the *Helvetian* Churches: Dr. *Smith* did upon this resolve to contradict him openly in the Schools, and challenge him to dispute on these Points: and had brought many thither, who should by their Clamours and Applauses run him down: yet this was not so secretly laid, but a friend of *P. Martyrs* brought him word of it before he had come from his House, and perswaded him not to go to the Schools that day, and

Antiq. Oxon.

1549. ſo diſappoint *Smith*. But he lookęd on that as ſo mean a thing, that he would by no means comply with it. So he went to the Divinity Schools; on his way one brought him a Challenge from *Smith* to diſpute with him, concerning the Euchariſt. He went on and took his place in the Chair, where he behaved himſelf with an equal meaſure of courage and diſcretion: he gravely check'd *Smiths* preſumption, and ſaid, he did not decline a diſpute; but was reſolved to have his Reading that day, nor would he engage in a publick Diſpute without leave from the Kings Council: Upon this a Tumult was like to riſe; ſo the Vice-Chancellor ſent for them before him: *P. Martyr* ſaid he was ready to defend every thing that he had read in the Chair, in a Diſpute: but he would manage it only in Scripture-Terms, and not in the Terms of the Schools.

This was the beating the Popiſh Doctors out of that which was their chief ſtrength; for they had little other Learning, but a ſlight of toſſing ſome Arguments from hand to hand, with a gibberiſh kind of Language, that ſounded like ſomewhat that was ſublime; but had really nothing under it. By conſtant practiſe they were very nimble at this ſort of Legerdemain, of which both *Eraſmus* and Sir *Tho. More*, with the other learned Men of that Age, had made ſuch ſport, that it was become ſufficiently ridiculous: and the Proteſtants laid hold on that advantage which ſuch great Authorities gave them to diſparage it. They ſet up another way of diſputing from the Original Text of the Scripture in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, which ſeemed a more proper thing in matters of Divinity, than the Metaphyſical Language of the School-men.

This whole Matter being referred to the Privy-Council, they appointed ſome Delegates to hear and preſide in the Diſputation: but Dr. *Smith* being brought in ſome trouble, either for this Tumult, or upon ſome other account, was forced to put in Sureties for his good behaviour: he deſiring that he might be diſcharged of any further proſecution, made the moſt humble ſubmiſſion to *Cranmer* that was poſſible; and being thereupon ſet at liberty, he fled out of the Kingdom, it is ſaid he went firſt to *Scotland*, and from thence to *Flanders*. But not long after this *Peter Martyr* had a Diſputation before the *Commiſſioners* ſent by the King, who were the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Cox*, then Chancellor of the Univerſity, and ſome others; in which *Treſham*, *Chadſey*, and *Morgan*, diſputed againſt thoſe three Propoſitions: 1. *In the Sacrament of Thankſgiving there is no Tranſubſtantiation of Bread and Wine in the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* 2. *The Body or Blood of Chriſt is not Carnally or Corporally in the Bread and Wine, nor as others uſe to ſay, under the Bread and Wine.* 3. *The Body and Blood of Chriſt are united to the Bread and Wine Sacramentally.* *Ridley* was ſent alſo to *Cambridge* with ſome others of the Kings Commiſſioners, where, on the 20*th*, 24th, and 27*th* of *June*, there were publick Diſputations on theſe two *Poſitions*.

"Tranſubſtantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifeſt "words of Scripture; nor can it be neceſſarily collected from it; nor yet "confirmed by the conſent of the Ancient Fathers.

"In the Lords Supper there is none other Oblation and Sacrifice, than "of a Remembrance of Chriſts Death, and of Thankſgiving.

Dr. *Madew* defended theſe, and *Glyn*, *Langdale*, *Sedgewick*, and *Young*, diſputed againſt them the firſt day; and the ſecond day *Glyn* defended the

the contrary Propositions, and *Pern*, *Grindal*, *Gest*, and *Pilkington*, disputed against them. On the third day the Dispute went on, and was summed up in a learned *Determination* by *Ridley* against the Corporal Presence. There had been also a long Disputation in the Parliament on the same Subject; but of this we have nothing remaining, but what King *Edward* writ in his *Journal*. *Ridley* had, by reading *Bertrams* Book of the Body and Blood of Christ, been first set on to examine well the old Opinion concerning the Presence of Christs very Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament: and wondering to find that in the *9th Century* that Opinion was so much controverted, and so learnedly writ against by one of the most esteemed Men of that Age, began to conclude, that it was none of the ancient Doctrines of the Church, but lately brought in; and not fully received, till after *Bertrams* Age. He communicated the Matter with *Cranmer*, and they set themselves to examine it with more than ordinary care. *Cranmer* afterwards gathered all the Arguments about it into the Book which he writ on that Subject, to which *Gardiner* set out an Answer under the disguised Name of *Marcus Constantius*; and *Cranmer* replied to it. I shall offer the Reader in short, the Substance of what was in these Books, and of the Arguments used in the Disputations, and in many other Books which were at that time written on this Subject. 1549.

The manner of the Presence explained according to the Scripture.

Christ in the Institution took Bread, and gave it. So that his words, *This is my Body*, could only be meant of the Bread: Now the Bread could not be his Body literally. He himself also calls the Cup, *The Fruit of the Vine*. St. *Paul* calls it, *The Bread that we break*, and *the Cup that we bless*; and speaking of it after it was blessed, calls it, *That Bread and that Cup*. For the Reason of that Expression, *This is my Body*; it was considered that the Disciples, to whom Christ spoke thus, were *Jews*; and that they being accustomed to the Mosaical Rites, must needs have understood his words in the same sense they did *Moses*'s words, concerning the *Paschal Lamb*, which is called *the Lords Passover*. It was not that literally, for *the Lords Passover* was the Angels passing by the *Israelites* when he smote the first-born of the *Egyptians*; so the *Lamb* was only the *Lords Passover* as it was the Memorial of it: and thus Christ substituting the *Eucharist* to the *Paschal Lamb*, used such an Expression, calling it *his Body*, in the same manner of speaking as the *Lamb* was called *the Lords Passover*. This was plain enough, for his Disciples could not well understand him in any other sense than that to which they had been formerly accustomed. In the Scripture many such Figurative Expressions occurre frequently. In Baptism, the other Sacrament instituted by Christ, he is said to Baptize *with the Holy Ghost and with Fire*: and such as are Baptized, are said to *put on Christ*: which were Figurative Expressions: As also in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the Cup is called *the New Testament in Christs Blood*, which is an Expression full of Figure. Farther it was observed, that *that* Sacrament was Instituted for a Remembrance of Christ, and of his death: which implied that he was to be absent at the time when he was to be remembred. Nor was it simply said, that the Elements were his Body and Blood; but that they were his *Body broken*, and his *Blood shed*, that is, they were these as suffering on the Cross; which as they could not be understood literally, for Christ did Institute this Sacrament before he had

1549. ſuffered on the Croſs; ſo now Chriſt muſt be preſent in the Sacrament, not as glorified in Heaven, but as ſuffering on his Croſs. From thoſe Places where it is ſaid, that Chriſt is in Heaven, and that he is to continue there; they argued, that he was not to be any more upon Earth. And thoſe words in the *6th* of St. *John*, of *eating Chriſts Fleſh*, and *drinking his Blood*, they ſaid were to be underſtood not of the Sacrament: ſince many receive the Sacrament unworthily, and of them it cannot be ſaid that *they have Eternal Life in them*; but Chriſt there ſaid of them that received him in the ſenſe that was meant in that *Chapter*, that *all that did ſo eat his Fleſh had Eternal Life in them*; therefore theſe words can only be underſtood *Figuratively* of receiving him *by Faith*, as himſelf there explains it: And ſo in the end of that Diſcourſe, finding ſome were ſtartled at that way of expreſſing himſelf, he gave a Key to the whole, when he ſaid *his Words were Spirit and Life*, and *that the Fleſh profited nothing, it was the Spirit that quickned.* It was ordinary for him to teach in Parables; and *the receiving of any Doctrine*, being oft expreſſed by the *Prophets*, by the Figure of *eating and drinking*, he, upon the occaſion of the Peoples coming to him after he had fed them with a few Loaves, did diſcourſe of their believing, in theſe dark Expreſſions; which did not ſeem to relate to the Sacrament, ſince it was not then Inſtituted. They alſo argued from Chriſts appealing to the Senſes of his Hearers, in his Miracles, and eſpecially in his diſcourſes upon his Reſurrection, that the Teſtimony of Senſe was to be received, where the Object was duly applied, and the Senſe not vitiated. They alſo alledged natural Reaſons againſt a Bodies being in more places than one, or being in a Place in the manner of a Spirit, ſo that the Subſtance of a compleat Body, could be in a crumb of Bread or drop of Wine: and argued, that ſince the Elements after Conſecration, would nouriſh, might putrifie, or could be poiſoned, theſe things clearly evinced, That the Subſtance of Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament.

And from the Fathers.

From this they went to examine the Ancient Fathers. Some of them called it *Bread and Wine*; others ſaid it *nouriſhed the Body*, as *Juſtin Martyr*; others, *that it was digeſted in the Stomach*, and *went into the draught*, as *Origen*. Some called it a *Figure* of Chriſts Body, ſo *Tertullian*, and St. *Auſtin*; others called the Elements *Types* and *Signs*, ſo almoſt all the Ancient *Liturgies*, and the *Greek* Fathers generally. In the *Creeds* of the Church it was profeſſed, that Chriſt ſtill ſate on the Right Hand of God; the *Fathers* argued from thence, that he was in Heaven, and not on Earth. And the *Marcionites*, and other *Hereticks*, denying that Chriſt had a true Body, or did really ſuffer; the *Fathers* appealed in that to the Teſtimony of Senſe, as Infallible. And St. *Auſtin* giving Rules concerning Figurative Speeches in Scripture; one is this, that they muſt be taken Figuratively, where in the literal ſenſe the thing were a Crime; which he applies to theſe Words of *eating Chriſts Fleſh, and drinking his Blood.* But that on which they put the ſtreſs of the whole cauſe, as to the Doctrine of the Fathers, was the reaſoning that they uſed againſt the *Eutychians*, who ſaid that Chriſts Body and Humane Nature was ſwallowed up by his Divinity. The *Eutychians*, arguing from the Euchariſts being called Chriſts Body and Blood, in which they ſaid Chriſts Preſence did convert the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine into his own Fleſh and Blood; ſo in like manner, ſaid they, his Godhead had converted the

the Manhood into it ſelf: Againſt this, *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Theodoret*, one of the learnedeſt Fathers of his Age, argue in plain words, That the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remained, as it was formerly, in its own Nature, and Form; and from their Opinion of the Preſence of Chriſts Body in it without converting the Elements, they turned the Argument to ſhew how the Divine and Humane Nature can be together in Chriſt; without the ones being changed by the other. *Peter Martyr* had brought over with him the Copy of a *Letter* of St. *Chryſoſtomes*, which he found in a *MS.* at *Florence*, written to the ſame purpoſe, and on the ſame Argument: which was the more remarkable, becauſe that *Chryſoſtome* had ſaid higher things in his *Sermons* and *Commentaries* concerning Chriſts being preſent in the Sacrament than any of all the Fathers; but it appeared by this Letter, that thoſe high Expreſſions were no other than Rhetorical Figures of Speech to beget a great reverence to this Inſtitution: and from hence it was reaſonable to judge that ſuch were the like Expreſſions in other Fathers, and that they were nevertheleſs of *Chryſoſtomes* mind touching the Preſence of Chriſt in this Sacrament. That *Epiſtle* of his does lie ſtill unpubliſhed, though a very learned Man now in *France* has procured a Copy of it: but thoſe of that Church know the conſequence that the printing of it would have, and ſo it ſeems are reſolved to ſuppreſs it if they can. From all theſe things it was plain that though the Fathers believed there was an extraordinary Vertue in the Sacrament, and an unaccountable Preſence of Chriſt in it, yet they thought not of Tranſubſtantiation nor any thing like it. But when darkneſs and ignorance crept into the Church, the People were apt to believe any thing that was incredible: and were willing enough to ſupport ſuch Opinions as turned Religion into external Pageantry. The Prieſts alſo knowing little of the Scriptures, and being only or chiefly converſant in thoſe Writings of the Ancients that had highly extolled the Sacrament; came generally to take up the Opinion of the Corporal Preſence, and being ſoon apprehenſive of the great eſteem it would bring to them, cheriſhed it much. In the *9th Century Bertram*, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Amalarius*, *Alcuinus*, and *Joannes Scotus*, all writ againſt it: nor were any of them cenſured or condemned for theſe Opinions. It was plainly and ſtrongly contradicted by ſome *Homilies* that were in the *Saxon* Tongue, in which not a few of *Bertrams* words occur: particularly in that which was to be read in the Churches on *Eaſter* day. But in the 11*th* or 12*th Century* it came to be univerſally received; as indeed any thing would have been that much advanced the Dignity of Prieſthood. And it was farther advanced by Pope *Innocent* the third, and ſo eſtabliſhed in the fourth Council of *Lateran*; That ſame Council, in which the rooting out of Hereticks, and the Popes Power of depoſing Heretical Princes, and giving their Dominions to others, were alſo decreed. 1549.

But there was another curious Remark made of the Progreſs of this Opinion. When the Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence was firſt received in the *Weſtern* Church, they believed that the whole Loaf was turned into one entire Body of Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that in the diſtribution one had an Eye, a Noſe, or an Ear, another a Tooth, a Finger, or a Toe, a third a Collop, or a piece of Tripe; and this was ſupported by pretended Miracles ſuited to that Opinion, for ſometimes the Hoſt was

1549. ſaid to bleed, Parts of it were alſo ſaid to be turned to pieces of Fleſh. This continued to be the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* for near 300 Years. It appears clearly in the Renunciation which they made *Berengarius* ſwear. But when the School-men began to form the Tenets of that Church by more artificial and ſubtil Rules; as they thought it an ungentle way of treating Chriſt to be thus mangling his Body, and eating it up in Gobbets, ſo the Maximes they ſet up about the Extenſion of matter, and of the manner of Spirits filling a ſpace, made them think of a more decent way of explaining this Prodigious Myſtery. They taught that Chriſt was ſo in the Hoſt and Chalice, that there was one entire Body in every crumb and drop; ſo that the Body was no more broken, but upon every breaking of the Hoſt, a new whole Body flew off from the other parts, which yet remained an entire Body, notwithſtanding that diminution. And then the former Miracles being contrary to this conceit, were laid aſide, and new ones invented, fitted for this Explanation, by which Chriſts Body was believed preſent after the manner of a Spirit. It was given out, that he ſometimes appeared as a Child all in Raies upon the Hoſt, ſometimes with Angels about him, or ſometimes in his Mothers Arms. And that the Senſes might give as little contradiction as was poſſible, in ſtead of a Loaf they bleſſed then only Wafers, which are ſuch a ſhadow of Bread as might more eaſily agree with their Doctrine of the accidents of Bread being only preſent: and leaſt a larger meaſure of Wine might have encouraged the People to have thought it was Wine ſtill, by the ſenſible effects of it, that came alſo to be denied them.

This was the Subſtance of the Arguments that were in thoſe Writings. But an Opinion that had been ſo generally received, was not of a ſudden to be altered. Therefore they went on ſlowly in diſcuſſing it, and thereby did the better diſpoſe the People to receive what they intended afterwards to eſtabliſh concerning it. And this was the ſtate of Religion for this *Year*.

Proceedings againſt Anabaptiſts.

At this time there were many *Anabaptiſts* in ſeveral parts of *England*. They were generally *Germans*, whom the Revolutions there had forced to change their Seats. Upon *Luthers* firſt preaching in *Germany*, there aroſe many, who building on ſome of his Principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief Foundation he laid down was, That the Scripture was to be the only Rule of Chriſtians. Upon this many argued, that the Myſteries of the Trinity, and Chriſts Incarnation and Sufferings, of the Fall of Man, and the Aids of Grace, were indeed Philoſophical Subtilties, and only pretended to be deduced from Scripture, as almoſt all Opinions of Religion were; and therefore they rejected them. Among theſe, the Baptiſm of Infants was one. They held that to be no Baptiſm, and ſo were re-baptiz'd: but from this, which was moſt taken notice of, as being a viſible thing, they carried all the general Name of *Anabaptiſts*. Of theſe there were two ſorts moſt remarkable. The one was of thoſe who only thought that Baptiſm ought not to be given but to thoſe who were of an Age capable of Inſtruction, and who did earneſtly deſire it. This Opinion they grounded on the ſilence of the New Teſtament about the Baptiſm of Children; they obſerved, that our Saviour commanding the Apoſtles to baptize, did joyn Teaching with it; and they ſaid, the great decay of Chriſtianity flowed

Of whom there were two ſorts.

from

from this way of making Children Christians before they understood what they did. These were called the gentle or moderate *Anabaptists*. But others who carried that Name, denied almost all the Principles of the Christian Doctrine, and were Men of fierce and barbarous tempers. They had broke out into a general revolt over *Germany*, and raised the War called *The Rustick War:* and possessing themselves of *Munster*, made one of their Teachers, *John* of *Leyden*, their King, under the Title of the *King of the new Jerusalem*. Some of them set up a fantastical unintelligible way of talking of Religion, which they turned all into Allegories: These being joyned in the common Name of *Anabaptists* with the other, brought them also under an ill Character. 1549.

On the 12*th* of *April* there was a Complaint brought to the Council, that with the Strangers that were come into *England*, some of that Perswasion had come over, and were disseminating their Errours, and making Proselites: So a Commission was ordered for the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Lincoln*, and *Rochester*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Tho. Smith*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *May*, and some others, three of them being a *Quorum*, to examine and search after all Anabaptists, Hereticks, or contemners of the Common-Prayer. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoyn them Penance, and give them Absolution: or if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the Secular Power to be farther proceeded against. Some Tradesmen in *London* were brought before these *Commissioners* in *May*, and were perswaded to abjure their former Opinions: which were, "That a Man regenerate could "not sin; that though the outward Man sinned, the inward Man sinned "not; That there was no Trinity of Persons; That Christ was only a "Holy Prophet, and not at all God; That all we had by Christ was, that "he taught us the way to Heaven; That he took no Flesh of the Virgin; "and that the Baptism of Infants was not profitable. One of those who thus abjured was commanded to carry a Faggot next *Sunday* at St. *Pauls*, where there should be a Sermon setting forth his Heresie. But there was another of these extream obstinate, *Joan Bocher*, commonly called *Joan* of *Kent*. "She denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, "whose Flesh being sinful, he could take none of it: but the Word by "the consent of the inward Man in the Virgin, took Flesh of her: these were her words. They took much pains about her, and had many Conferences with her; but she was so extravagantly conceited of her own Notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn: whereupon she was adjudged an obstinate Heretick, and so left to the Secular Power: The Sentence against her will be found in the *Collection*. This being returned to the Council, the good King was moved to Sign a Warrant for burning her, but could not be prevailed on to do it: he thought it a piece of cruelty too like that which they had condemned in Papists, to burn any for their Consciences. And in a long Discourse he had with Sir *Jo. Cheek* he seemed much confirmed in that Opinion. *Cranmer* was employed to perswade him to Sign the Warrant. He argued from the Law of *Moses*, by which Blasphemers were to be stoned: He told the King, he made a great difference between Errors in other Points of Divinity, and those which were directly against the Apostles *Creed*: that these were impieties against God, which a Prince, as being Gods Deputy, ought to punish;

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1549. as the Kings Deputies were obliged to punish offences, against the Kings Person. These Reasons did rather silence than satisfie the young King, who still thought it a hard thing (as in truth it was) to proceed so severely in such Cases: so he set his hand to the Warrant, with Tears in his Eyes, saying to *Cranmer*, That if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his Authority, he should answer for it to God. This struck the Arch-bishop with much horror, so that he was very unwilling to have the Sentence executed. And both he, and *Ridley*, took the Woman then in custody to their Houses, to see if they could perswade her. But she continued, by Jeers and other Insolencies, to carry her self so contemptuously, that at last the Sentence was executed on her, the second of *May* the next Year, Bishop *Scory* preaching at her burning: she carried her self then as she had done in the former parts of her Process, very undecently, and in the end was burnt.

An Anabaptist burnt.

This Action was much censured, as being contrary to the clemency of the Gospel; and was made oft use of by the *Papists*, who said it was plain that the Reformers were only against Burning, when they were in fear of it themselves. The Womans carriage made her be look'd on as a frantick Person, fitter for *Bedlam* than a *Stake*. People had generally believed that all the Statutes for burning Hereticks had been repealed: but now, when the thing was better considered, it was found that the burning of Hereticks was done by the Common Law, so that the Statutes made about it were only for making the Conviction more easie, and the Repealing the Statutes did not take away that which was grounded on a *Writ* at *Common Law*. To end all this matter at once; two years after this, one *George Van Pare*, a *Dutch-man*, being accused for saying that God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God, he was dealt with long to abjure: but would not: so on the *6th* of *April* 1551. he was condemned in the same manner that *Joan* of *Kent* was, and on the *25th* of *April* was burnt in *Smithfield*. He suffered with great constancy of mind, and kissed the Stake and Faggots, that were to burn him. Of this *Pare* I find a *Popish* Writer saying, That he was a Man of most wonderful strict Life, that he used not to eat above once in two days, and before he did eat would lie sometime in his devotion prostrate on the ground. All this they made use of to lessen the credit of those who had suffered formerly; for it was said, they saw now that Men of harmless Lives, might be put to death for Heresie, by the confession of the Reformers themselves: And in all the Books published in Queen *Maries* days, justifying her severity against the Protestants, these Instances were always made use of: and no part of *Cranmers* Life exposed him more than this did. It was said he had consented both to *Lamberts* and *Anne Askews* death, in the former Reign, who both suffered for Opinions which he himself held now: and he had now procured the death of these two Persons, and when he was brought to suffer himself afterwards, it was called a just retalliation on him. One thing was certain, that what he did in this matter flowed from no cruelty of temper in him, no Man being further from that black disposition of Mind; but it was truly the effect of those Principles by which he governed himself.

Another burnt.

This was much censured.

Disputes concerning the Baptism of Infants.

For the other sort of *Anabaptists*, who only denied Infants Baptism, I find no severities used to them: but several Books were written against them, to which they wrote some Answers. It was said that Christ

allowed

allowed little Children to be brought to him, and said, of *such was the Kingdom of Heaven*, and blessed them: Now if they were capable of the *Kingdom of Heaven*, they must be regenerated, for Christ said none but such as were *born of Water and of the Spirit* could enter into it. St. *Paul* had also called the Children of believing Parents *Holy*, which seemed to relate to such a consecration of them as was made in Baptism: And *Baptism* being the Seal of *Christians*, in the room of *Circumcision* among the *Jews*, it was thought the one was as applicable to Children as the other. And one thing was observed, that the whole World in that Age having been baptized in their Infancy, if that Baptism was nothing; then there were none truly baptized in being; but all were in the state of meer Nature: Now it did not seem reasonable that Men who were not baptized themselves should go and baptize others: and therefore the first Heads of that *Sect*, not being rightly baptized themselves, seemed not to act with any Authority when they went to baptize others. The Practice of the Church, so early begun, and continued without dispute for so many Ages, was at least, a certain confirmation of a thing which had (to speak moderately) so good foundations in Scripture for the lawfulness, though not any peremptory, but only probable Proof for the practice of it. 1549.

The Doctrine of Predestination much abused.

These are all the Errors in Opinion that I find were taken notice of at this time. There was another sort of People, of whom all the good Men in that Age made great complaints. Some there were called *Gospellers*, or Readers of the Gospel, who were a scandal to the Doctrine they professed. In many *Sermons* I have oft met with severe Expostulations with these, and heavy Denunciations of Judgments against them. But I do not find any thing objected to them, as to their belief; save only that the Doctrine of *Predestination* having been generally taught by the Reformers, many of this Sect began to make strange Inferences from it; reckoning, that since every thing was decreed, and the Decrees of God could not be frustrated, therefore Men were to leave themselves to be carried by these Decrees. This drew some into great impiety of Life, and others into desperation. The *Germans* soon saw the ill effects of this Doctrine. *Luther* changed his mind about it, and *Melancthon* openly writ against it: and since that time the whole stream of the *Lutheran* Churches has run the other way. But both *Calvin* and *Bucer* were still for maintaining the Doctrine of these Decrees; only they warned the People not to think much of them, since they were Secrets which Men could not penetrate into; but they did not so clearly shew how these consequences did not flow from such Opinions. *Hooper*, and many other good Writers, did often dehort People from entring into these curiosities; and a Caveat to that same purpose was put afterwards into the Article of the Church about *Predestination*.

Tumults in *England*.

One ill effect of the dissoluteness of Peoples manners broke out violently this Summer, occasioned by the Inclosing of Lands. While the Monasteries stood, there were great numbers of People maintained about these Houses; their Lands were easily let out, and many were relieved by them. But now, the Numbers of the People encreased much, Marriage being universally allowed; they also had more time than formerly, by the abrogation of many Holy-days, and the putting down of Processions and Pilgrimages; so that as the Numbers encreased, they

1549. had more time than they knew how to bestow. Those who bought in the Church-Lands, as they every where raised their Rents, of which old *Latimer* made great Complaints in one of his Court Sermons, so they resolved to enclose their Grounds, and turn them to Pasture: for Trade was then rising fast, and Corn brought not in so much Money as Wooll did. Their Flocks also being kept by few Persons in Grounds so enclosed, the Landlords themselves enjoyed the profit which formerly the Tenants made out of their Estates: and so they intended to force them to serve about them at any such rates as they would allow. By this means the Commons of *England* saw they were like to be reduced to great misery. This was much complained of, and several little Books were written about it. Some proposed a sort of *Agrarian Law*, that none might have Farms above a set value, or Flocks above a set number of 2000 Sheep; which Proposal I find the young King was much taken with, as will appear in one of the Discourses he wrote with his own Hand. It was also represented that there was no care taken of the educating of Youth, except of those who were bred for Learning; and many things were proposed to correct this: but in the mean time the Commons saw the Gentry were like to reduce them to a very low condition.

The *Protector* seemed much concerned for the Commons, and oft spoke against the oppression of Landlords. He was naturally just and compassionate, and so did heartily espouse the Cause of the poor People, which made the Nobility and Gentry hate him much. The former year, the Commons about *Hampton-Court*, petitioned the *Protector* and Council, complaining, that whereas the late King in his Sickness had enclosed a Park there, to divert himself with private easie Game, the Deer of that Park did overlay the Country, and it was a great burden to them; and therefore they desired that it might be disparked. The *Council* considering that it was so near *Windsor*, and was not useful to the King, but a charge rather, ordered it to be disparked, and the Deer to be carried to *Windsor*; but with this *Proviso*, that if the King when he came of Age desired to have a Park there, what they did should be no prejudice to him. There was also a *Commission* issued out to enquire about Inclosures and Farms, and whether those who had purchased the Abbey-Lands kept Hospitality, to which they were bound by the Grants they had of them, and whether they encouraged Husbandry. But I find no effect of this. And indeed there seemed to have been a general design among the Nobility and Gentry to bring the Inferior sort to that low and servile state to which the Peasants in many other Kingdoms are reduced. In the *Parliament* an *Act* was carried in the House of *Lords* for imparking Grounds, but was cast out by the *Commons*: yet Gentlemen went on every where taking their Lands into their own Hands, and enclosing them.

Many are easily quieted.

In *May* the Commons did rise first in *Wilt-shire*; where Sir *William Herbert* gathered some resolute Men about him, and dispersed them, and slew some of them. Soon after that, they rose in *Sussex*, *Hamp-shire*, *Kent*, *Glocester-shire*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick-shire*, *Essex*, *Hartford-shire*, *Leicester-shire*, *Worcester-shire*, and *Rutland-shire*; but by fair perswasions the fury of the People was a little stopt, till the matter should be represented to the *Council*. The *Protector* said, he did not wonder the Commons were in such distempers, they being so oppressed, that it was easier

easier to die once than to perish for want: and therefore he set out a Proclamation, contrary to the mind of the whole Council, against all new Inclosures; with another, indempnifying the People for what was past, so they carried themselves obediently for the future. Commissions were also sent every where, with an unlimited Power to the Commissioners, to hear and determine all Causes about Inclosures, High-ways, and Cottages. The vast Power these Commissioners assumed was much complained of; the *Landlords* said it was an Invasion of their Property, to subject them thus to the pleasure of those who were sent to examine the Matters without proceeding in the ordinary Courts according to Law. The *Commons* being encouraged by the favour they heard the *Protector* bore them, and not able to govern their heat, or stay for a more peaceable issue, did rise again, but were anew quieted. Yet the *Protector* being opposed much by the *Council*, he was not able to redress this Grievance so fully as the People hoped. So in *Oxford-shire* and *Devon-shire* they rose again, and also in *Norfolk* and *York-shire*. Those in *Oxford-shire* were dissipated by a Force of 1500 Men, led against them by the Lord *Gray*. Some of them were taken and hanged by *Martial* Law, as being in a state of War; the greatest part ran home to their Dwellings. 1549.

But those of Devon-shire grew formidable.

In *Devon-shire* the Insurrection grew to be better formed; for that County was not only far from the Court, but it was generally inclined to the former superstition, and many of the old Priests run in among them. They came together on the 10*th* of *June*, being *Whit-Munday*; and in a short time they grew to be 10000 strong. At Court it was hoped this might be as easily dispersed as the other Risings were: but the *Protector* was against running into extremities, and so did not move so speedily as the thing required. He, after some days, at last sent the Lord *Russel* with a small Force to stop their Proceedings. And that *Lord*, remembring well how the Duke of *Norfolk* had with a very small Army broken a formidable Rebellion in the former Reign, hoped that time would likewise weaken and dis-unite these; and therefore he kept at some distance, and offered to receive their Complaints, and to send them to the *Council*. But these delays gave advantage and strength to the Rebels; who were now led on by some Gentlemen: *Arundel* of *Cornwall* being in chief Command among them; and in answer to the Lord *Russel*, they agreed on fifteen Articles, the Substance of which was as follows.

Their Demands.

1. "That all the General Councils, and the Decrees of their Fore-"fathers, should be observed:

2. "That the Act of the *Six Articles* should be again in force.

3. "That the Mass should be in *Latin*, and that the Priests alone "should receive.

4. "That the Sacrament should be hanged up, and worshiped; and "those who refused to do it should suffer as Hereticks.

5. "That the Sacrament should only be given to the People at *Easter* "in one kind.

6. "That Baptism should be done at all times.

7. "That Holy Bread, Holy Water, and Palms be again used; "and that Images be set up, with all the other ancient Ceremo-"nies.

1549. 8. "That the new Service should be laid aside, since it was like a "*Christmas* Game: and the old Service again should be used with the "Procession in *Latin*.

9. "That all Preachers in their Sermons, and Priests in the Mass, "should pray for the Souls in Purgatory.

10. "That the Bible should be called in, since otherwise the Clergy "could not easily confound the Hereticks.

11. "That Dr. *Moreman*, and *Crispin*, should be sent to them, and "put in their Livings.

12. "That Cardinal *Pool* should be restored, and made of the Kings "Council.

13. "That every Gentleman might have only one Servant for every "hundred Marks of yearly Rent that belonged to him.

14. "That the half of the Abbey and Church-Lands should be taken "back, and restored to two of the chief Abbeys in every County: and "all the Church Boxes for seven years should be given to such Houses, "that so devout Persons might live in them, who should pray for the "King and the Common-wealth.

15. "And that for their particular grievances, they should be redres-"sed, as *Humphrey Arundel* and the *Major* of *Bodmyn* should inform the "King, for whom they desired a safe conduct.

Cranmer drew an Answer to them. *Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.*

These Articles being sent to the Council, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* was ordered to draw an Answer to them, which I have seen corrected with his own Hand. The Substance of it was, That their Demands were insolent, such as were dictated to them by some seditious Priests: they did not know what General Councils had decreed; nor was there any thing in the Church of *England* contrary to them, though many things had been formerly received which were so: and for the Decrees, they were framed by the Popes to enslave the World, of which he gave several Instances.

For the *Six Articles*, he says, They had not been carried in Parliament if the late King had not gone thither in Person, and procured that Act; and yet of his own accord he slackened the execution of it.

To the third, it was strange that they did not desire to know in what terms they worshiped God: and for the Mass, the ancient Canons required the People to communicate in it, and the Prayers in the Office of the Mass did still imply that they were to do it.

For the hanging up and adoring the Host, it was but lately set up by Pope *Innocent*, and *Honorius*, and in some Places it had never been received.

For the fifth, the Ancient Church received that Sacrament frequently, and in both kinds.

To the sixth, Baptism in Cases of necessity was to be administred at any time: but out of these Cases it was fit to do it solemnly; and in the Ancient Church it was chiefly done on the Eves of *Easter* and *Whit-Sunday*, of which usage some Footsteps remained still in the old Offices.

To the seventh, these were late superstitious devices: Images were contrary to the Scriptures, first set up for remembrance, but soon after made Objects of Worship.

To

To the eight, The old Service had many ludicrous things in it; the new was simple and grave: If it appeared ridiculous to them, it was as the *Gospel* was long ago, foolishness to the *Greeks*. 1549.

To the ninth, The Scriptures say nothing of it: it was a superstitious Invention derogatory to Christs death.

To the tenth, The Scriptures are the Word of God, and the readiest way to confound that which is Heresie indeed.

To the eleventh, These were ignorant, superstitious, and deceitful Persons.

To the twelfth, *Pool* had been attainted in Parliament for his spiteful Writings and Doings against the late King.

To the thirteenth, It was foolish and unreasonable: one Servant could not do a Man's business; and by this, many Servants would want employment.

To the fourteenth, This was to rob the King, and those who had these Lands of him; and would be a means to make so foul a Rebellion be remembred in their Prayers.

To the fifteenth, These were notorious Traitors, to whom the Kings Council was not to submit themselves.

After this, they grew more moderate, and sent eight Articles: 1. Concerning Baptism. 2. About Confirmation. 3. Of the Mass. 4. For reserving the Host. 5. For Holy Bread and Water. 6. For the old Service. 7. For the single Lives of Priests. 8. For the *Six Articles*: and concluded, *God save the King*, for they were *His*, *both Body and Goods*. To this there was an Answer sent in the Kings Name, on the 8*th* of *July*, (so long did the Treaty with them hold) in which, after Expressions of the Kings affection to his People, he taxes their rising in Arms against him their King as contrary to the Laws of God: He tells them, That they are abused by their Priests, as in the Instance of Baptism, which according to the Book might, necessity requiring it, be done at all times: that the Changes that had been set out, were made after long and great consultation; and the Worship of this Church, by the advice of many Bishops and Learned Men, was reformed, as near to what Christ and his Apostles had taught and done, as could be: and all things had been setled in Parliament. But the most specious thing that misled them being that of the Kings Age, it was shewed them that his Blood, and not his Years, gave him the Crown: and the state of Government requires, that at all times there should be the same Authority in Princes, and the same Obedience in the People. It was all penned in a high threatning Style, and concluded with an earnest Invitation of them to submit to the Kings Mercy, as others that had risen had also done, to whom he had not only shewed Mercy, but granted Redress of their just grievances: otherwise they might expect the utmost severity that Traitors deserved.

They make new Demands.

Which were also rejected.

But nothing prevailed on this enraged Multitude, whom the Priests inflamed with all the Artifices they could imagine: and among whom the Host was carried about by a Priest on a Cart, that all might see it. But when this Commotion was thus grown to a Head, the Men of *Norfolk* rose the 6*th* of *July*, being led by one *Ket* a Tanner. These pretended nothing of Religion, but only to suppress and destroy the Gentry, and to raise the commons, and to put new Councellors about the King.

The Rebellion in *Norfolk* headed by *Ket* a Tanner.

They

1549. They encreased mightily, and became 20000 strong, but had no Order nor Discipline, and committed many horrid outrages. The *Sheriff* of the County came boldly to them, and required them in the Kings Name to disperse, and go home; but had he not been well mounted, they had put him cruelly to death. They came to *Mousbold* Hill above *Norwich*, and were much favoured by many in that City. *Parker*, afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, came among them, and preached very freely to them, of their ill Lives, their Rebellion against the King, and the Robberies they daily committed: by which he was in great danger of his Life. *Ket* assumed to himself the Power of Judicature, and under an old Oak, called from thence *the Oak of Reformation*, did such Justice as might be expected from such a Judge, and in such a Camp. The *Marquess* of *Northampton* was sent against them, but with Orders to keep at a distance from them, and to cut off their Provisions; for so it was hoped that without the shedding much Blood they might come to themselves again. When the news of this Rising came into *York-shire*, the Commons there rose also; being further encouraged by a *Prophecy*; That there should be no King nor Nobility in *England*, that the Kingdom should be ruled by four Governours chosen by the Commons, who should hold a Parliament, in commotion, to begin at the *South* and *North* Seas. This they applied to the *Devon-shire* Men on the *South* Seas, and themselves on the *North* Seas. They at their first rising fired Beacons, and so gathered the Country, as if it had been for the defence of the Coast; and meeting two Gentlemen, with two others with them, they without any provocation murdered them, and left their naked Bodies unburied. At the same time that *England* was in this Commotion, the News came that the *French* King had sent a great Army into the Territory of *Bulloigne*, so that the Government was put to most extraordinary straits.

A Rising in *York-shire*.

The *French* fall into the *Bullogneje*.

There was a *Fast* proclaimed in and about *London*. *Cranmer* preached on the Fast-day at Court. I have seen the greatest part of his *Sermon* under his own Hand: and it is the only *Sermon* of his I ever saw. It is a very plain unartificial Discourse, no shews of Learning, or conceits of Wit in it, but he severely expostulated in the Name of God with his Hearers, for their ill Lives, their Blasphemies, Adulteries, mutual Hatred, Oppression, and Contempt of the Gospel: and complained of the slackness in punishing these sins, by which the Government became in some sort guilty of them. He set many Passages of the *Jewish* Story before them of the Judgments such sins drew on, and of Gods Mercy in the unexpected deliverances they met with upon their true Repentance. But he chiefly lamented the scandal given by many who pretended a zeal for Religion, but used that for a Cloak to disguise their other Vices: He set before them the fresh Example of *Germany*, where People generally loved to hear the Gospel, but had not amended their Lives upon it; for which God had now, after many years forbearance, brought them under a severe scourge, and intimated his apprehensions of some signal stroke from Heaven upon the Nation, if they did not repent.

A Fast at Court, where *Cranmer* preached.
Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.

The Rebels in *Devon-shire* went and besieged *Exeter*, where the Citizens resisted them with great courage: they set fire to the Gates of the City, which those within fed with much Fuel for hindering their entry, till they had raised a Rampart within the Gates, and when the Rebels came

Exeter besieged.

came to enter, the Fire being spent, they killed many of them. The Rebels also wrought a Mine, but the Citizens Countermined, and pour'd in so much Water as spoiled their Powder. So finding they could do nothing by force, they resolved to lie about the Town, reckoning that the want of Provision would make it soon yield. The Lord *Russel*, having but a small Force with him, stayed a while for some Supplies, which Sir *William Herbert* was to bring him from *Bristol*. But being afraid that the Rebels should inclose him, he marched back from *Honnington* where he lay; and finding they had taken a Bridge behind him, he beat them from it, killing 600 of them without any loss on his side. By this he understood their strength, and saw they could not stand a brisk Charge, nor rally when once in disorder. So the Lord *Gray*, and *Spinola* that commanded some *Germans*, joyning him, he returned to raise the Siege of *Exeter*, which was much straitned for want of Victuals. The Rebels had now shut up the City twelve days, they within had eat their Horses, and endured extream Famine, but resolved to perish rather than fall into the Hands of those Savages; for the Rebels were indeed no better. They had block'd up the Ways, and left 2000 Men to keep a Bridge which the Kings Forces were to pass. But the Lord *Russel* broke thorough them, and killed about 1000 of them; upon that the Rebels raised the Siege, and retired to *Lanceston*. The Lord *Russel* gave the Citizens of *Exeter* great thanks in the Kings Name for their Fidelity and Courage: and pursued the Rebels, who were now going off in Parties, and were killed in great numbers. Some of their Heads, as *Arundel*, and the *Major* of *Bodmyne*, *Temson*, and *Barret*, two Priests, with six or seven more, were taken and hanged. And so this Rebellion was happily subdued in the *West*, about the beginning of *August*, to the great Honour of the Lord *Russel*; who with a very small Force had saved *Exeter*, and dispersed the Rebels Army, with little or no loss at all. 1549.

But is relieved, and the Rebels defeated by the Lord *Russel*.

But the *Marquess* of *Northampton* was not so successful in *Norfolk*. He carried about 1100 Men with him, but did not observe the Orders given him, and so marched on to *Norwich*. The Rebels were glad of an occasion to engage with him, and fell in upon him the next day with great fury; and the Town not being strong, he was forced to quit it, but lost 100 of his Men in that Action, among whom was the Lord *Sheffield*, who was much lamented. The Rebels took about 30 Prisoners, with which they were much lifted up. This being understood at *Court*, the Earl of *Warwick* was sent against them, with 6000 Foot and 1500 Horse that were prepared for an Expedition to *Scotland*: He came to *Norwich*, but was scarce able to defend it; for the Rebels fell often in upon him, neither was he well assured of the Town. But he cut off their Provisions, so that the Rebels, having wasted all the Country about them, were forced to remove. And then he followed them with his Horse. They turned upon him, but he quickly routed them, and killed 2000 of them, and took *Ket* their Captain, with his Brother, and a great many more. *Ket* was hanged in Chains at *Norwich* next *January*.

Warwick disperses the Rebels at *Norfolk*.

The Rebels in *York-shire* had not become very numerous, not being above 3000 in all: but hearing of the defeating of those in other Parts, they accepted of the offer of Pardon that was sent them: only some

few

1549. few of the chief Ringleaders continued to make new stirs, and were taken, and hanged, in *York* the *September* following.

When these Commotions were thus over, the *Protector* pressed that there might be a general and free Pardon speedily proclaimed, for quieting the Country, and giving their Affairs a reputation abroad. This was much opposed by many of the Council; who thought it better to accomplish their several ends, by keeping the People under the lash, than by so profuse a Mercy: But the *Protector* was resolved on it, judging the state of Affairs required it. So he gave out a general Pardon of all that had been done before the 21*st* of *August*, excepting only those few whom they had in their hands, and resolved to make publick Examples. Thus was *England* delivered from one of the most threatning Storms that at any time had broke out in it: in which deliverance the great prudence and temper of the *Protector* seems to have had no small share. Of this whole Matter Advertisement was given to the Forreign Ministers, in a Letter which will be found in the *Collection*.

A general Pardon.

Collection Number 36.

A Visitation at *Cambridge*.

There was this Year a Visitation of the University of *Cambridge*: *Ridley* was appointed to be one of the Visitors, and to preach at the opening of it: he thereupon writ to *May* Dean of St. *Pauls*, to let him know what was to be done at it, that so his Sermon might be adjusted to their business. He received answer, That it was only to remove some superstitious Practises and Rites, and to make such Statutes as should be found needful. But when he went to *Cambridge*, he saw the Instructions went further. They were required to procure a resignation of some Colledges, and to unite them with others; and to convert some Fellowships appointed for encouraging the Study of Divinity, to the Study of the Civil Law. In particular *Clare-Hall* was to be suppressed. But the Master and Fellows would not resign, and after two days labouring to perswade them them to it, they absolutely refused to do it. Upon this *Ridley* said he could not with a good Conscience go on any further in that matter: the Church was already so robbed and stript, that it seemed there was a design laid down by some, to drive out all Civility, Learning, and Religion out of the Nation: therefore he declared he would not concurre in such things, and desired leave to be gone. The other Visitors complained of him to the *Protector*, that he had so troubled them with his *barking*, (so indecently did they express that strictness of Conscience in him) that they could not go on in the Kings Service: and because *Clare-hall* was then full of Northern People, they imputed his unwillingness to suppress that House, to his partial affection to his Country-men, for he was born in the Bishoprick of *Duresme*. Upon this the Protector writ a chiding Letter to him. To it he writ an Answer so sutable to what became a Bishop, who would put all things to hazard rather than do any thing against his Conscience, that I thought it might do no small right to his Memory to put it with the Answer which the Protector writ to him in the *Collection*. These with many more I found among his Majesties Papers of State, in that Repository of them commonly called the *Paper-Office*. To which I had a free access by a Warrant which was procured to me from the King, by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sunderland*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, who very cheerfully and generously expressed his readiness to assist me in any thing that might compleat the History of our Reformation. That Office was first set up by the

Collection Numb. 59,60.

the care of the Earl of *Salisbury*, when he was Secretary of State in King *James*'s time: which though it is a copious and certain Repertory for those that are to write our History ever since the Papers of State were laid up there, yet for the former times it contains only such Papers as that great Minister could then gather together, so that it is not so compleat in the Transactions that fall within the time of which I writ. 1549.

There was also a settlement made of the Controversie concerning the *Greek* Tongue. There had been in King *Henry*'s time a great Contest raised concerning the Pronunciation of the *Greek* Vowels. That Tongue was but lately come to any perfection in *England*, and so no wonder the *Greek* was pronounced like *English*, with the same sound and apertures of the Mouth: To this Mr. *Cheek*, then Reader of that Tongue in *Cambridge*, opposed himself, and taught other Rules of Pronunciation. *Gardiner* was it seems so afraid of every Innovation, though ever so much in the right, that he contended stifly to have the old Pronunciation retained: and *Cheek* persisting in his Opinion, was either put from the Chair, or willingly left it to avoid the Indignation of so great and so spiteful a Man as *Gardiner* was, who was then Chancellor of the University: *Cheek* wrote a Book in vindication of his way of pronouncing *Greek*; of which this must be said, That it is very strange to see how he could write with so much Learning and Judgment on so bare a Subject. *Redmayn*, *Poinet*, and other learned Men were of his side, yet more covertly: but Sir *Tho. Smith*, now Secretary of State, writ three Books on the same Argument, and did so evidently confirm *Cheeks* Opinion, that the Dispute was now laid aside, and the true way of pronouncing the *Greek* took place; the rather because *Gardiner* was in disgrace, and *Cheek* and *Smith* were in such Power and Authority: So great an Influence had the Interests of Men in supporting the most speculative and indifferent things.

A contest about pronouncing the *Greek*.

Soon after this, *Bonner* fell into new troubles, he continued to oppose every thing, as long as it was safe for him to do it, while it was under debate, and so kept his Interest with the *Papists*: but he complied so obediently with all the Laws and Orders of *Council*, that it was not easie to find any matter against him. He executed every Order that was sent him, so readily, that there was not so much as ground for any Complaint; yet it was known he was in his Heart against every thing they did, and that he cherished all that were of a contrary mind. The Council being informed, that upon the Commotions that were in *England*, many in *London* withdrew from the Service and Communion, and frequented Masses, which was laid to his charge, as being negligent in the execution of the Kings Laws and Injunctions; they writ to him on the 23*d* of *July*, to see to the correcting of these things, and that he should give good example himself. Upon which, on the 26*th* following, he sent about a Charge to execute the Order in this Letter, which he said he was most willing and desirous to do. Yet it was still observed, that whatsoever obedience he gave, it was against his Heart. And therefore he was called before the Council the 11*th* of *August*. There a Writing was deliver'd to him, complaining of his remisness; and particularly that whereas he was wont formerly on all high *Festivals* to officiate himself, yet he had seldom or never done it, since the *New Service* was set out: as also that Adultery was openly practised in his Diocess, which he took

Bonner falls into trouble.

Injunctions are given him.

R no

1549. no care according to his Pastoral Office to restrain or punish: therefore he was strictly charged to see these things reformed. He was also ordered to preach on *Sunday* come three weeks at St. *Pauls Cross*: and that he should preach there once a quarter for the future, and be present at every *Sermon* made there, except he were sick: that he should officiate at St. *Pauls* at every high *Festival*, such as were formerly called *Majus duplex*, and give the Communion: that he should proceed against all who did not frequent the Common-Prayer, nor receive the Sacrament once a year; or did go to Mass: that he should search out and punish Adulterers: that he should take care of the reparation of Churches, and paying Tythes, in his Dioccss, and should keep his residence in his House in *London*. As to his Sermon, he was required to preach against Rebellion, setting out the hainousness of it; he was also to shew what was true Religion, and that external Ceremonies were nothing in themselves; but that in the use of them Men ought to obey the Magistrate, and joyn true devotion to them, and that the King was no less King, and the People no less bound to obey, when he was in Minority, than when he was of full Age.

In his Sermon he did not set forth the King Power under Age, as he had been required to do.

On the first of *September*, being the day appointed for him to preach, there was a great Assembly gathered to hear him. He touched upon the Points that were enjoyned him, excepting that about the Kings Age, of which he said not one word. But since the manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament was a thing which he might yet safely speak of, he spent most of his *Sermon* on the asserting the Corporal Presence; which he did with many sharp reflections on those who were of another mind. There were present among others *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, soon after Bishop of *Glocester*, who came and informed against him; that as he had wholly omitted that about the Kings Age, so he had touched the other Points but slightly, and did say many other things which tended to stir up disorder and dissention. Upon this there was a *Commission* issued out to *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*, with the two *Secretaries* of State, and Dr. *May* Dean of St. *Pauls*, to examine that matter. They or any two of them had full power by this Commission to suspend, imprison or deprive him, as they should see cause. They were to proceed in the Summary way, called in their Courts *De plano*.

Rot. Pat. 11. Par. 3. Reg.

He is proceeded against.

On the 10th of *September Bonner* was summoned to appear before them at *Lambeth*. As he came into the place where they sate, he carried himself as if he had not seen them, till one pulled him by the sleeve to put off his Cap to the Kings Commissioners; upon which he protested he had not seen them; which none of them could believe. He spake slightingly to them of the whole matter, and turned the discourse off to the *Mass*, which he wished were had in more reverence. When the Witnesses were brought against him, he jeered them very undecently, and said the one talked *like a Goose*, and the other *like a Woodcock*, and denied all they said. The *Arch-bishop* asked him, whether he would refer the matter in proof to the People that heard him? and so asked whether any there present had heard him speak of the Kings Authority when under Age? Many answered, *No, No*. *Bonner* looked about, and laughed, saying, *Will you believe this fond People?* Some he called *Dunces*, and others *Fools*, and behaved himself more like a Mad-man than a *Bishop*. The next day he was again brought before them. Then the *Commission* was read. The *Arch-bishop* opened the

Regist. Bonner.

His insolent behaviour.

Matter,

Matter, and desired *Bonner* to answer for himself: He read a *Protestation* which he had prepared, setting forth, that since he had not seen the *Commission*, he reserved to himself power to except, either to his Judges, or to any other Branch of the *Commission*, as he should afterwards see cause. In this he called it a pretended Commission, and them pretended Judges, which was taxed as irreverent: but he excused it, alledging that these were terms of Law which he must use, and so not be precluded from any Objections he might afterwards make use of. The *Bill* of Complaint was next read, and the two Informers appeared with their Witnesses to make it good. But *Bonner* objected against them, that they were notorious Hereticks, and that the ill Will they bore him, was because he had asserted the true Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar: that *Hooper* in particular had in his *Sermon*, that very day on which he had preached, denied it; and had refuted and mis-recited his Sayings, *like an Asse*, as he was *an Asse indeed*; so ill did he govern his Tongue: Upon this *Cranmer* asked him, whether he thought Christ was in the Sacrament with Face, Mouth, Eyes, Nose, and the other Lineaments of his Body? and there passed some words between them on that Head: but *Cranmer* told him that was not a time and place to dispute, they were come to execute the Kings *Commission*. So *Bonner* desired to see both it, and the denunciation; which were given him, and the Court adjourned till the 13*th*. 1549.

Secretary *Smith* sate with them at their next Meeting, which he had not done the former day, though his Name was in the *Commission*: Upon this *Bonner* protested, that according to the *Canon* Law none could act in a Commission, but those who were present the first day in which it was read. But to this it was alledged, that the constant practice of the Kingdom had been to the contrary: that all whose Names were in any Commission, might sit and judge, though they had not been present at the first opening of it. This Protestation being rejected, he read his Answer in writing to the Accusation. He first objected to his Accusers, that they were Hereticks in the matter of the Sacrament: and so were, according to the Laws of the Catholick Church, under Excommunication, and therefore ought not to be admitted into any Christian Company. Then he denied that the Injunctions given to him had been signed, either with the Kings Hand or Signet, or by any of his Council. But upon the whole matter he said he had in his Sermon condemned the late Rebellion in *Cornwall*, *Devon-shire*, and *Norfolk*, and had set forth the Sin of Rebellion according to several Texts of Scripture: He had also preached for obedience to the Kings Commands; and that no Ceremonies that were contrary to them ought to be used; in particular he had exhorted the People to come to Prayers, and to the Communion, as it was appointed by the King, and wondered to see them so slack in coming to it: which he believed flowed from a false opinion they had of it. And therefore he taught, according to that which he conceived to be the duty of a faithful Pastor, the true Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament: which was the true Motive of his Accusers in their prosecuting him thus. But though he had forgot to speak of the Kings Power under Age, yet he had said that which necessarily inferred it; for he had condemned the late Rebels, for rising against their lawful King, and had applied many Texts of Scripture to them, which clearly implied,

His Defences.

1549. that the Kings Power was then entire, otherwise they could not be Rebels.

These are rejected.

But to all this it was answered, That it was of no great consequence who were the Informers, if the Witnesses were such that he could not except against them: besides, they were impow'red by their Commission to proceed *ex Officio*; so that it was not necessary for them to have any to accuse. He was told that the Injunctions were read to him in *Council* by one of the *Secretaries*, and then were given to him by the *Protector* himself; that afterwards they were called for, and that Article concerning the Kings Power before he came to be of Age being added, they were given him again by Secretary *Smith*; and he promised to execute them. He was also told, that it was no just excuse for him to say he had forgot that about the Kings Power; since it was the chief thing pretended by the late Rebels, and was mainly intended by the *Council* in their Injunctions; so that it was a poor shift for him to pretend he had forgot it, or had spoken of it by a consequence.

The Court adjourned to the 16*th* day. And then *Latimer* and *Hooper* offered to purge themselves of the Charge of Heresie, since they had never spoken nor written of the Sacrament, but according to the Scripture: and whereas *Bonner* had charged them, that on the first of *September* they had entred into consultation and confederacy against him, they protested, they had not seen each other that day, nor been known to one another till some days after. *Bonner* upon this read some Passages of the Sacrament out of a Book of *Hoopers*, whom he called *that Varlet*. But *Cranmer* cut off the discourse, and said, it was not their business to determine that Point, and said to the People, that the Bishop of *London* was not accused for any thing he had said about the Sacrament. Then *Bonner*, turning to speak to the People, was interrupted by one of the *Delegates*, who told him, he was to speak to them, and not to the People: at which some laughing, he turned about in great fury, and said, *Ah Woodcocks! Woodcocks!* But to the chief Point, he said he had prepared Notes of what he intended to say about the Kings Power in his Minority; from the Instances in Scripture, of *Achaz*, and *Osias*, who were Kings at Ten, of *Solomon*, and *Manasses*, who Reigned at Twelve, and of *Josias*, *Joachim*, and *Joas*, who began to Reign when they were but Eight years old. He had also gathered out of the *English* History, that *Henry* the third, *Edward* the third, *Richard* the second, *Henry* the sixth, and *Edward* the fifth, were all under Age: and even their late King was but eighteen when he came to the Crown: and yet all these were obeyed as much before, as after they were of full Age. But these things had escaped his memory, he not having been much used to preach. There had been also a long Bill sent him from the Council to be read, of the defeat of the Rebels, which he said, had disordered him: and the Book in which he had laid his Notes, fell out of his hands, when he was in the Pulpit: for this he appealed to his two Chaplains, *Bourn* and *Harpsfield*, whom he had desired to gather for him the Names of those Kings who Reigned before they were of Age. For the other Injunctions, he had taken care to execute them, and had sent Orders to his Arch-deacons to see to them: and as far as he understood, there were no Masses nor Service in *Latin* within his Dioceß, except at the Lady *Maries*, or in the Chappels of Ambassadors. But the *Delegates* required him positively

tively to anſwer, whether he had obeyed that Injunction about the Kings Authority or not; otherwiſe they would hold him as guilty: and if he denied it, they would proceed to the examination of the Witneſſes. He refuſing to anſwer otherwiſe than he had done, they called the Witneſſes, who were Sir *John Cheek* and four more, who had their Oaths given them: and *Bonner* deſiring a time to prepare his interrogatories, it was granted. So he drew a long Paper of twenty Interrogatories, every one of them containing many Branches in it; full of all the niceties of the *Canon Law*: a taſt of which may be had from the third in number, which is indeed the moſt material of all. The Interrogatory was, " Whether they, or any of them, were preſent at his *Sermon*, where " they ſtood, and near whom, when they came to it, and at what part of " his *Sermon*, how long they tarried, at what part they were offended, " what were the formal Words, or Subſtance of it, who with them did " hear it, where the other Witneſſes ſtood, and how long they tarried, or " when they departed? 1549.

The Court adjourned to the 18*th* of *September*: And then there was read a Declaration from the King, explaining their former Commiſſion, chiefly in the Point of the Denunciation, that they might proceed either that way, or *ex Officio*, as they ſaw cauſe: giving them alſo Power finally to determine the matter, cutting off all ſuperfluous delays. *Bonner* gave in alſo ſome other Reaſons, why he ſhould not be obliged to make a more direct Anſwer to the Articles objected againſt him: The chief of which was, That the Article about the Kings Age was not in the Paper given him by the Protector, but afterwards added by Secretary *Smith* of his own Head. *Cranmer* admoniſhed him of his irreverence, ſince he called them always his *pretended* Judges. *Smith* added, That though Proctors did ſo in common matters, for their Clients, yet it was not to be endured in ſuch a Caſe, when he ſaw they acted by a ſpecial Commiſſion from the King. New Articles were given him more explicite and plain than the former, but to the ſame purpoſe. And five Witneſſes were ſworn upon theſe, who were all the Clerks of the Council, to prove that the Article about the Kings Age was ordered by the whole Council, and only put in writing by Secretary *Smith*, at their Command. He was appointed to come next day, and make his Anſwer. But on the 19*th* two of his Servants came, and told the Delegates, that he was ſick, and could not attend. It was therefore ordered, That the Knight-Marſhal ſhould go to him; and if he were ſick, let him alone; but if it were not ſo, ſhould bring him before them next day. On the 20*th* *Bonner* appearing, anſwered as he had done formerly; only he proteſted, that it was his opinion, that the King was as much a King, and the People as much bound to obey him, before he was of Age, as after it: And after that, Secretary *Smith* having taken him up more ſharply than the other *Delegates*, he proteſted againſt him as no competent Judge, ſince he had expreſſed much paſſion againſt him, and had not heard him patiently, but had compared him to Thieves and Traitors, and had threatned to ſend him to the Tower to ſit with *Ket* and *Arundel*; and that he had added ſome things to the Injunctions given him by the *Protector*, for which he was now accuſed, and did alſo proceed to judge him, notwithſtanding his Proteſtation, grounded on his not being preſent when the *Commiſſion* was firſt opened and received by the Court. But this Proteſtation alſo

He proteſts againſt Secretary *Smith*.

was

1549. was rejected by the *Delegates*; and *Smith* told him, That whereas he took exception at his saying that he acted as Thieves and Traitors do, it was plainly visible in his doings: upon which, *Bonner*, being much inflamed, said to him, That as he was *Secretary* of *State*, and a *Privy Councellor*, he honoured him; but as he was Sir *Tho. Smith*, he told him, he lied, and that he defied him. At this the Arch-bishop chid him, and said, he deserved to be sent to Prison for such irreverent carriage. He answered, he did not care whither they sent him, so they sent him not to the Devil, for thither he would not go: he had a few Goods, a poor Carkass, and a Soul: the two former were in their power, but the last was in his own. After this, being made to withdraw, he, when called in again, put in an Appeal from them to the King, and read an Instrument of it, which he had prepared at his own House that Morning: and so would make no other answer, unless the *Secretary* should remove. For this contempt he was sent to the Prison of the *Marshalsea*; and as he was led away, he broke out in great passion, both against *Smith*, and also at *Cranmer*, for suffering Hereticks to infect the People, which he required him to abstain from, as he would answer for it to God and the King.

On the 23*d* he was again brought before them, where, by a second Instrument, he adhered to his former Appeal. But the *Delegates* said, they would go on, and judge him, unless there came a *Supersedeas* from the King, and so required him to answer those Articles which he had not yet answered, otherwise they would proceed against him as *Contumax*, and hold him as *Confessing*. But he adhered to his Appeal, and so would answer no more. New matter was also brought, of his going out of St. *Pauls* in the midst of the *Sermon* on the 15*th* of the Month, and so giving a publick disturbance and scandal: and of his writing next day to the Lord *Major*, not to suffer such Preachers to sow their ill Doctrine. This was occasioned by the Preachers speaking against the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament: But he would give the Court no account of that matter; so they adjourned to the 27*th*, and from that to the first of *October*. In that time great endeavours were used to perswade him to submit, and to behave himself better for the future; and upon that condition he was assured he should be gently used. But he would yield to nothing. So on the first of *October*, when he was brought before them, the *Arch-bishop* told him, they had delayed so long, being unwilling to proceed to extremities with him; and therefore wished him to submit. But he read another Writing, by which he protested, that he was brought before them by force, and that otherwise he would not have come, since, that having appeal'd from them, he looked on them as his Judges no more. He said, that he had also written a Petition to the Lord *Chancellor*, complaining of the *Delegates*, and desiring that his Appeal might be admitted; and said, by that Appeal it was plain, that he esteemed the King to be cloathed with his full Royal Power, now that he was under Age, since he thus appealed to him. Upon which the *Arch-bishop*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, Secretary *Smith*, and the Dean of St. *Pauls*, gave Sentence against him; that since he had not declared the Kings Power, while under Age, in his *Sermon*, as he was commanded by the *Protector* and *Council*, therefore the *Arch-bishop*, with the Consent and Assent of his *Colleagues*, did deprive him of the Bishoprick of *London*.

He is deprived from his Bishoprick.

don. Sentence being thus given, he appealed again by word of mouth. 1549.
The Court did also order him to be carried to Prison, till the King should consider further of it. This account of his Trial is drawn from the Register of *London*, where all these Particulars are inserted. From thence it was that *Fox* printed them. For *Bonner*, though he was afterward Commissioned by the Queen to deface any Records that made against the Catholick Cause, yet did not care to alter any thing in this Register after his re-admission in Queen *Maries* time. It seems he was not displeased with what he found Recorded of himself in this matter.

Thus was *Bonner* deprived of his Bishoprick of *London*. This Judgment, as all such things are, was much censured: It was said, it was not Canonical, since it was by a Commission from the King, and since Secular Men were mixed with Clergy-men in the censure of a Bishop. To this it was answered, That the Sentence being only of deprivation from the See of *London*, it was not so entirely an Ecclesiastical Censure, but was of a mixed nature, so that Lay-men might joyn in it: and since he had taken a Commission from the King for his Bishoprick, by which he held it only during the Kings pleasure, he could not complain of this deprivation, which was done by the Kings Authority. Others who looked further back, remembred that *Constantine* the Emperor had appointed Secular Men to enquire into some things objected to Bishops, who were called *Cognitores*, or *Triers*: and such had examined the business of *Cecilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, even upon an Appeal, after it had been tried in several Synods; and given *Judgment* against *Donatus* and his Party. The same *Constantine* had also by his Authority put *Eustathius* out of *Antioch*, *Athanasius* out of *Alexandria*, and *Paul* out of *Constantinople*: and though the Orthodox Bishops complained of these Particulars, as done unjustly at the false suggestion of the *Arrians*; yet they did not deny the Emperors Authority in such Cases. Afterwards the Emperors used to have some Bishops attending on them in their *Comitatus* or Court, to whose Judgment they left most Causes, who acted only by Commission from the Emperor. So *Epiphanius* was brought to condemn *Chrysostome* at *Constantinople*, who had no Authority to judge him by the Canons. Others objected, that it was too severe to deprive *Bonner* for a defect in his memory; and that therefore they should have given him a new Tryal in that Point, and not have proceeded to censure him on such an omission; since he protested it was not on design, but a pure forgetfulness: and all People perceived clearly it had been before hand resolved to lay him aside, and that therefore they now took him on this disadvantage, and so deprived him. But it was also well known, that all the Papists infused this Notion into the People, of the Kings having no Power till he came to be of Age; and he being certainly one of them, there was reason to conclude, that what he said for his defence, was only a Pretence; and that it was of design that he had omitted the mentioning the Kings Power when under Age. The adding of Imprisonment to his Deprivation was thought by some to be an extream accumulation of Punishments. But that was no more than what he drew upon himself by his rude and contemptuous behaviour. However, it seems that some of these Objections wrought on Secretary *Petre*, for he never sate with the Delegates after the first day, and he was now turning about to another Party.

Censures past upon it.

On

1549. On the other hand, *Bonner* was little pitied by most that knew him. He was a cruel, and fierce Man: he understood little of Divinity, his Learning being chiefly in the Canon Law. Besides, he was looked on generally as a Man of no Principles. All the obedience he gave either to the Laws, or the Kings Injunctions, was thought a compliance against his Conscience, extorted by fear. And his undecent carriage during his process had much exposed him to the People: so that it was not thought to be hard dealing, though the Proceedings against him were summary and severe. Nor did his carriage afterward during his imprisonment discover much of a Bishop or a Christian. For he was more concerned to have *Puddings* and *Pears* sent him, than for any thing else. This I gather from some original Letters of his to *Richard Leechmore* Esq; in *Worcester-shire*, (which were communicated to me by his Heir Lineally descended from him, the Worshipful Mr. *Leechmore*, now the Senior Bencher of the *Middle-Temple*;) of which I transcribed the latter part of Collection Number 37. one, that will be found in the *Collection*. In it he desires a large quantity of Pears and Puddings to be sent him: otherwise he gives those to whom he writes an odd sort of Benediction, very unlike what became a Man of his Character, he gives them *to the Devil*, *to the Devil*, and *to all the Devils*, if they did not furnish him well with Pears and Puddings. It may perhaps be thought indecent to print such Letters, being the privacies of friendship, which ought not to be made publick; but I confess, *Bonner* was so brutish, and so bloody a Man, that I was not ill pleased to meet with any thing that might set him forth in his natural Colours to the World.

Forreign Affairs. Thus did the Affairs of *England* go on this Summer within the Kingdom; but it will be now necessary to consider the state of our Affairs in Forreign Parts. The King of *France* finding it was very chargeable to carry on the War wholly in *Scotland*, resolved this year to lessen that Expence, and to make War directly with *England*, both at Sea and Land. So he came in person with a great Army, and fell into the Country of The *French* take many Places about *Bulloigne*. *Bulloigne*, where he took many little Castles about the Town; as *Sellaque*, *Blackness*, *Hambletue*, *Newhaven*, and some lesser ones. The *English* Writers say, those were ill provided, which made them be so easily lost: but *Thuanus* says, they were all very well stored. In the night they assaulted *Bullingberg*, but were beat off: then they designed to burn the Ships that were in the Harbour, and had prepared Wild-fire with other combustible Matter, but were driven away by the *English*. At the same time the *French* Fleet met the *English* Fleet at *Jersey*, but, as King *Edward* writes in his Diary, they were beat off with the loss of 1000 Men; though *Thuanus* puts the loss wholly on the *English* side. The *French* King sate down before *Bulloigne*, in *September*, hoping that the disorders then in *England*, would make that Place be ill supplied, and easily yielded: the *English* finding *Bullingberg* was not tenable, razed it, and retired into the Town: but the Plague broke into the *French* Camp, so the King left it under the command of *Chastilion*. He endeavoured chiefly to take the *Pierre*, and so to cut off the Town from the Sea, and from all communication with *England*: and after a long Battery he gave the Assault upon it, but was beat off. There followed many Skirmishes between him and the Garrison, and he made many attempts to close up the Channel, and thought to have sunk a Galley full of Stones and Gravel in it; but in

all these he was still unsuccessful. And therefore Winter coming on, the Siege was raised; only the Forts about the Town, which the *French* had taken, were strongly garrisoned: so that *Bulloigne* was in danger of being lost the next year. 1549.

In *Scotland* also, the *English* Affairs declined much this year. *Thermes*, before the Winter was ended, had taken *Broughty* Castle, and destroyed almost the whole Garrison. In the Southern Parts there was a change made of the Lords Wardens of the *English* Marches. Sir *Robert Bowes* was complained of, as negligent in relieving *Hadingtoun* the former year; so the Lord *Dacres* was put in his room. And the Lord *Gray*, who lost the great advantage he had when the *French* raised the Siege of *Hadingtoun*, was removed, and the Earl of *Rutland* was sent to command. The Earl made an Inroad into *Scotland*, and supplied *Hadingtoun* plentifully with all sorts of Provisions, necessary for a Siege. He had some *Germans*, and *Spaniards* with him: but a Party of *Scotch* Horse surprised the *Germans* Baggage; and *Romero* with the *Spanish* Troop was also fallen on, and taken, and almost all his Men were cut off. The Earl of *Warwick* was to have marched with a more considerable Army this Summer into *Scotland*, had not the disorders in *England* diverted him, as it has been already shewn. *Thermes* did not much more this Year He intended once to have renewed the Siege of *Hadingtoun*; but when he understood how well they were furnished, he gave it over. But the *English* Council, finding how great a charge the keeping of it was, and the Country all about it being destroyed, so that no Provisions could be had, but what were brought from *England*, from which it was 28 Miles distant, resolved to withdraw their Garrison, and quit it, which was done on the first of *October*: So that the *English* having now no Garrison within *Scotland*, but *Lauder*, *Thermes* sate down before that, and pressed it, so that had not the Peace been made up with *France*, it had fallen into his Hands.

The *English* unsuccessful in *Scotland*.

Things being in this disorder both at home and abroad, the Protector had nothing to depend on, but the Emperors Aid; and he was so ill satisfied with the Changes that had been made in Religion, that much was not to be expected from him. The confusions this year occasioned that Change to be made in the Office of the daily Prayers; where the Answer to the Petition, *Give Peace in our time O Lord*, which was formerly, and is still continued, was now made, *Because there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou O God.* For now the Emperor having reduced all the Princes, and most of the Cities, of *Germany* to his obedience, none but *Magdeburg* and *Breame* standing out, did by a mistake, incident to great Conquerors, neglect those advantages which were then in his hands, and did not prosecute his Victories; but leaving *Germany*, came this Summer into the *Netherlands*, whither he had ordered his Son Prince *Philip* to come from *Spain* to him, thorough *Italy* and *Germany*, that he might put him into possession of these Provinces, and make them swear Homage to him. Whether at this time the Emperor was beginning to form the design of retiring, or whether he did this only to prevent the Mutinies and Revolts that might fall out upon his death, if his Son were not in actual possession of them, is not so certain. One thing is memorable, in that Transaction that was called the *Lætus Introitus*, or the terms upon which he was received Prince of *Brabant*, to which the other Provinces

The state of *Germany*.

S had

1549. had been formerly united into one Principality; after many Rules and Limitations of Government, in the matter of Taxes, and publick Assemblies, the not keeping up of Forces, and governing them not by Strangers, but by Natives, it was added, "That if he broke these Conditions, it should be free for them not to obey him or acknowledge him "any longer, till he returned to govern according to their Laws. This was afterwards the chief ground on which they justified their shaking off the *Spanish* Yoke, all these Conditions being publickly violated

Cott. Library *Galba B.* 12.

Jealousies arise in the Emperors Family.

At this time there were great jealousies in the Emperors Family. For as he intended to have had his Brother resign his Election to be King of the *Romans*, that it might be transferred on his own Son; so there were designs in *Flanders*, which the *French* cherished much, to have *Maximilian*, *Ferdinands* Son, the most accomplish'd and vertuous Prince that had been for many Ages, to be made their Prince. The *Flemings* were much disgusted with the Queen Regents Government, who, when there was need of Money, sent to *Bruges*, and *Antwerp*, ordering Deputies to be sent her from *Flanders*, and *Brabant*: and when they were come, she told them what Money must be raised; and if they made any objections, she used to bid them give over merchandizing with the Emperor, for he must and would have the Money he asked: so that nothing remained to them, but to see how to raise what was thus demanded of them, rather than desired from them. This, as the *English* Ambassador writ from *Bruges*, seemed to be the reason that moved the Emperor to make his Son swear to such Rules of Government; which, the Sequel of his Life shewed, he meant to observe in the same manner that his Father had done before him. At the same time, in *May* this year, I find a secret Advertisement was sent over from *France* to the *English* Court, that there was a private Treaty set on foot between that King and the Princes of *Germany*, for restoring the liberty of the Empire: but that the King of *France* was resolved to have *Bulloigne* in his Hands before he entred on new Projects. Therefore it was proposed to the Protector, to consider whether it were not best to deliver it up by a Treaty, and so to leave the King of *France* free to the defence of their Friends in the Empire: for I find the consideration of the Protestant Religion was the chief measure of our Councils all this Reign.

A great Faction against the Protector.

Upon this there was great distraction in the Councils at home. The Protector was inclined to deliver up *Bulloigne* for a Sum of Money, and to make Peace both with the *French* and *Scots*. The Kings Treasure was exhausted, Affairs at home were in great confusion, the defence of *Bulloign* was a great charge, and a War with *France* was a thing of that consequence, that in that state of Affairs it was not to be adventured on. But on the other hand, those who hated the Protector, and measured Councils more by the bravery than the solidity of them, said, it would be a reproach to the Nation to deliver up a Place of that consequence, which their late King, in the declining of his days, had gained with so much loss of Men and Treasure: and to sell this for a little Money was accounted so sordid, that the Protector durst not adventure on it. Upon this occasion I find Sir *William Paget* (being made Comptroller of the Kings Houshold, which was then thought an advancement from the Office of a Secretary of State) made a long Discourse, and put it in Writing. The substance of it was, to ballance the dangers in which *England* was

Pagets Advice about Forreign Affairs.

Cotton Libr. Titus B. 2.

at

at that time. The Business of *Scotland* and *Bulloigne* drew *France* into a Quarrel against it. On the account of Religion, it had no reason to expect much from the Emperor. The Interest of *England* was then to preserve the Protestants of *Germany*; and therefore to unite with *France*, which would be easily engaged in that Quarrel against the Emperor. He proposed a firm Alliance with the *Venetians*, who were then jealous of the Emperors Progress in *Italy*, and would be ready to joyn against him, if he were throughly engaged in *Germany*; and by their means, *England* was to make up an agreement with *France*. On the other hand, *William Thomas*, then a Clerk of the Council, writ a long Discourse of other Expedients: He agreed with *Paget*, as to the ill state of *England*, having many Enemies, and no Friends. The *North* of *England* was wasted by the incursion of the *Scots*. *Ireland* was also in an ill condition; for the Natives there did generally joyn with the *Scots*, being addicted to the old Superstition. The Emperor was so set on reducing all to one Religion, that they could expect no great Aid from him, unless they gave him some hope of returning to the *Roman* Religion. But the continuance of the War would undo the Nation: for if the War went on, the People would take advantage from it to break out into new disorders: it would be also very dishonourable to deliver up, or rather to sell, the late Conquests in *France*. Therefore he proposed, that to gain time, they should treat with the Emperor, and even give him hopes of re-examining what had been done in Religion: though there was danger even in that, of disheart'ning those of *Magdeburg*, and the few remaining Protestants in *Germany*; as also they might expect the Emperor would be highly enraged when he should come to find that he had been deluded: but the gaining of time was then so necessary, that the preservation of the Nation depended on it. For *Scotland* he proposed, that the Governour of that Kingdom should be pressed to pretend to the Crown; since their Queen was gone into a strange Country: by this means *Scotland* would be for that whole Age separated from the Interests of *France*, and obliged to depend on *England*: and the *French* were now so hated in *Scotland*, that any who would set up against them would have an easie Work, especially being assisted by the nearness of *England*. And for *Ireland*, he proposed, that the chief Heads of Families should be drawn over, and kept at Court. And that *England* thus being respited from Forreign War, the Nation should be armed, and exercised, the Coin reformed, Treasure laid up, and things in the Government at home that were uneasie should be corrected.

1549.

Thomas's Advice differs [illegible] his. C[illegible] Libr. [illegible] D. 18.

Thus I have opened the Councils at that time, as I found them laid before me in these Authentick Papers, from which I drew them. The result of their Consultation was to send over Sir *William Paget* to joyn with Sir *Philip Hobbey*, then Resident at the Emperors Court. His Instructions will be found in the *Collection*. The Substance of them was, That the Treaty between the Emperor and the late King should be renewed with this King, and confirmed by the Prince and the States of *Flanders*: that some ambiguous Passages in it should be cleared: that the Emperor would comprehend *Bulloigne* within the League defensive, and so protect it, *England* being ready to offer any thing reciprocal in the room of it. He was also to shew their readiness to agree to the

Paget sent over to treat with the Emperor.

Collection Number 38.

Emperor concerning the Lady *Maries* Marriage, to adjust some differences occasioned by the complaints made of the Admiralty, and about Trade: to shew the reason of the Messages that passed between them and *France*; and to engage, that if the Emperor would heartily assist them, they would never agree with *France*. *Paget* was also to propose, as of himself, that *Bulloigne* should be put into the Emperors Hands upon a reasonable recompence. Thus was *Paget* instructed, and sent over in *June* this Year. But the Emperor put him off with many delays, and said, The carrying of his Son about the Towns in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, with the many Ceremonies and Entertainments that followed it, made it not easie for him to consider of Matters that required such deep consultation. He put him off from *Brussels* to *Gaunt*, and from *Gaunt* to *Bruges*. But *Paget* growing impatient of such delays, since the *French* were marched into the *Bulloignese*; the Bishop of *Arras*, (Son to *Granvell* that had been long the Emperors chief Minister) who was now like to succeed in his Fathers room that was old and infirm, and the two Presidents of the Emperors Councils, St. *Maurice* and *Viglius*, came to Sir *William Paget*, and had a long communication with him and *Hobbey*, an account whereof will be found in the *Collection* in a Dispatch from them to the Protector.

Collection Number 39.

He meets with the Emperors Ministers.

They first treated of an explanation of some ambiguous words in the Treaty, to which the Emperors Ministers promised to bring them an Answer. Then they talked long of the Matters of the Admiralty, the Emperors Ministers said, no justice was done in *England* upon the Merchants complaints: *Paget* said, every Mariner came to the Protector, and if he would not sollicite their business, they run away with a Complaint that there was no Justice; whereas he thought, that as they medled with no private matters, so the Protector ought to turn all these over upon the Courts that were the competent Judges. But the Bishop of *Arras* said, There was no Justice to be had in the Admiralty Courts, who were indeed Parties in all these Matters: *Paget* said, There was as much Justice in the *English* Admiralty Courts as was in theirs: and the Bishop confessed, there were great corruptions in all these Courts. So *Paget* proposed, that the Emperor should appoint two of his Council to hear and determine all such Complaints, in a Summary way, and the King should do the like in *England*. For the Confirmation of the Treaty, the Bishop said, the Emperor was willing his Son should confirm it; but that he would never sue to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties: and he said, when it was objected that the Treaty with *France* was confirmed by the three Estates, that the Prerogative of the *French* Crown was so restrained that the King could alienate nothing of his Patrimony without the Parliament of *Paris* and his three Estates. He believed the King of *England* had a greater Prerogative: he was sure the Emperor was not so bound up: he had fifteen or sixteen several Parliaments, and what work must he be at if all these must descant on his Transactions? When this general discourse was over, the two Presidents went away: but the Bishop of *Arras* staid with him in private. *Paget* proposed the Business of *Bulloigne*: but the Bishop having given him many good words in the general, excepted much to it, as dishonourable to the Emperor; since *Bulloigne* was not taken when the League was concluded between the Emperor and *England*: so that if he should now include it

in

in the League, it would be a breach of Faith and Treaties with *France*: 1549.
and he stood much on the Honour and Conscience of observing these Treaties inviolably. So this Conversation ended; in which the most remarkable Passage is, that concerning the Limitations on the *French* Crown, and the Freedoms of the *English*; for at that time the Kings Prerogative in *England* was judged of that extent, that I find in a Letter written from *Scotland*, one of the main Objections made to the marrying their Queen to the King of *England* was, That an Union with *England* would much alter the constitution of their Government, the Prerogatives of the Kings of *England* being of a far larger extent than those in *Scotland*.

Two or three days after the former Conversation, the Emperors Ministers returned to *Pagets* Lodging, with answer to the Propositions which the *English* Ambassadors had made: of which a full account will be found in the *Collection* in the Letter which the Ambassadors writ upon it into *England*. The Emperor gave a good answer to some of the Particulars, which were ambiguous in former Treaties. For the Confirmation of the Treaty, he offered, that the Prince should joyn in it; but since the King of *England* was under Age, he thought it more necessary that the Parliament of *England* should confirm it. To which *Paget* answered, That their Kings, as to the Regal Power, were the same in all the Conditions of Life: and therefore when the Great Seal was put to any agreement, the King was absolutely bound by it. If his Ministers engaged him in ill Treaties, they were to answer for it at their Perils; but howsoever the King was tied by it. They discoursed long about the Administration of Justice, but ended in nothing. And as for the main business about *Bulloigne*, the Emperor stood on his Treaties with the *French*, which he could not break: upon which *Paget* said to the Bishop, that his Father had told him, they had so many Grounds to quarrel with *France*, that he had his Sleeve full of them, to produce when there should be occasion to make use of them. But finding the Bishops Answers were cold, and that he only gave good words, he told him that *England* would then see to their own security: and so he took that for the Emperors final Answer, and thereupon resolved to take his leave, which he did soon after, and came back into *England*. But at home the Councils were much divided, of which the sad Effects broke out soon afterward

Collection Number 42.

It was proposed in Council, that the War with *Scotland* should be ended. For it having been begun, and carried on, only on design to obtain the Marriage, since the hopes of that were now so far gone, that it was not in the power of the *Scots* themselves to retrieve them, it was a vain and needless expence both of Blood and Money to keep it up; and since *Bulloigne* was by the Treaty, after a few more years, to be delivered up to the *French*, it seemed a very unreasonable thing, in the low state to which the Kings Affairs were driven, to enter on a War; in which they had little reason to doubt but they should lose *Bulloigne*, after the new expence of a Siege and another years War. The Protector had now many Enemies, who laid hold on this conjuncture to throw him out of the Government. The Earl of *Southampton* was brought into the Council, but had not laid down his secret hatred of the Protector; and did all he could to make a Party against him. The Earl of *Warwick* was the

Debates in Council concerning Peace.

1549. the fittest Man to work on: him therefore he gained over to his side, and having formed a confidence in him, he shewed him, that he had really got all these Victories for which the Protector triumphed: he had won the Field of *Pinkey* near *Musselburgh*, and had subdued the Rebels of *Norfolk*: and as he had before defeated the *French*, so if he were sent over thither, new Triumphs would follow him: but it was below him to be second to any. So he engaged him to quarrel in every thing with the Protector, all whose wary motions were ascribed to fear or dullness. To others he said, What friendship could any expect from a Man who had no pity on his own Brother? But that which provoked the Nobility most, was the partiality the Protector had for the Commons in the Insurrections that had been this Summer. He had also given great Grounds of jealousie, by entertaining Forreign Troops in the Kings Wars; which, though it was not objected to him, because the Council had consented to it, yet it was whispered about, that he had extorted that Consent. But the noble Palace he was raising in the *Strand*, (which yet carries his Name) out of the ruines of some Bishops Houses, and Churches, drew as publick an envy on him as any thing he had done. It was said, that when the King was engaged in such Wars, and when *London* was much disordered by the Plague, that had been in it for some Months, he was then bringing Architects from *Italy*, and designing such a Palace as had not been seen in *England*. It was also said, That many Bishops and Cathedrals had resigned many Mannours to him, for obtaining his favour. Though this was not done without leave obtained from the King; for in a Grant of some Lands made to him by the King on the 11th of *July*, in the second year of his Reign, it is said, That these Lands were given him as a Reward of his Services in *Scotland*, for which he was offered greater Rewards; but that he refusing to accept of such Grants as might too much impoverish the Crown, had taken a Licence to the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, for his alienating some of the Lands of that Bishoprick to him: he is in that Patent called by the *Grace of God* Duke of *Somerset*, which had not of late years been ascribed to any but Sovereign Princes. It was also said, That many of the Chantry Lands had been sold to his Friends at easie rates; for which they concluded he had great Presents: and a course of unusual greatness had raised him up too high; so that he did not carry himself towards the Nobility with that equality that they expected from him.

Complaints against the Protector.

Rot. Pat. 4. Par. 2. Reg.

All these things concurred to beget him many Enemies, and he had very few Friends, for none stuck firmly to him, but *Paget*, and Secretary *Smith*, and especially *Cranmer*, who never forsook his Friend. All that favoured the old Superstition were his Enemies: and seeing the Earl of *Southampton* heading the Party against him, they all run in to it. And of the Bishops, that were for the Reformation, *Goodrich* of *Ely* likewise joyned to them: He had attended on the Admiral in his Preparations for death, from whom, it seems, he drank in ill impressions of the Protector. All his Enemies saw, and he likewise saw it himself, that the continuance of the War must needs destroy him; and that a Peace would confirm him in his Power, and give him time and leisure to break thorough the Faction, that was now so strong against him, that it was not probable he could master it without the help of some time. So in the Council his Adversaries delivered their Opinions against all

motions for Peace: and though upon *Pagets* return from *Flanders*, it appeared to be very unreasonable to carry on the War; yet they said, *Paget* had secret Instructions to procure such an Answer, that it might give a colour to so base a Project. The Officers that came over from these Places that the *French* had taken, pretended, as is common for all Men in such Circumstances, that they wanted things necessary for a Siege; and though in truth it was quite contrary, (as we read in *Thuanus*) yet their Complaints were cherished and spread about among the People. The Protector had also, against the Mind of the Council, ordered the Garrison to be drawn out of *Hadingtoun*; and was going, notwithstanding all their opposition, to make Peace with *France*; and did in many things act by his own Authority, without asking their advice, and often against it. This was the assuming a Regal Power, and seemed not to be endured by those who thought they were in all Points his equals. It was also said, That when, contrary to the late Kings Will, he was chosen *Protector*, it was with that special condition, that he should do nothing without their consent: and though by the Patent he had for his Office, his Power was more enlarged; (which was of greater force in Law, than a private Agreement at the Council Table) yet even that was objected to him, as an high presumption in him to pretend to such a vast Power. Thus all the Month of *September* there were great Heats among them: several Persons interposed to mediate, but to no effect: for the Faction against him was now so strong, that they resolved to strip him of his exorbitant Power, and reduce him to an equality with themselves. The King was then at *Hampton-Court*, where also the Protector was, with some of his own Retainers and Servants about him; which encreased the Jealousies; for it was given out, that he intended to carry away the King. So on the *6th* of *October* some of the Council met at *Ely* House: the Lord *St. John* President, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Arundel*, and *Southampton*, Sir *Edw. North*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Edmund Pecham*, Sir *Edw. Wotton*, and Dr. *Wotton*; and Secretary *Petre* being sent to them in the Kings Name, to ask what they met for, joyned himself likewise to them. They sate as the Kings Council, and entred their Proceedings in the Council-Book, from whence I draw the account of this Transaction.

1549.

Most of the Council separate from him.

These being met together, and considering the disorders that had been lately in *England*, the losses in *Scotland* and *France*, laid the blame of all on the Protector, who, they said, was given up to other Councils, so obstinately, that he would not hearken to the advises they had given him, both at the Board, and in private; and they declared, that having intended that day to have gone to *Hampton-Court*, for a friendly communication with him, he had raised many of the Commons to have destroyed them, and had made the King set his Hand to the Letters he had sent for raising Men; and had also dispersed seditious Bills against them; therefore they intended to see to the safety of the King and the Kingdom. So they sent for the Lord Major and Aldermen of *London*, and required them to obey no Letters sent them by the Protector, but only such as came from themselves. They also writ many Letters to the Nobility and Gentry over *England*, giving them an account of their Designs and Motives, and requiring their assistance. They also sent for the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and he submitted to their Orders. Next day, the

1549. the Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, Sir *John Gage*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, and the Lord *Chief-Justice Montague*, joyned with them. Then they wrote to the King a Letter, (which is in the *Collection*) full of expressions of their duty and care of his Person, complaining of the Duke of *Somerset's* not listening to their Councils, and of his gathering a Force about him for maintaining his wilful doings: they owned that they had caused Secretary *Petre* to stay with them, and in it they endeavoured to perswade the King that they were careful of nothing so much as of his preservation. They also wrote to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and to Sir *William Paget*, to see to the Kings Person, and that his own Servants should attend on him, and not those that belonged to the Duke of *Somerset*. But the Protector, hearing of this disorder, had removed the King to *Windsor* in all hast; and had taken down all the Armour that was either there, or at *Hampton-Court*, and had armed such as he could gather about him for his preservation.

Collection Number 41.

The Council at *London* complained much of this, that the King should be carried to a Place where there were no Provisions fit for him. So they ordered all things that he might need to be sent to him from *London*. And on the 8th of *October* they went to *Guild-hall*, when they gave an account of their Proceedings to the Common-Council of the City: and assured them, they had no thoughts of altering the Religion, as was given out by their Enemies, but intended only the safety of the King, and the Peace of the Kingdom; and for these ends desired their assistance. The whole Common-Council with one Voice, declared, they thanked God for the good intentions they had expressed, and assured them they would stand by them with their Lives and Goods. At *Windsor*, when the Protector understood, that not only the City, but the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, of whom he had held himself assured, had forsaken him, he resolved to struggle no longer: and though it is not improbable, that he, who was chiefly accused for his protecting the Commons, might have easily gathered a great Body of Men for his own preservation; yet he resolved rather to give way to the Tide that was now against him. So he protested before the King and the few Councellors then about him, that he had no design against any of the Lords; and that the Force he had gathered was only to preserve himself from any violent attempt that might be made on his Person: he declared, that he was willing to submit himself; and therefore proposed, that two of those Lords should be sent from *London*, and they, with two of those that were yet about the King, should consider what might be done, in whose determination he would acquiesce: and desired, that whatsoever was agreed on, should be confirmed in Parliament. Hereupon there was sent to *London* a Warrant under the Kings Hand, for any two of the Lords of the Council that were there to come to *Windsor* with twenty Servants a-piece, who had the Kings Faith for their safety in coming and going: and *Cranmer*, *Paget*, and *Smith*, wrote to them to dispose them to end the matter peaceably, and not follow cruel Councils, nor to be misled by them who meant otherwise than they professed, of which they knew more than they would then mention. This seemed to point at the Earl of *Southampton*.

The City of *London* joyns with them.

The Protector offers to treat and submit.

On

On the 9*th* of *October* the Council at *London* encreaſed by the acceſſion of the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Ant. Wingfield*, and Sir *John Baker*, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. For now thoſe who had ſtood off a while; ſeeing the Protector was reſolved to yield, came and united themſelves with the prevailing Party: ſo that they were in all two and twenty. They were informed, that the Protector had ſaid, that if they intended to put him to death, the King ſhould die firſt; and if they would famiſh him, they ſhould famiſh the King firſt: and that he had armed his own Men, and ſet them next to the Kings Perſon, and was deſigning to carry him out of *Windſor*, and as ſome reported, out of the Kingdom: upon which they concluded, that he was no more ſit to be Protector. But of thoſe words no proofs being mentioned in the Council-Books, they look like the forgeries of his Enemies to make him odious to the People. The Council ordered a Proclamation of their Proceedings to be printed, and writ to the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* acquainting them with what they had done. They alſo wrote to the King (as will be found in the *Collection*) acknowledging the many bonds that lay on them in gratitude both for his Fathers goodneſs to them, and his own, to take care of him. They deſired he would conſider, they were his whole Council, except one or two; and were thoſe whom his Father had truſted with the Government: that the Protector was not raiſed to that Power by his Fathers Will, but by their choice, with that condition, that he ſhould do all things by their advice; which he had not obſerved, ſo that they now judged him moſt unworthy of theſe Honours: therefore they earneſtly deſired they might be admitted to the Kings Preſence, to do their duties about him, and that the Forces gathered about his Perſon might be ſent away, and the Duke of *Somerſet* might ſubmit himſelf to the Order of Council. They alſo wrote to the Arch-biſhop and Sir *William Paget*, (which is in the *Collection*) charging them as they would anſwer it, that the Kings Perſon might be well looked to, that he ſhould not be removed from *Windſor*, and that he ſhould be no longer guarded by the Duke of *Somerſets* Men, (as they ſaid he had been, of which they complained ſeverely) but by his own ſworn Servants; and they required them to concur in advancing the deſire they had ſignified by their Letter to the King, proteſting that they would do with the Duke of *Somerſet*, as they would deſire to be done by, and with as much moderation and favour as in honour they could: ſo that there was no reaſon to apprehend from them ſuch cruelty as they had mentioned in their Letters. Theſe were ſent by Sir *Philip Hobbey*, who was returned from *Flanders*, and had been ſent by the King to *London* on the day before. Upon this, *Cranmer*, and *Paget*, (as is entred in the Council-Book) perſwaded both the King and the Protector to grant their deſire. The Protectors Servants were diſmiſſed, and the Kings were ſet about his Perſon. And *Cranmer*, *Paget*, and *Smith*, wrote to the Council at *London*, that all they had propoſed ſhould be granted: They deſired to know whether the King ſhould be brought to *London*, or ſtay at *Windſor*: and that three of the Lords might be ſent thither, who ſhould ſee all things done according to their minds: and for other things they referred them to *Hobbey* that carried the Letter, (which is in the *Collection*) upon this the Council ſent Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *Anthony St. Leiger*, and Sir *J. Williams*, to *Windſor*, with a charge to ſee that the

1549.

Collection Number 42.

Collection Number 43.

Collection Number 44.

1549. Duke of *Somerset* should not withdraw before they arrived, and that Sir *Tho. Smith* the Secretary, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *John Thynn*, *Edw. Wolfe*, and *William Cecil*, should be restrained to their Chambers, till they examined them. On the 12th of *October* the whole Council went to *Windsor*, and coming to the King, they protested that all they had done was out of the zeal and affection they had to his Person and Service. The King received them kindly, and thanked them for their care of him, and assured them that he took all they had done in good part. On the 13th day they sate in Council, and sent for those who were ordered to be kept in their Chambers; only *Cecil* was let go. They charged them, that they had been the chief Instruments about the Duke of *Somerset* in all his wilful Proceedings; therefore they turned *Smith* out of his Place of Secretary, and sent him with the rest to the Tower of *London*. On the day following, the Protector was called before them, and Articles of Misdemeanours and high Treason were laid to his charge, (which will be found in the *Collection*) The Substance of them was, That being made Protector, on condition that he should do nothing without the consent of the other Executors, he had not observed that Condition, but had treated with Ambassadors, made Bishops and Lord-Lieutenants, by his own Authority: and that he had held a Court of Requests in his own House; and had done many things contrary to Law, had embased the Coin, had in the Matter of Inclosures set out Proclamations, and given Commissions against the mind of the whole Council: that he had not taken care to suppress the late Insurrections, but had justified and encouraged them: that he had neglected the Places the King had in *France*, by which means they were lost: that he had perswaded the King that the Lords who met at *London* intended to destroy him, and had desired him never to forget it, but to revenge it, and had required some young Lords to keep it in his remembrance; and had caused those Lords to be proclaimed Traitors: that he had said, If he should die, the King should die too: that he had carried the King so suddenly to *Windsor*, that he was not only put in great fear, but cast into a dangerous disease: that he had gathered the People, and armed them for War; and had armed his Friends and Servants; and left the Kings Servants unarmed: and that he intended to fly to *Jersey*, or *Garnsey*. So he was sent to the Tower, being conducted thither by the Earls of *Sussex*, and *Huntington*. That day the King was carried back again to *Hampton-Court*; and an Order was made, that six Lords should be the Governours of his Person: who were the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick*, and *Arundel*, the Lords *St. John*, *Russel*, and *Wentworth*. Two of those were in their course to attend constantly on the King.

He is accused and sent to the Tower. Collection Number 45.

Censures passed upon him.

And thus fell the Duke of *Somerset* from his high Offices and great Trust. The Articles objected to him seem to say as much for his justification, as the Answers could do, if they were in my Power. He is not accused of rapine, cruelty, or bribery; but only of such things as are incident to all Men that are of a sudden exalted to a high and disproportioned greatness. What he did about the Coin, was not for his own advantage, but was done by a common mistake of many Governours, who, in the necessity of their Affairs, fly to this as their last shift, to draw out their business as long as is possible; but it ever rebounds on the

the Government to its great prejudice and loſs. He bore his Fall more equally than he had done his Proſperity: and ſet himſelf in his impriſonment to ſtudy, and reading: and falling on a Book that treated of Patience, both from the Principles of Moral Philoſophy, and of Chriſtianity; he was ſo much taken with it, that he ordered it to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and writ a Preface to it himſelf, mentioning the great comfort he had found in reading it, which had induced him to take care that others might reap the like benefit from it. *Peter Martyr* writ him alſo a long conſolatory Letter, which was printed, both in *Latin*, and in an *Engliſh* Tranſlation: and all the Reformed, both in *England*, and abroad, looked on his Fall as a publick loſs to that whole Intereſt which he had ſo ſteadily ſet forward. 1549.

The Papiſts much lifted up.

But on the other hand, the Popiſh Party were much lifted up at his Fall; and the rather, becauſe they knew the Earl of *Southampton*, who they hoped ſhould have directed all Affairs, was entirely theirs. It was alſo believed, that the Earl of *Warwick* had given them ſecret Aſſurances: So it was underſtood at the Court of *France*, as *Thuanus* writes. They had alſo, among the firſt things they did, gone about to diſcharge the Duke of *Norfolk* of his long impriſonment, in conſideration of his great Age, his former Services, and the extremity of the Proceedings againſt him, which were ſaid to have flowed chiefly from the ill Offices the Duke of *Somerſet* had done him. But this was ſoon laid aſide. So now the Papiſts made their Addreſſes to the Earl of *Warwick*. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* wrote to him a hearty Congratulation, rejoycing that the late tyranny (ſo he called the Duke of *Somerſets* Adminiſtration) was now at an end: he wiſhed him all proſperity, and deſired, that when he had leiſure from the great Affairs, that were in ſo unſetled a condition, ſome regard might be had of him. The Biſhop of *London*, being alſo in good hopes, ſince the Protector, and *Smith*, whom he eſteemed his chief Enemies, were now in diſgrace, and *Cranmer* was in cold, if not in ill terms, with the Earl of *Warwick*, ſent a Petition that his Appeal might be received, and his Proceſs reviewed. Many alſo began to fall off from going to the *Engliſh* Service, or the Communion; hoping that all would be quickly undone that had been ſetled by the Duke of *Somerſet*. But the Earl of *Warwick*, finding the King ſo zealouſly addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one ſo much to him, as the promoting it further would do, ſoon forſook the Popiſh Party, and was ſeemingly the moſt earneſt on a further Reformation that was poſſible. I do not find that he did write any Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. He continued ſtill a Priſoner. And for *Bonners* Matter, there was a new Court of Delegates appointed to review his Appeal, conſiſting of four Civilians, and four Common Lawyers; who having examined it, reported, that the Proceſs had been legally carried on, and the Sentence juſtly given, and that there was no good reaſon why the Appeal ſhould be received, and therefore they rejected it. This being reported to the Council, they ſent for *Bonner* in the beginning of *February*, and declared to him, that his Appeal was rejected, and that the Sentence againſt him was in full force ſtill.

But their hopes ſoon vaniſh.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Emperor.

But the Buſineſs of *Balloigne* was that which preſſed them moſt. They miſdoubting, as was formerly ſhewn, that *Paget* had not managed that

1549. matter dexterously and earnestly with the Emperor, sent on the 18*th* of *October* Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, and Sir *Phil. Hobbey* to him, to entreat him to take *Bulloigne* into his protection; they also sent over the Earl of *Huntington* to command it, with the addition of a thousand Men for the Garrison. When the Ambassadors came to the Emperor, they desired leave to raise 2000 Horse and 3000 Foot in his Dominions for the preservation of *Bulloigne*. The Emperor gave them very good words, but insisted much on his League with *France*: and referred them to the Bishop of *Arras*, who told them plainly the thing could not be done. So Sir *Tho. Cheyney* took his leave of the Emperor, who at parting desired him to represent to the Kings Council, how necessary it was to consider matters of Religion again, that so they might be all of one mind; for, to deal plainly with them, till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually as otherwise he desired to do. And now the Council saw clearly, they had not been deceived by *Paget* in that Particular, and therefore resolved to apply themselves to *France* for a Peace. But now the Earl of *Warwick* falling off wholly from the Popish Party, the Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great discontent. He was neither restored to his Office of Chancellor, nor made Lord Treasurer, (that Place, which was vacant by the Duke of *Somersets* Fall, being now given to the Lord *St. John*, who soon after, was made Earl of *Wilt-shire*:) nor was he made one of those who had charge of the Kings Person. So he began to lay a Train against the Earl of *Warwick*; but he was too quick for him, and discovered it: upon which he left the Court in the night, and it was said, he poisoned himself, or pined away with discontent, for he died in *July* after..

Cotton Libr. Galba B. 12.

The Earl of *Southampton* leaves the Court.

So now the Reformation was ordered to be carried on: and there being one part of the Divine Offices not yet reformed, that is, concerning the giving Orders, some Bishops and Divines, brought now together by a Session of Parliament, were appointed to prepare a Book of Ordination.

A new Office for Ordinations.

But now I turn to the Parliament, which sate down on the 4*th* of *November*. In it a severe Law was made against unlawful Assemblies: that if any, to the number of twelve should meet together unlawfully, for any matter of State, and being required by any lawful Magistrate, should not disperse themselves, it should be Treason: and if any broke Hedges, or violently pulled up Pales, about Inclosures, without lawful Authority, it should be Felony. It was also made Felony to gather the People together without Warrant, by ringing of Bells, or sound of Drums and Trumpets, or the firing of Beacons. There was also a Law made against Prophecies concerning the King or his Council, since by these the People were disposed to sedition: for the first offence it was to be punished by Imprisonment for a year, and 10 *l.* Fine: For the second, it was Imprisonment during Life, with the forfeiture of Goods and Chattels. All this was on the account of the Tumults the former year, and not with any regard to the Duke of *Somersets* security, as some have without any reason fancied: for he had now no Interest in the Parliament, nor was he in a condition any more to apprehend Tumults against himself, being stript of his so much envied greatness. Another Law was made against Vagabonds, relating, That the former Statute made in this Reign being too severe, was by that means not executed: so it was repealed, and

A Session of Parliament.

An Act against Tumultuary Assemblies.

And against Vagabonds.

the Law made in King *Henry* the 8*th*'s Reign put in force: Provisions were laid down for relieving the Sick and Impotent, and setting the Poor, that were able, to work: That once a month there should be every where a Visitation of the Poor, by those in Office, who should send away such as did not belong to that Place, and those were to be carried from Constable to Constable, till they were brought to such Places as were bound to see to them. There was a Bill brought in for the repealing of a Branch of the Act of Uniformity, but it went no further than one reading. 1549.

The Bishops move for a reviving of Ecclesiastical Censures.

On the 14*th* of *November* the Bishops made a heavy complaint to the Lords, of the abounding of vice and disorder, and that their Power was so abridged, that they could punish no sin, nor oblige any to appear before them, or to observe the Orders of the Church. This was heard by all the Lords with great regret, and they ordered a Bill to be drawn about it. On the 18*th* of *November* a Bill was brought in, but rejected at first reading, because it seemed to give the Bishops too much Power. So a second Bill was appointed to be drawn by a Committee of the House. It was agreed to, and sent down to the Commons, who laid it aside after the second reading. They thought it better to renew the design that was in the former Reign, of two and thirty Persons being authorized to compile the Body of Ecclesiastical Laws; and when that was prepared, it seemed more proper, by confirming it, to establish Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, than to give the Bishops any Power, while the Rules of their Courts were so little determined or regulated: So an act passed, empow'ring the King to name sixteen Persons of the Spiritualty, of whom four should be Bishops, and sixteen of the Temporalty, of whom four should be common Lawyers, who within three years should compile a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws; and those, being nothing contrary to the Common and Statute Laws of the Land, should be published by the Kings Warrant, under the Great Seal, and have the force of Laws in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Thus they took care that this should not be turn'd over to an uncertain Period, as it had been done in the former Reign, but designed that it should be quickly finished. The Bishops of that time were generally so backward in every step to a Reformation, that a small number of them was made necessary to be of this Commission. The effect that it had shall be afterwards opened.

There was a Bill brought in to the House of Commons, That the Preaching and holding of some Opinions should be declared *Felony*: it passed with them, but was laid aside by the Lords. A Bill for the Form of Ordaining Ministers was brought in to the House of Lords, and was agreed to, 1550. the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Carlisle*, *Worcester*, *Chichester*, and *Westminster*, protesting against it. The Substance of it was, That such Forms of Ordaining Ministers as should be set forth by the advice of six Prelates and six Divines, to be named by the King, and authorized by a Warrant under the Great Seal, should be used after *April* next, and no other.

An Act about the Forms of giving Orders.

On the second of *January* a Bill was put in against the Duke of *Somerset*, of the Articles formerly mentioned, with a Confession of them Signed by his Hand. This he was prevailed with to do, upon assurances given that he should be gently dealt with, if he would freely confess, and submit himself to the Kings mercy. But it was said by some of the Lords, that they did not know whether that Confession was not drawn from

An Act about the Duke of *Somerset*.

him

1550. him by force: and that it might be an ill President to pass Acts upon such Papers, without examining the Party, whether he had subscribed them freely and uncompelled: so they sent four Temporal Lords, and four Bishops, to examine him concerning it. And the day following, the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* made the Report, that he thanked them for that kind Message, but that he had freely subscribed the Confession that lay before them. He had made it on his Knees before the King and Council, and had Signed it on the 13*th* of *December*. He protested his offences had flowed from rashness and indiscretion, rather than malice, and that he had no treasonable design against the King or his Realms. So he was fined by Act of Parliament in 2000 *l.* a year of Land, and he lost all his Goods and Offices. Upon this he wrote to the Council, acknowledging their favour, in bringing off his Matter by a Fine: he confess'd, that he had fall'n into the frailties that often attend on great Places, but what he had done amiss was rather for want of true Judgment, than from any malicious meaning: he humbly desired they would interpose with the King for a moderation of his Fine, and that he might be pardoned and restored to favour; assuring them, that for the future he should carry himself so humbly and obediently, that he should thereby make amends for his former follies: This was much censured by many, as a sign of an abject Spirit: others thought it was wisely done in him, once to get out of Prison on any terms, since the greatness of his former condition gave such jealousie to his Enemies, that unless he had his pardon, he would be in continual danger, as long as he was in their hands. So on the 6*th* of *February* he was set at liberty, giving Bond of 10000 *l.* for his good behaviour; and being limited that he should stay at the Kings House of *Sheen*, or his own of *Zion*, and should not go four Miles from them, nor come to the King or the Council, unless he were called: He had his Pardon on the 16*th* of *February*, and carried himself after that so humbly, that his behaviour, with the Kings great kindness to him, did so far prevail, that on the 10*th* of *April* after, he was restored into favour, and sworn of the Privy-Council. And so this storm went over him much more gently than was expected; but his carriage in it was thought to have so little of the *Hero*, that he was not much considered after this.

The Reformation is set on vigorously.

But to go on with the business of the Parliament; reports had been spread, that the old Service would be again set up: and these were much cherished by those who still loved the former superstition: who gave out, that a change was to be expected, since the New Service had been only the Act of the Duke of *Somerset*. Upon this the Council wrote on *Christmas* day a Letter to all the Bishops of *England*, to this effect; "That whereas the *English* Service had been devised by Learned Men, "according to the Scripture, and the use of the Primitive Church; there-"fore, for putting away those vain expectations, all Clergy-men were "required, to deliver to such as should be appointed by the King to re-"ceive them, all Antiphonales, Missals, Grayles, Processionals, Ma-"nuals, Legends, Pies, Portuasses, Journals, and Ordinals, after the use "of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *York*, or any other private use: requiring them "also to see to the observing one uniform Order in the Service set forth "by the common consent of the Realm: and particularly to take care that "there should be every where provision made of Bread and Wine for

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"Communion on *Sunday*. This will be found in the *Collection*. But to give a more publick declaration of their zeal, an Act was brought into Parliament about it, and was agreed to by all the Lords; except the Earl of *Darby*, the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Carlisle*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, and *Chichester*, and the Lords *Morley*, *Stourton*, *Windsor*, and *Wharton*. By it, not only all the Books formerly mentioned were to be destroyed, but all that had any Image that had belonged to any Church or Chappel, were required to deface it before the last of *June*: and in all the Primers set out by the late King the Prayers to the Saints were to be dashed out. There was also an Act for a Subsidy to be payed in one year, for which there was a Release granted of a Branch of the Subsidy formerly given. Last of all came the Kings general Pardon, out of which those in the Tower, or other Prisons, on the account of the State, as also all Anabaptists were excepted. 1550. Collection Number 45.

Thus were all Matters ended, and on the first of *February* the Parliament was prorogued. Only in the House of Commons there was a Debate that deserves to be remembred. It seems that before this time the Eldest Sons of Peers were not Members of the House of Commons: and Sir *Francis Russel*, becoming, by the death of his elder Brother, Heir apparent to the Lord *Russel*; it was on the 21*st* of *Jan.* carried upon a Debate, *That he should abide in the House as he was before.* So it is entred in the Original Journal of the House of Commons, which was communicated to me by Mr. *Surle*, and Mr. *Clark*, in whose Hands it is now, and is the first Journal that ever was taken in that House.

But it may be expected that I should next give an account of the Forms of Ordination now agreed on. Twelve were appointed by the Council to prepare the Book; among whom, *Heath* Bishop of *Worcester* was one, but he would not consent to the Reformations that were proposed in it: So on the 8*th* of *February* he was called before the Council, and required to agree to that which all the rest had consented to. But he could not be prevailed with to do it. Wherefore on the fourth of *March* he was committed to the *Fleet*, because (as it is entred in the Council Books) that he obstinately denied to subscribe the Book for the making of Bishops and Priests. He had hitherto opposed every thing done towards Reformation in Parliament, though he had given an entire obedience to it when it was enacted. He was a Man of a gentle temper, and great prudence, that understood Affairs of State better than Matters of Religion. But now it was resolved to rid the Church of those Compliers, who submitted out of fear, or interest, to save their Benefices; but were still ready upon any favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old superstition.

Heath Bishop of *Worcester* put in Prison for not agreeing with the others appointed to draw the Book for Ordinations.

As for the Forms of Ordination, they found, that the Scripture mentioned only the Imposition of Hands and Prayer. In the Apostolical Constitutions, In the fourth Council of *Carthage*, and in the pretended Works of *Denis* the *Areopagite*, there was no more used. Therefore all those additions, of Anointing, and giving them Consecrated Vestments, were later Inventions. But most of all the conceit, which from the time of the Council of *Florence* was generally received, that the Rites by which a Priest was ordained, were the delivering him the Vessels for consecrating the Eucharist, with a Power to offer Sacrifice to God for the

1550. the dead and the living. This was a vain Novelty, only set up to support the belief of Transubstantiation: and had no ground, in the Scriptures, nor the Primitive Practice. So they agreed on a Form of ordaining Deacons, Priests, and Bishops, which is the same we yet use, except in some few words, that have been added since in the Ordination of a Priest, or Bishop. For there was then no express mention made in the words of Ordaining them, that it was for the one, or the other Office: In both it was said, *Receive thou the Holy Ghost, in the Name of the Father*, &c. But that having been since made use of to prove both Functions the same, it was of late years altered, as it is now. Nor were these words, being the same in giving both Orders, any ground to infer that the Church esteemed them one Order; the rest of the Office shewing the contrary very plainly. Another difference between the Ordination Book set out at that time, and that we now use, was, that the Bishop was to lay his one Hand on the Priests Head, and with his other to give him a Bible, with a Chalice and Bread in it, saying the words now said at the delivery of the Bible. In the Consecration of a Bishop there was nothing more than what is yet in use, save that a Staff was put into his Hand, with this Blessing, *Be to the Flock of Christ a Shepherd.* By the Rule of this Ordinal, a Deacon was not to be ordained before he was 21, a Priest before he was 24, nor a Bishop before he was 30 years of Age.

The Additions brought into the Church of *Rome* in giving Orders.

In this Ritual all those superadded Rites were cut off, which the later Ages had brought in, to dress up these Performances with the more pomp: whereof we have since a more perfect account, than it was possible for them then to have. For in our Age *Morinus*, a learned Priest of the Oratorian Order, has published the most ancient Rituals he could find; by which it appears how these Offices swelled in every Age by some new addition. About the middle of the sixth *Century*, they anointed and blessed the Priests Hands in some parts of *France:* though the *Greek* Church never used anointing; nor was it in the *Roman* Church two Ages after that: for Pope *Nicolaus* the first plainly says, it was never used in the Church of *Rome*. In the 8*th Century*, the Priests Garments were given with a special Benediction, for the Priests *offering expiatory Sacrifices:* It was no ancienter that that Phrase was used in Ordinations: and in that same Age there was a special Benediction of the Priests Hands, used before they were anointed: and then his Head was anointed. This was taken partly from the Levitical Law, and partly because the People believed that their Kings derived the Sacredness of their Persons, from their being anointed: So the Priests having a mind to have their Persons secured and exempted from all Secular Power, were willing enough to use this Rite in their Ordinations: and in the 10*th Century*, when the belief of Transubstantiation was received, the delivering of the Vessels for the Eucharist, with the Power of offering Sacrifices, was brought in, besides a great many other Rites. So that the Church did never tie it self to one certain Form of Ordinations; nor did it always make them with the same Prayers; for what was accounted anciently the Form of Ordination, was in the later Ages but a preparatory Prayer to it.

Interrogations and Sponsions in the new Book.

The most considerable addition that was made in the Book of Ordinations, was the putting Questions to the Persons to be ordained: who

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by anſwering theſe, make ſolemn Declarations or Sponſions and Vows to God. The firſt Queſtion when one is preſented to Orders, is, *Do you truſt, that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghoſt, to take upon you this Office and Miniſtration, to ſerve God, for the promoting his Glory, and for the edifying of his People ?* To which he is to anſwer, *He truſts he is.* It has been oft lamented, that many come to receive Orders before ever they have ſeriouſly read over theſe Queſtions, and examined themſelves whether they could with a good Conſcience make the Anſwers there preſcribed : ſince it is ſcarce credible that Men of common honeſty would lie in the Preſence of God, on ſo great an occaſion: and yet it is too viſible, that many have not any ſuch inward vocation, nor have ever conſidered ſeriouſly what it is. If it were well apprehended, that heat that many have to get into Orders would ſoon abate; who perhaps have nothing in their Eye, but ſome Place of Profit, or Benefice, to which way muſt be made by that preceding Ceremony: and ſo enter into Orders, as others are aſſociated into Fraternities and Corporations, with little previous ſenſe of that Holy Character, they are to receive, when they thus dedicate their Lives and Labours to the Service of God, in the Goſpel. In the Primitive Church the apprehenſion of this made even good and holy Men afraid to enter under ſuch Bonds: and therefore they were often to be drag'd almoſt by force, or catched at unawares, and be ſo initiated : as appears in the Lives of theſe two *Greek* Fathers *Nazianzen* and *Chryſoſtome.* If Men make their firſt ſtep to the Holy Altar, by ſuch a lye, as is their pretending to a motion of the Holy Ghoſt, concerning which they know little, but that they have nothing at all of it; they have no reaſon to expect that Bleſſing which otherwiſe attends on ſuch Dedications. And it had been happy for the Church, if all thoſe that are authorized to confer Orders, had ſtood on this more critically; and not been contented with a bare putting theſe Queſtions to thoſe who come to be ordained; but had uſed a due ſtrictneſs before hand, ſutable to that grave admonition of St. *Pauls* to *Timothy, Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man, and be not partaker of other Mens ſins.* 1550.

In the Sponſions made by the Prieſts, they bind themſelves to *teach the People committed to their charge, to baniſh away all erroneous Doctrines, and to uſe both publick and private Monitions, and Exhortations, as well to the Sick, as the Whole, within their Cures, as need ſhall require, and as occaſion ſhall be given.* Such as remember that they have plighted their Faith for this to God, will feel the Paſtoral Care to be a Load indeed, and ſo be far enough from relinquiſhing it, or hiring it out perhaps to a looſe or ignorant Mercenary. Theſe are the blemiſhes and ſcandals that lie on our Church, brought on it partly by the corruption of ſome Simoniacal Patrons, but chiefly by the negligence of ſome, and the faultineſs of other Clergy-men: Which could never have loſt ſo much ground in the Nation, upon ſuch trifling accounts, as are the Conteſts ſince raiſed about Ceremonies; if it were not that the People, by ſuch palpable faults in the Perſons and behaviour of ſome Church-men, have been poſſeſſed with prejudices, firſt againſt them, and then upon their account againſt the whole Church: ſo that theſe corrupt Church-men are not only to anſwer to God for all thoſe Souls within their charge, that have periſhed through their neglect, but in a great degree for all the miſchief of the Schiſm among us; to the nouriſhing whereof they have given ſo great

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1550. and palpable occasion. The importance of those things made me judge they deserved this digression, from which I now turn to other Affairs.

The Business of *Bulloigne* lay heavy on the Council. The *French* had stopt all communication between *Calais* and it; so that it was not easie to supply it from thence. The Council, to rid the Nation of the Forreigners, sent them all to *Calais* with 3000 *English*, and resolved to force a way through, if it came to extremities: but at this time both the *French* and *English* were well disposed to a Peace. The King of *France* knew the Emperor intended to go into *Germany* next Summer; so he longed to be at liberty to wait on his Motions. The *English* Council, that opposed the delivery of *Bulloigne*, chiefly to throw off the Duke of *Somerset*, that being done, were all convinced that it was not worth the cost and danger of a War: only they stood on the indecency of yielding it; especially, they having raised such clamours against the Protector, when he went about the delivering it up. So they made great shews of preparations to defend it: but at the same time were not unwilling to listen to Propositions of Peace. One *Guidotti*, a Florentine that lived in *England*, was employed by the Constable of *France*, *Mountmorancy*, to set on a Treaty; yet he was to do it without owning he had any orders from that King. He went often to and again between *Paris* and *London*, and at last it was resolved on both sides that there should be a Treaty. But at this time there was a great change of Affairs in *Italy*. Pope *Paul* the third having held that See fifteen years, died the 10*th* of *November*, in the 82*d* Year of his Age: much broken in mind at the calamity of his Family, the killing of his Son, the loss of *Placentia*, and the ingratitude of his Grand-child. Upon his death all the Cardinals, being gathered from *Bollogna*, *Trent*, and other neighbouring Places, entred the Conclave: where one that is to have such a share in the following part of this Work, was so much concerned, that it will be no impertinent digression to give an account of it. There were great animosities between the Imperialists and the *French*: Cardinal *Farnese* had also many Votes that followed him: so that these three Factions, were either of them strong enough to exclude any that was unacceptable to them. Cardinal *Pool* was set up by *Farnese*, as a moderate Imperialist, who had carried it so well at *Trent*, that they saw he would not blindly follow the Emperor. He had lived many years at *Viterbo*, where he was made Legate, after he had given over his Practices against *England*. There he gave himself wholy to the Study of Divinity, not without some imputations of favouring Heresie. For one *Antonio Flaminio*, that was also suspect of *Lutheranisme*, lived with him. *Tremellius* that learned *Jew*, who had been Baptized in his House, was also known to incline that way: and many, who left their Monasteries, and went to *Germany*, used to stay some time with him on their way, and were well received by him: nor would he proceed against any suspected of Heresie. There was causes enough to raise suspicion in a less jealous People than *Italians*. Yet the vast zeal that he had shewn for the exaltation of the Papacy, made all those things be over-looked. He was sent one of the Popes Legates to *Trent*, where he asserted the *German* Doctrine of Justification by Faith: But upon the Emperors setting out the *Interim* he wrote freely against it. He was indeed a Man of an easie and gene-

It is resolved to deliver *Bulloigne* to the *French*.

Pope *Paul* the third dies.

Cardinal *Pool* was elected Pope.

generous temper, but much in the Power of those whom he loved and trusted. *Farnese* therefore looking on him as one that would be governed by him, and that was acceptable to the Imperialists, and not much hated by the *French*, the Cardinal of *Guise* being his Friend, resolved to promote him: and by the scrutiny they made, it was found that they were within two of the number that was requisite. But he seemed so little concerned at it himself, that he desired them not to make too much hast in a thing of that nature: for that dignity was rather to be undertaken with fear, than to be ambitiously desired. The Cardinals, who had heard of such things among the Ancient *Romans*, but had seen few such modern Instances, and who valued Men by nothing more than their ambitious aspiring, imputed this either to dullness, or hypocrisie: He himself seemed nothing affected with it, and did not change his behaviour, and carried it with an equality of mind, that became one who had divided his time between Philosophy and Divinity. *Caraffa*, that hated him, did all he could to alienate the Conclave from him: he objected to him, not only Heresie, but also the suspition of incontinence, since he bred up a Nun who was believed to be his Daughter. Of these things he coldly purged himself; he shew'd that he had suffered so much on the account of Religion in his own Country, that he was beyond the suspition of Heresie: and he proved that the Girl whom he maintained among the Nuns, was an *English-man's* Daughter, to whom he had assigned an allowance. *Caraffa* prevailed little, and the next night the number was compleat: so that the Cardinals came to adore him, and make him Pope; but he receiving that, with his usual coldness said, it was night, and God loved light better than darkness, therefore he desired to delay it till day came. The *Italians* who, what ever Judges they may be about the qualifications of such a Pope as is necessary for their Affairs, understood not this temper of mind, which in better times would have recommended one with the highest advantages, shrunk all from him: and after some intrigues usual on such occasions, chose the Cardinal *de Monte*, afterwards Pope *Julius* the third, who gave a strange Omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own Hat, according to the custom of the Popes who bestow their Hats before they go out of the Conclave, on a mean Servant of his, who had the charge of a Monkey that he kept: and being asked what he observed in him to make him a Cardinal, he answered, as much as the Cardinals had seen in him to make him Pope. But it was commonly said, that the secret of this Promotion was an unnatural affection to him. Upon this occasion I shall refer the Reader to a Letter which I have put in the *Collection*, written by Cardinal *Woolsey* upon the death of Pope *Adrian* the sixth, to get himself chosen Pope; it sets out so naturally the Intrigues of that Court on such occasions, that though it belongs to the former Volume, yet having fallen upon it since I published it, I thought it would be no unacceptable thing to insert in this Volume, though it does not belong to it. It will demonstrate how likely it is, that a Bishop chosen by such Arts, should be the infallible Judge of Controversies, and the Head of the Church.

1550.

Collection Number 47.

And now to return to *England*; it was resolved to send Ambassadors to *France*: who were, the Lord *Russel*, *Paget* now made a Lord, Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *John Mason*. Their Instructions will be found in

A Treaty between the English and French.

1550. in the *Collection*. The Substance of them was, they were not to stick about the Place of Treaty, but to have it at *Calais*, or *Bulloigne*, if it might be: they were to agree to the delivery up of *Bulloigne*, but to demand that the *Scotch* Queen should be sent back, for perfecting the Marriage formerly agreed on: That the Fortifications of *Newhaven*, and *Blackness*, should be ruinated: That the perpetual Pension agreed to King *Henry* should still be payed, together with all Arrears that were due before the Wars: they were only to insist on the last, if they saw the former could not be obtained: They were to agree the time and manner of the delivery of *Bulloigne* to be as honourable as might be. For *Scotland*, they being also in War with the Emperor, the King of *England* could not make Peace with them, unless the Emperor, his Ally, who had made War on them upon his account, were also satisfied: All Places there, were to be offered up, except *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*. If the *French* spoke any thing of the Kings marrying their Kings Daughter *Elizabeth*, they were to put it off; since the King was yet so young. They were also at first to agree to no more but a Cessation. So they went over on the 21*st* of *January*; the *French* Commissioners appointed to treat with them were *Rochpot*, *Chastilion*, *Mortier*, and *de Sany*, who desired the Meeting might be near *Bulloigne*, though the *English* endeavoured to have brought it to *Guisnes*. Upon the *English* laying out their Demands, the *French* answered them roundly, that for delivering up the Queen of *Scots*, they would not treat about it; nor about a perpetual Pension; since, as the King was resolved to marry the *Scotch* Queen to the *Dolphin*, so he would give no perpetual Pension, which was in effect to become a tributary Prince: but for a Sum of Money they were ready to treat about it. As to *Scotland*, they demanded, that all the Places that had been taken should be restored, as well as *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, as *Lauder*, and *Dunglasse*. The latter two were soon yielded to, but the Commissioners were limited as to the former. There was also some discourse of razing the Fortifications of *Alderney*, and *Sark*, two small Islands in the Channel, that belonged to *England*: the latter was in the Hands of the *French*, who were willing to yield it up, so the Fortifications both in it and *Alderny* were razed. Upon this there were second Instructions sent over from the Council, (which are in the *Collection*) that they should so far insist on the keeping of *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, as to break up their Conference upon it; but if that did not work on the *French*, they should yield it rather than give over the Treaty. They were also instructed to require Hostages from the *French* till the Money were all payed, and to offer Hostages on the part of *England* till *Bulloigne* was delivered; and to struggle in the matter of the Isles all they could, but not to break about it. Between the giving the first and second Instructions, the Lord *St. John* was created Earl of *Wilt-shire*, as appears by his Subscriptions. The Commissioners finished their Treaty about the end of *February*, on these Articles, On condition that all Claims of either side should be reserved as they were at the beginning of the War. This was a temper between the *English* demand, of all the Arrears of King *Henry*'s Pension; and the *French* denial of it: for thus the King reserved all the right he had before the War. *Bulloigne* was to be delivered within six Months, with all the Places about it, and the Ordnance, except what the *English* had

Collection Number 48.

Instructions given to the *English* Ambassadors.

Collection Number 49.

Articles of the Treaty.

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Printed for Rich: Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in St Pauls Church yard.

cast since they had it: for which Surrender the *French* were to pay 400000 Crowns, (then of equal value with the *English* Noble) the one half three days after the Town was in their Hands, and the other in the *August* after. There was to be a Peace with *Scotland*; and *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, *Lauder*, and *Dunglasse*, were to be razed: and there was to be a free Trade between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*. Six Hostages were to be given on either side: all the *English* were to be sent back upon the delivery of the Town: and three of the *French* on the first, and the rest on the second Payment. The *French* Hostages were the Duke of *Enghien*, the Marquess *de Mean*, Son to the Duke of *Guise*, *Monmorancy* Son to the Constable, the Duke of *Tremoville*, the Vicedam of *Chartres*, and *Henandy* Son to *Annebault* the Admiral. On the *English* side were, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Arundels* Son, the Lord *Strange*, and the Lord *Matravers*. So was the Peace concluded: all the Articles in it were duly performed, and the Hostages delivered back. It was proclaimed in *London* on the 29*th* of *March*, being confirmed by both the Kings. Only it was much observed, that when it was to be confirmed in *England*, the Earl of *Warwick*, on pretence of sickness, was absent: those who began to conceive great jealousies of him, thought this was to make a shew to the People that he abhorred so dishonourable a thing, as himself had oft called it during the Duke of *Somersets* Administration, and that therefore he would not by his Presence seem to consent to it, though he had Signed all the Orders for it. 1550.

The Earl of *Warwick* governs the Councils.

And now was the King entring in the fourth Year of his Reign, free from all Wars, which had hitherto much distracted his Government. So the Council was more at leisure to settle the Affairs at home. But the Earl of *Warwick*, beginning to form great designs, resolved first to make himself popular, by calling all that had medled in the Kings Affairs to a strict account: and either to make them compound for great Sums, by which the Kings Debts should be payed; or to keep them under the lash till he made them subservient to his ends. He began with the Earl of *Arundel*, to whose charge many things being laid, he submitted himself to a Fine of 12000 *l.* to be paid in twelve years. This was the more taken notice of, because *Southampton*, *Arundel*, and he, with Sir *Richard Southwell* Master of the Rolls, had been the chief contrivers of the Duke of *Somersets* Fall: *Southampton* was driven away, *Arundel* fined, and *Southwell* was soon after put in the *Fleet*, for dispersing some Seditious Bills. This wrought much on the Vulgar, who imputed it to a secret Curse on those who had conspired against the Duke of *Somerset*: and the delivery of *Bulloigne* made it yet more plain, that the Charge against him was chiefly grounded on malice. After *Arundels* disgrace, all the Duke of *Somersets* Friends made their Compositions, and were discharged. Sir *Tho. Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Tho. Fisher*, and *William Gray*, each of them acknowledged they owed the King 3000 *l.* and Sir *Jo. Thynn* submitted to 6000 *l.* Fine.

Ridley made Bishop of *London*.

But I shall next prosecute the Narration of what concerned the Church. It was now resolved to fill the See of *London*: *Ridley* being esteemed both the most learned, and most throughly zealous for the Reformation, was pitched on to be the Man. So on the 21*st* of *February* he was writ for, and on the 24*th* he was declared Bishop of *London* and *Westminster*,

1550. and was to have 1000 *l.* a year of the Rents of the Bishoprick; and for his further Supply, was dispensed with to hold a Prebendary of *Canterbury* and *Westminster*. It was thought needless to have two Bishopricks so near one another; and some, gaping after the Lands of both, procured this Union. But I do not see any reason to think, that at any time in this Reign, the suppression of the Deanries and Prebends in Cathedrals was designed. For neither in the suppression of the Bishopricks of *Westminster*, *Glocester*, or *Duresme*, was there any attempt made to put down the Deanries or Prebendaries in these Places: so that I look on this as a groundless conceit, among many others that pass concerning this Reign. For *Thirleby* of *Westminster*, there was no cause given to throw him out; for he obeyed all the Laws and Injunctions when they came out, though he generally opposed them when they were making. So to make way for him, *William Reps*, the Bishop of *Norwich*, was prevailed with to resign, and he was promoted to that See, vacant (as his Patent has it) by the free resignation of *William* the former Bishop. And the same day, being the first of *April*, *Ridley* was made Bishop of *London* and *Westminster*. Both were, according to the common Form, to be Bishops *durante vita naturali* during Life.

Proceedings against Gardiner.

The See of *Winchester* had been two years as good as vacant, by the long imprisonment of *Gardiner*, who had been now above two years in the *Tower*. When the Book of Common-Prayer was set out, the Lord *St. John*, and Secretary *Petre*, were sent with it to him, to know of him whether he would conform himself to it, or not: and they gave him great hopes, that if he would submit, the Protector would sue to the King for mercy to him. He answered, That he did not know himself guilty of any thing that needed mercy: so he desired to be tried, for what had been objected to him, according to Law. For the Book, he did not think that while he was a Prisoner he was bound to give his Opinion about such things, it might be thought he did it, against his Conscience, to obtain his liberty; but if he were out of Prison, he should either obey it, or be liable to punishment according to Law. Upon the Duke of *Somersets* Fall, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *William Herbert*, and Secretary *Petre*, were sent to him: (*Fox* says, this was on the *9th* of *July*; but there must be an error in that, for *Gardiner* in his Answer says, That upon the Duke of *Somersets* coming to the *Tower*, he looked to have been let out within two days, and had made his farewel Feast, but when these were with him a Month or thereabout had passed: so it must have been in *November* the former year.) They brought him a Paper, to which they desired he would set his Hand. It contained first a Preface, which was an acknowledgment of former faults, for which he had been justly punished: There were also divers Articles con-

Some Articles are sent to him.

tained in it, which were, touching the Kings Supremacy; his Power of appointing or dispencing with Holy-days aud Fasts; that the Book of Common-Prayer set out by the King and Parliament was a most Christian and Godly Book, to be allowed of by all Bishops and Pastors in *England*, and that he should both in Sermons and Discourses commend it to be observed; that the Kings Power was compleat now when under Age, and that all owed Obedience to him, now, as much as if he were thirty or forty years old; that the six Articles were justly abrogated; and that the King had full Authority to correct and reform what was amiss in

1550.

the Church both in *England* and *Ireland*. He only excepted to the Preface; and offered to Sign all the Articles, but would have had the Preface left out. They bid him rather write on the Margent his Exceptions to it; so he writ, that he could not with a good Conscience agree to the Preface, and with that Exception he set his Hand to the whole Paper. The Lords used him with great kindness, and gave him hope that his troubles should be quickly ended. *Herbert*, and *Petre*, came to him some time after that, but how soon is not so clear, and pressed him to make the acknowledgment without exception; he refused it, and said, he would never defame himself, for when he had done it, he was not sure but it might be made use of against him as a Confession. Two or three days after that, *Ridley* was sent to him, together with the other two, and they brought him new Articles. In this Paper the acknowledgment was more general than in the former: It was said here in the Preface, that he had been suspected of not approving the Kings Proceedings, and being appointed to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, and so deserved the Kings displeasure, for which he was sorry: The Articles related to the Popes Supremacy, the suppression of Abbies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Masses, Images, the adoring the Sacrament, the Communion in both kinds, the abolishing the old Books, and bringing in the new Book of Service, and that for ordaining of Priests and Bishops, the compleatness of the Scripture, and the use of it in the Vulgar Tongue, the lawfulness of Clergy-mens Marriage, and to *Erasmus*'s Paraphrase that it had been on good considerations ordered to be set up in Churches. He read all these, and said, he desired first to be discharged of his imprisonment, and then he would freely answer them all, so as to stand by it, and suffer if he did amiss: but he would trouble himself with no more Articles, while he remained in Prison; since he desired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of Mercy, but of Justice. After that, he was brought before the Council, and the Lords told him they sate by a special Commission to judge him, and so required him to subscribe the Articles that had been sent to him. He prayed them earnestly to put him to a Trial for the grounds of his Imprisonment, and when that was over he would clearly answer them in all other things: but he did not think he could subscribe all the Articles after one sort; some of them being about Laws already made, which he could not qualifie, others of them being matters of Learning, in which he might use more freedom: In conclusion, he desired leave to take them with him, and he would consider how to answer them. But they required him to subscribe them all, without any qualification; which he refused to do. Upon this the Fruits of his Bishoprick were sequestred; and he was required to conform himself to their Orders within three Months, upon pain of deprivation; and the liberty he had, of walking in some open Galleries, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was not in them, was taken from him: and he was again shut up in his Chamber.

Which he Signed with some Exceptions.

New Articles sent to him.

But he refusing to Sign them,

Was hardly used.

All this was much censured, as being contrary to the liberties of *English-men*, and the Forms of all legal Proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a Man in Prison upon a complaint against him; and without any further enquiry into it, after two years durance to put Articles to him. And they which spoke freely, said it favoured too much

of

1550. of the Inquisition. But the Canon Law not being rectified, and the King being in the Popes room, there were some things gathered from the Canon Law, and the way of proceeding *ex officio*, which rather excused than justified this hard measure he met with. The sequel of this business shall be related in its proper place.

Latimers advice to the King concerning his Marriage.

This *Lent* old *Latimer* preached before the King. The discourse of the Kings marrying a Daughter of *France* had alarum'd all the Reformers, who rather enclined to a Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. (To a Marriage with her it is no wonder they all wished well: for both *Ferdinand* and his Son *Maximilian* were looked upon as Princes that in their Hearts loved the Reformation, and the Son was not only the best Prince, but accounted one of the best Men of the Age.) But *Latimer* in his Sermon advised the King to marry in the Lord; and to take care that Marriages might not be made only as bargains, which was a thing too frequently done, and occasioned so much Whoredom and Divorcing in the Nation. He run out in a sad lamentation of the vices of the time, the vanity of Women, the luxury and irregularity of Men, he complain'd, that many were Gospellers for love of the Abbey and Chantry Lands: he pressed, that the discipline of the Church, and the excommunicating of scandalous Persons, might be again set up: he advised the King to beware of seeking his pleasure too much, and to keep none about him who would serve him in it: he said he was so old, that he believed he would never appear there more, and therefore he discharged his Conscience freely: he complained the Kings Debts were not paid, and yet his Officers lived high, made great Purchases, and built Palaces: he prayed them all to be good to the King, and not to defraud the poor Trades-men that wrought for his Stores, who were ill payed. This I set down not so much to give an account, of that Sermon, as of the state of the Court and Nation, which he so freely discoursed of.

Hooper is made Bishop of *Glocester*.

Wakeman, that had been Abbot of *Tewksbury*, and was after made Bishop of *Glocester*, died in *December* last year: and on the third of *July* this year, *Hooper* was by Letters Patents appointed to be his Successor. Upon which there followed a Contest that has since had such fatal consequences, that of it we may say with St. *James*, *How great a matter hath a little fire kindled?* It has been already shewn, that the Vestments used in Divine Service, were appointed to be retained in this Church: but *Hooper* refused to be consecrated in the Episcopal Vestments. The grounds he went on were, That they were humane Inventions, brought in by Tradition or Custom, not sutable to the simplicity of the Christian Religion: that all such Ceremonies were condemned by St. *Paul* as beggerly Elements: that these Vestments had been invented chiefly for celebrating the Mass, with much pomp, and had been consecrated for that effect: therefore he desired to be excused from the use of them. *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*, on the other hand, alledged, that Traditions in matters of Faith were justly rejected, but in matters of Rites and Ceremonies Custom was oft a good Argument for the continuance of that which had been long used. Those Places of St. *Paul* did only relate to the observance of the *Jewish* Ceremonies, which some in the Apostles times pleaded were still to be retained, upon the Authority of their first Institution by *Moses*: so this implying, that the Messias was not yet come, in whom all

But refuses to wear the Episcopal Vestments.

Upon this a great Dispute rises.

all

all these had their accomplishment, the Apostles did condemn the use of them on any such account; though when the bare observing them, without the opinion of any such necessity in them, was likely to gain the *Jews*, they both used Circumcision, and purified themselves in the Temple: If then they who had such absolute Authority in those matters, did condescend so far to the weakness of the *Jews*; it was much more becoming Subjects to give obedience to Laws in things indifferent. And the abuse that had been formerly, was no better reason to take away the use of these Vestments, than it was to throw down Churches, and take away the Bells, because the one had been consecrated, and the other baptized, with many superstitious Ceremonies. Therefore they required *Hooper* to conform himself to the Law. *Cranmer*, who, to his other excellent qualities, had joyned a singular modesty and distrust of himself, writ about this difference to *Bucer*, reducing it to these two plain Questions. *Whether it was lawful and free from any sin against God, for the Ministers of the Church of* England *to use those Garments in which they did then officiate; since they were required to do it by the Magistrates command? And whether he that affirmed that it was unlawful, or on that account refused, to use those Vestments, did not sin against God; calling that unclean, which God had sanctified, and the Magistrate required; since he thereby disturbed the publick order of the Kingdom?* To this *Bucer* writ a large Answer on the 8*th* of *December* this Year. He thought that those who used these Garments ought to declare they did not retain them as parts of *Moses* Law, but as things commanded by the Law of the Land: he thought every Creature of God was good, and no former abuse could make it so ill, that it might not be retained; and since these Garments had been used by the Ancient Fathers before Popery, and might still be of good use to the weak when well understood, and help to maintain the Ministerial Dignity, and to shew that the Church did not of any lightness change old Customs; he thought the retaining them was expedient: that so the People might, by seeing these Vestments, consider of the candor and purity that became them: and in this sense he thought to the Pure all things were pure; and so the Apostles complied in many things with the *Jews*. Upon the whole matter, he thought they sinned who refused to obey the Laws in that particular. But he added, That since these Garments were abused by some to superstition, and by others to be matter of contention, he wished they were taken away, and a more compleat Reformation established: he also prayed that a stop might be put to the spoiling of Churches, and that Ecclesiastical Discipline against offenders might be set up: for, *said he*, unless these manifest and horrid Sacriledges be put down, and the compleat Kingdom of Christ be received, so that we all submit to his Yoke; how intolerably shall the wrath of God break out on this Kingdom? The Scriptures sets many such Examples before our Eyes, and *Germany* offers a most dreadful prospect of what *England* might look for.

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Bucer's Opinion concerning them.

He writ also to *Hooper* upon the same Argument. He wished the Garments were removed by Law; but argued fully for the use of them till then: he lamented the great corruptions that were among the Clergy, and wished that all good Men would unite their strength against these; and then lesser abuses would be more easily redressed. He also answered

1550. *Hoopers* Objections on the Principles formerly laid down. *Peter Martyr* was alſo writ to; and, as he writ to *Bucer*, he was fully of his mind, and approved of all he had writ about it. And he added theſe words, which I ſhall ſet down in his own terms, copied from the Original Letter: *Quæ de* Hopero *ad me ſcribis, non potuerunt non videri mira; Certè illis auditis obſtupui. Sed bene habet, quòd Epiſcopi Literas meas viderunt; unde invidia ego quidem ſum liberatus. Ecce illius cauſa ſic jacet, ut melioribus & pijs nequaquam probetur. Dolet, dolet, idq; mihi graviſſimè, talia inter Evangelij profeſſores contingere. Ille toto hoc tempore, cum illi ſit interdicta concio, non videtur poſſe quieſcere: ſuæ fidei confeſſionem edidit, qua rurſus multorum animos exacerbavit: deinde queritur de Conſiliarijs, & fortaſſe, quod mihi non refert, de nobis: Deus fœlicem Cataſtrophen non lætis actibus imponat.* In *Engliſh:* What you wrote to me about *Hooper* could not but ſeem wonderful to me: when I heard it I was ſtruck with it. It was well that the Biſhops ſaw my Letters, by which I am freed from their diſpleaſure. His buſineſs is now at that paſs, that the beſt and moſt pious diſprove of it. I am grieved, and ſadly grieved, that ſuch things ſhould fall out among the Profeſſors of the Goſpel. All this while in which he is ſuſpended from preaching, he cannot be at reſt: he has ſet out a profeſſion of his Faith, by which he has provoked many: he complains of the Privy-Councellors, and perhaps of us too, of which he ſays nothing to me. God give an happy iſſue to theſe uncomfortable beginnings. This I ſet down more fully, that it may appear how far either of theſe Divines were from cheriſhing ſuch ſtiffneſs in *Hooper*. He had been Chaplain to the Duke of *Somerſet*, as appear'd by his defence of himſelf in *Bonners* Proceſs; yet he obtained ſo much favour of the Earl of *Warwick*, that he writ earneſtly in his behalf to the Arch-biſhop to diſpence with the uſe of the Garments, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience at his Conſecration. *Cranmer* wrote back, That he could not do it without incurring a *Præmunire:* So the King was moved to write to him, warranting him to do it, without any danger which the Law could bring on him for ſuch an omiſſion. But though this was was done on the 4*th* of *Auguſt*, yet he was not conſecrated till *March* next year; and in the mean while it appears by *Peter Martyrs* Letters, that he was ſuſpended from Preaching.

And P. Martyrs.

This Summer *John a Laſco*, with a Congregation of *Germans* that fled from their Country upon the perſecution raiſed there, for not receiving the *Interim*, was allowed to hold his Aſſembly at St. *Auſtins* in *London*. The Congregation was erected into a Corporation. *John a Laſco* was to be Superintendent, and there were four other Miniſters aſſociated with him. For the curioſity of the thing, I have put the Patents in the *Collection*. There were alſo 380 of the Congregation made Denizens of *England*, as appears by the Records of their Patents. But *a Laſco* did not carry himſelf with that decency that became a Stranger who was ſo kindly received: for he wrote againſt the Orders of this Church, both in the matter of the Habits, and about the Poſture in the Sacrament, being for ſitting rather than kneeling.

A Congregation of *Germans* in *London.*

Collection Number 51.

This Year *Polidore Virgil*, who had been now almoſt forty years in *England*, growing old, deſired leave to go nearer the Sun. It was granted him on the ſecond of *June:* and in conſideration of the publick Service he was thought to have done the Nation by his Hiſtory, he was permit-

Polidore Virgil leaves *England.*

Rot.Pat.4 Ed. 6. . Part.

permitted to hold his Archdeaconry of *Wells*, and his Prebend of *Nonnington*, notwithstanding his absence out of the Kingdom. On the 26th of *June Poinet* was declared Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Coverdale* was made Coadjutor to *Veysy* Bishop of *Exeter*. 1550.

About the end of this Year, or the beginning of the next, there was a review made of the Common-Prayer-Book. Several things had been continued in it, either to draw in some of the Bishops, who by such yielding might be prevailed on to concurre in it; or in compliance with the People, who were fond of their old Superstitions. So now a review of it was set about. *Martin Bucer* was consulted in it; and *Aleffe*, the *Scotch* Divine mentioned in the former part, translated it into *Latin* for his use. Upon which *Bucer* writ his Opinion, which he finished, the fifth of *January* in the Year following. The Substance of it was, That he found all things in the Common-Service and daily Prayers were clearly according to the Scriptures. He advised, that in Cathedrals the Quire might not be too far separated from the Congregation, since in some Places the People could not hear them read Prayers. He wished there were a strict discipline to exclude scandalous Livers from the Sacrament. He wished the old Habits might be laid aside, since some used them superstitiously, and others contended much about them. He did not like the half Office of Communion or Second-Service to be said at the Altar, when there was no Sacrament. He was offended with the requiring the People to receive at least once a year, and would have them press'd to it much more frequently. He disliked that the Priests generally read Prayers with no devotion, and in such a Voice that the People understood not what they said. He would have the Sacrament delivered into the Hands, and not put into the Mouths of the People. He censured praying for the dead, of which no mention is made in the Scripture, nor by *Justin Martyr* an Age after. He thought that the Prayer, that the Elements might be to us the Body and Blood of Christ, favoured Transubstantiation too much: a small variation might bring it nearer to a Scripture Form. He complained that Baptism was generally in Houses, which being the receiving Infants into the Church, ought to be done more publickly. The Hallowing of the Water, the Chrisme, and the White Garment he censured, as being too Scenical: He excepted to the exorcising the Devil, and would have it turned to a Prayer to God: that authoritative way of saying *I adjure* not being so decent. He thought the God-fathers answering in the Childs Name, not so well as to answer in their own, that they should take care in these things, all they could. He would not have Confirmation given upon a bare recital of the Catechisme; but would have it delayed till the Persons did really desire to renew the Baptismal Vow. He would have Catechising every Holy-day, and not every sixth *Sunday*: and that People should be still Catechized, after they were Confirmed, to preserve them from ignorance. He would have all Marriages to be made in the full Congregation. He would have the giving Unction to the Sick, and praying for the Dead, to be quite laid aside; as also the offering the Chrisomes at the Churching of Women. He advised, that the Communion should be celebrated four times a year. He sadly lamented the want of faithful Teachers; and intreated the Arch-bishop to see to the mending of this, and to think on some stricter ways of examining those who were to be ordained, than

A Review of the Common-Prayer-Book.

Bucers Advice concerning it.

1550. barely the putting of some Questions to them. All this I have gathered out the more largely, that it may appear how carefully things were then considered: and that almost in every particular, the most material things which *Bucer* excepted to, were corrected afterwards.

But at the same time, the King having taken such care of him, that hearing he had suffered in his health last Winter by the want of a Stove, such as is used in *Germany*, he had sent him 20 *l.* to have one made for him; he was told that the King would expect a New-years-gift from him, of a Book made for his own use. So upon that occasion he writ a Book entituled, *Concerning the Kingdom of Christ*. He sets out in it the miseries of *Germany*, which he says were brought on them by their sins; for they would bear no discipline; nor were the Ministers so earnest in it, as was fitting: though in *Hungary* it was otherwise. He writes largely of Ecclesiastical Discipline; which was intended chiefly for separating ill Men from the Sacrament; and to make good Men avoid their company, whereby they might be ashamed. He presses much the Sanctification of the Lords-day, and of the other Holy-days, and that there might be many days of Fasting: but he thought *Lent* had been so abused, that other times for it might be more expedient. He complains much of Pluralities, and Non-residence, as a remainder of Popery; so hurtful to the Church, that in many Places there were but one or two, or few more Sermons in a whole year: But he thought that much was not to be expected from the greatest part of the Clergy, unless the King would set himself vigorously to Reform these things. Lastly, he would have a compleat exposition of the Doctrine of the Church digested, and set out: and he proposed divers Laws to the Kings consideration; as,

Bucer writ a Book for the Kings use.

1. For Catechising Children.

2. For Sanctifying Holy-days.

3. For Preserving Churches for Gods Service, not to be made Places for walking, or for Commerce.

4. To have the Pastoral Function entirely restored to what it ought to be, that Bishops throwing off all Secular cares, should give themselves to their Spiritual Employments: he advises that Coadjutors might be given to some, and a Council of Presbyters be appointed for them all. It was plain, that many of them complied with the Laws against their minds, these he would have deprived. He advises Rural Bishops to be set over twenty or thirty Parishes, who should gather their Clergy often together, and inspect them closely: And that a Provincial Synod should meet twice a year, where a Secular Man in the Kings Name should be appointed to observe their Proceedings.

5. For restoring Church-Lands, that all who served the Church might be well provided: If any lived in luxury, upon their high Revenues, it was reasonable to make them use them better; but not to blame or rob the Church for their fault.

6. For the maintenance of the Poor, for whom anciently a fourth part of the Churches Goods was assigned.

The 7*th* was about Marriage. That the prohibited degrees might be well setled; Marriage without consent of Parents annulled; and that a second Marriage might be lawful after a Divorce, which he thought might be made for Adultery and some other reasons.

8. For

8. For the Education of Youth. 1550.
9. For restraining the excess of some Peoples living.
10. For reforming and explaining the Laws of the Land which his Father had begun.
11. To place good Magistrates; that no Office should be sold, and that Inferior Magistrates should often give an account to the Superior, of the Administration of their Offices.
12. To consider well who were made Judges.
13. To give order that none should be put in Prison upon slight offences.

The 14*th* was for moderating of some punishments; chiefly, the putting Thieves to death, which was too severe, whereas Adultery was too slightly passed over: though Adultery be a greater wrong to the suffering Party, than any Theft, and so was punished with death by *Moses* Law.

This Book was sent to the young King. And he having received it, set himself to write a general Discourse about a Reformation of the Nation, which is the second among the Discourses written by him, that follow the Journal of his Reign. In it he takes notice of the Corrections of the Book of the Liturgy which were then under consideration; as also that it was necessary there should be a Rule of Church-discipline, for the censures of ill Livers; but he thought that Power was not to be put into the Hands of all the Bishops at that time. From thence he goes on to discourse of the ill state of the Nation, and of the remedies that seemed proper for it. The first he proposes was the Education of Youth, next the correction of some Laws, and there either broke it off, or the rest of it is lost. In which, as there is a great discovery of a marvellous probity of mind, so there are strange hints, to come from one not yet fourteen years of Age. And yet it is all written with his own Hand, and in such a manner, that any who shall look on the Original, will clearly see it was his own Work: The Stile is simple, and sutable to a Child: few Men can make such Composures, but somewhat above a Child will appear in their Stile, which makes me conclude it was all a device of his own.

The King thinks of Reforming many abuses.

Coll. K. *Edw.* Remains, Number 2.

This Year the King began to write his Journal himself. The first three years of his Reign are set down in a short way of recapitulating matters. But this Year he set down what was done every day, that was of any moment, together with the Forreign News that were sent over. And oftentimes he called to mind Passages some days after they were done; and sometime after the middle of a Month he tells what was done in the beginning of it. Which shews clearly it was his own Work; for if it had been drawn for him by any that were about him, and given him only to copy out for his memory, it would have been more exact; so that there remains no doubt with me but that it was his own originally. And therefore since all who have writ of that time have drawn their Informations from that Journal; and though they have printed some of the Letters he wrote, when a Child, which are indeed the meanest things that ever fell from him; yet, except one little fragment, nothing of it has been yet published; I have copied it out entirely, and set it before my Collection. I have added to it some other Papers that were also writ by him. The first of these is in *French*: It is a Collection of many Passages out

He writes a Journal of all Proceedings during his Reign.

Coll. K. *Edw.* Remains, Number 1.

1550. out of the Old Testament against Idolatry, and the worshiping of Images, which he dedicated to his Unkle, being then Protector: the Original under his own hand lies in *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, from whence I copied the Preface and the Conclusion, which are printed in the Collection after his Journal.

Ridley visits his Dioceis.

There was nothing else done of moment this Year, in relation to the Church, save the Visitation made of the Dioceis of *London* by *Ridley* their new Bishop. But the exact time of it is not set down in the Register. It was according to King *Edwards* Journal some time before the *26th* of *June:* for he writes, that on that day Sir *Jo. Yates* the high Sheriff of *Essex* was sent down with Letters to see the Bishop of *Londons* Injunctions performed, which touched the plucking down of Superaltaries, Altars, and such like Ceremonies and Abuses: so that the Visitation must have been about the beginning of *June*. The Articles of it are in Bishop *Sparrows* Collection. They are concerning the Doctrines and Lives, and Labours, and Charities, of the Clergy; *viz.* Whether they spake in favour of the Bishop of *Rome*, or against the use of the Scripture, or against the Book of Common-Prayer? Whether they stirred up Sedition, or sold the Communion or Trentals, or used private Masses any where? Whether any Anabaptists or others used private Conventicles, with different Opinions and Forms from these established? Whether there were any that said the wickedness of the Minister took away the effect of the Sacraments, or denied Repentance to such as sinned after Baptism? Other Questions were about Baptisms, and Marriages. Whether the Curates did visit the Sick, and bury the Dead, and expound the Catechisme, at least some part of it, once in six weeks? Whether any observed abrogated Holy-days, or the Rites that were now put down?

Collection Number 52

To these he added some Injunctions which are in the *Collection*. Most of them relate to the old Superstitions, which some of the Priests were still inclinable to practise, and for which they had been gently, if at all, reproved by *Bonner*. Such were, washing their Hands at the Altar, holding up the Bread, licking the Chalice, blessing their Eyes with the Patten or Sudary, and many other Relicks of the Mass. The Ministers were also required to charge the People oft to give Alms, and to come oft to the Communion, and to carry themselves reverently at Church. But that which was most new, was, that there having been great Contests about the Form of the Lords Board, whether it should be made as an Altar, or as a Table; Therefore, since the Form of a Table was more like to turn the People from the Superstition of the Popish Mass, and to the right use of the Lords Supper, he exhorted the Curates and Church-wardens to have it in the fashion of a Table, decently covered: and to place it in such part of the Quire or Chancel as should be most meet, so that the Ministers and Communicants should be separated from the rest of the People: and that they should put down all By-Altars.

He orders all Altars to be turned to Tables for the Communion.

There are many Passages among Ancient Writers, that shew their Communion-Tables were of Wood; and that they were so made as Tables, that those who fled into Churches for Sanctuary, did hide themselves under them. The Name *Altar* came to be given to these generally, because they accounted the Eucharist a Sacrifice of Praise, as also a Commemorative Sacrifice of the Oblation which Christ made of himself

on

on the Cross. From hence it was, that the Communion-Table was called also an *Altar*. But now it came to be considered, whether, as these terms had been on good reason brought in to the Church, when there was no thought of the corruptions that followed; so if it was not fit, since they did still support the belief of an expiatory Sacrifice in the Mass, and the opinion of Transubstantiation, and were always but Figurative Forms of Speech, to change them: and to do that more effectually, to change the Form and Place of them. Some have fondly thought, that *Ridley* gave this Injunction after the Letter which the Council writ to him, in the end of *November* following. But as there was no fit time to begin a Visitation after that time this year, so the Stile of the Injunctions shews they were given before the Letter. The Injunction only *exhorts* the Curates to do it, which *Ridley* could not have done in such soft words, after the Council had *required and commanded* him to do it: So it appears, that the Injunctions were given only by his Episcopal Power. And that afterwards the same matter being brought before the Council, who were inform'd, that in many Places there had been Contests about it, some being for keeping to their old Custom, and others being set on a change, the Council thought fit to send their Letter concerning it to *Ridley* in the beginning of *November* following. The Letter sets out, that Altars were taken away in divers Places, upon good and godly considerations, but still continued in other Places; by which there rose much contention among the Kings Subjects; therefore, for avoiding that, they did charge and command him to give substantial order through all his Diocess for removing all Altars, and setting up Tables every where for the Communion to be administred in some convenient part of the Chancel: And that these Orders might be the better received, there were Reasons sent with the Letters, which he was to cause discreet Preachers to declare, in such Places as he thought fit, and that himself should set them out in his own Cathedral, if conveniently he could. 1550.

The Reasons were, to remove the People from the superstitious Opinions of the Popish Mass: and because *a Table* was a more proper Name than *an Altar*, for that on which the Sacrament was laid. And whereas in the Book of Common-Prayer these terms are promiscuously used, it is done without prescribing any thing about the Form of them, so that the changing the one into the other did not alter any part of the Liturgy. It was observed, that Altars were erected for the Sacrifices under the Law, which ceasing they were also to cease: and that Christ had instituted the Sacrament not at an Altar, but at a Table. And it had been ordered by the Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer, that if any doubt arose about any part of it, the determining of it should be referred to the Bishop of the Diocess. Upon these Reasons therefore was this change ordered to be made all over *England*, which was universally executed this year.

Sermons on working days forbidden.

There began this year a Practice which might seem in it self not only innocent, but good, of preaching Sermons and Lectures on the week days, to which there was great running from neighbouring Parishes. This as it begat emulation in the Clergy, so it was made use of as a Pretence for many to leave their labour, and gad idly about. Upon complaint therefore made of it, *Ridley* had a Letter sent to him from the Coun-

1550. Council, against all preaching on working-days, on which there should only be Prayers. How this was submitted to then, is not clear. But it cannot be denied, that there have been since that time excesses on all hands in this matter: while some have, with great sincerity and devotion, kept up these in Market-Towns; but others have carried them on with too much faction, and a design to detract from such as were not so eminent in their way of preaching. Upon these abuses, while some Rulers have studied to put all such Performances down, rather than to correct the abuses in them, great contradiction has followed on it; and the People have been possessed with unjust prejudices against them, as hinderers of the Word of God; and that opposition has kept up the zeal for these Lectures. Which nevertheless, since they have been more freely preach'd, have of late years produced none of the ill effects that did follow them formerly when they were endeavoured to be suppressed.

And thus I end the Transactions about Religion this Year. The rest of the Affairs at home were chiefly for the regulating of many abuses, that had grown up and been nourish'd by a long continuance of War. All the Forreign Soldiers were dismissed. And though the Duke of *Lunenburg* had offered the King 10000 Men to his assistance, and desired to enter into a Treaty of Marriage for the Lady *Mary*: they only thanked him for the offer of his Soldiers, of which they, being now at peace with all their Neighbours, had no need; and since the Proposition for marrying the Lady *Mary* to the Infant of *Portugal* was yet in dependance, they could not treat in that kind with any other Prince till that Overture was some way ended. There were endeavours also for encouraging Trade, and reforming the Coin. And at the Court things began to put on a new Visage: for there was no more any faction; the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, being now joyned into a near alliance; the Earls eldest Son, the Lord *Lisle*, marrying the Dukes Daughter; so that there was a good prospect of happy times.

The Affairs of *Scotland*. In *Scotland*, the Peace being proclaimed, the Government was now more entirely in the Hands of the Duke of *Castelherault*, who gave himself up wholly to the Counsels of his base Brother, who was Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews*. And he was so abandoned to his pleasures, that there was nothing so bad that he was ashamed of. He kept another Mans Wife openly for his Concubine. There were also many excesses in the Government. Which things, as they alienated all Peoples minds from the Clergy, so they disposed them to receive the new Doctrines, which many Teachers were bringing from *England*, and prepared them for the changes that followed afterwards. The Queen Mother went over into *France* in *September*, pretending it was to see her Daughter, and the rest of her Kindred there: where she laid down the Method for the wresting of the Government of *Scotland* out of the Governours Hands, and taking it into her own.

And of *Germany*. The Emperor appointed a Diet of the Empire to meet in the end of *July*, and required all to appear personally at it, except such as were hindered by sickness, of which they were to make Faith upon Oath. And at the same time he proscribed the Town of *Magdeburg*. But the Magistrates of that Town set out a large *Manifesto* for their own vindication, as they had done the former Year. They said, they were ready

to

"to give him all the obedience, that they were bound to by the Laws of 1550.
"the Empire: they were very apprehensive of the mischiefs of a Civil "War: they were not so blind as to think they were able to resist the Emperors great Armies, listed up with so many Victories, if they trusted "only to their own strength: they had hitherto done no act of hostility "to any, but what they were forced to for their own defence. It was "visible, the true ground of the War of *Germany* was Religion, to extinguish the Light of the Gospel, and to subdue them again to the Papal Tyranny. For the Artifices that were formerly used to disguise it did "now appear too manifestly; so that it was not any more denied. But it "would be too late to see it, when *Germany* was quite oppressed. In Civil "Matters, they said, they would yield to the miseries of the time. But "St. *Peter* had taught them that it was better to obey God than Man: and "therefore they were resolved to put all things to hazard, rather than to "make Shipwrack of Faith and a good Conscience. There were Tumults raised in *Strasburg*, and divers other Towns, against those who set up the Mass among them; and generally all *Germany* was disposed to a Revolt, if they had had but a Head to lead them.

The Emperor had also set out a very severe Edict in *Flanders*, when he left it; against all that favoured the new Doctrines, as they were called. But the execution of this was stopt at the intercession of the Town of *Antwerp*, when they perceived the *English* were resolved to remove from thence, and carry their Trade to some other Place. When the Diet was opened, the Emperor pressed them to submit to the Council which the new Pope had removed back to *Trent*. *Maurice* of *Saxe* answered, he could not submit to it, unless all that had been done formerly in it should be reviewed, and the Divines of the *Ausburg* Confession were both heard and admitted to a Suffrage, and the Pope should subject himself to their Decrees, and dispence with the Oath which the Bishops had sworn to him. On these terms he would submit to it, and not otherwise. This was refused to be entred into the Registers of the Diet by the Elector of *Mentz*; but there was no hast, for the Council was not to sit till the next year. The Emperor complained much, that the *Interim* was not generally received: to which it was answered by the Princes, that it was necessary to give the People time to overcome their former prejudices. All seemed to comply with him. And *Maurice* did so insinuate himself into him, that the Siege of *Magdeburg* being now formed, and a great many Princes having gathered Forces against it, among whom the Duke of *Brunswick*, and the Duke of *Meklebarg* were the most forward; yet he got himself declared by the Diet General of the Empire, for the reduction of that Place, and he had 100000 Crowns for undertaking it, and 60000 Crowns a Month were appointed for the expence of the War. He saw well, that if *Magdeburg* were closely press'd, it would soon be taken, and then all *Germany* would be brought to the Emperors devotion: and so the War would end in a slavery. But he hoped so to manage this small remainder of the War, as to draw great effects from it. This was a fatal step to the Emperor, thus to trust a Prince who was of a different Religion, and had a deep resentment of the injury he had done him, in detaining his Father-in-law the *Landgrave* of *Hesse* Prisoner, against the Faith he had given him. But the Emperor reckoned, that as long as he had *John* Duke of *Saxe* in

1550. his Hands, *Maurice* durst not depart from his Interests; since it seemed an easie thing for him to repossess the other of his Dominions and Dignity. Thus was the crafty Emperor deluded, and now put that, upon which the compleating of his great designs depended, into the Hands of one that proved too hard for him at that in which he was such a Master, *Cunning and Dissimulation.*

1551. The Compliance of the Popish Clergy. In these Consultations did this Year end. In the beginning of the next Year, there was a great complaint brought against Dr. *Oglethorp*, afterwards Bishop of *Carlisle* under Queen *Mary*, and now President of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford.* But he, to secure himself from that part of the Complaint that related to Religion, being accused as one that was against the new Book of Service, and the Kings other Proceedings, Signed a Paper, (which will be found in the *Collection*) in which he declared, "That he had never taught any thing openly against those, but that "he thought them good, if well used: aud that he thought the order of "Religion now set forth to be better and much nearer the use of the Apostolical and Primitive Church than that which was formerly: and that in "particular, he did approve of the Communion in both kinds, the Peoples communicating always with the Priest, the Service in *English*, and "the Homilies that had been set forth: and that he did reject the lately received Doctrine of Transubstantiation, as being not agreeable to the "Scriptures, or to Ancient Writers: but he thought there was an inconceivable Presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, and that therefore "it should be received not without great examination before-hand. So compliant was he now, though he became of another mind in Queen *Maries* time; yet then he was more moderate, than the greatest part of those who did now comply most servily. In particular, Dr. *Smith* had written a Book for the Cælibate of Priests, and had opposed all the Changes that had been made: He was brought to *London* upon the Complaints that were sent up against him from *Oxford*, but after a whiles imprisonment, he was set at liberty, giving Surety for his good behaviour: and carried himself so obediently after it, that *Cranmer* got his Sureties to be discharged, upon which he writ him a Letter as full of acknowledgment as was possible: which is in the *Collection.* "He protested he should "retain the sense of it as long as he lived: he wished that he had never "written his Book of the Cælibate of Priests, which had been printed "against his Will: he found he was mistaken in that which was the "foundation of it all, that the Priests of *England* had taken a Vow "against Marriage: he desired to see some of the Collections *Cranmer* had "made against it. (It seems *Cranmer* was enquiring after a *MS.* of *Ignatius's* Epistles, for he tells him, "They were in *Magdalen* Colledge Library:) he acknowledged the Arch-bishops great gentleness toward all "those who had been complained of for Religion in that University: "and protested, that for his own part, if ever he could serve his basest "Servant, he would do it; wishing that he might perish if he thought "otherwise than he said: and wished him long Life for the propagation "and advancement of the Christian Doctrine. Soon after he writ another Letter to *Cranmer*, in which he cited some Passages out of *Austin* concerning his Retractations; and professes he would not be ashamed to make the like, and to set forth Christs true Religion; and called, in St.

Collection Number 53.

Collection Number 54.

Pauls words, *God to be a Witness against his Soul if he lied.* He had 1551.
also in the beginning of this Reign made a Recantation Sermon of some Opinions he had held concerning the Mass, but what these were, King *Edwards* Journal (from whence I gather it) does not inform us. *Day* Bishop of *Chichester* did also now so far comply, as to preach a Sermon at Court against Transubstantiation, though he had refused to set his Hand to the Book of Common-Prayer, before it was enacted by Law. For the Principle that generally run among the Popish Party, was, that though they would not consent to the making of such Alterations in Religion, yet being made, they would give obedience to them, which *Gardiner* plainly professed: and it appeared in the practice of all the rest. This was certainly a gross sort of compliance, in those who retained the old Opinions, and yet did now declare against them; and in the Worship they offered up to God, acted contrary to them; which was the highest degree of prevarication both with God and Man that was possible. But *Cranmer* was always gentle and moderate. He left their private Consciences to God: but thought, that if they gave an external obedience, the People would be brought to receive the Changes more easily; whereas the proceeding severely against them might have raised more opposition. He was also naturally a Man of Bowels and Compassion, and did not love to drive things to extremities: he considered that Men who had grown old in some errors could not easily lay them down, and so were by degrees to be worn out of them. Only in the Proceedings against *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, he was carried beyond his ordinary temper. But *Gardiner* he knew to be so inveterate a Papist, and so deep a Dissembler, that he was for throwing him out, not so much for the Particulars objected to him, as upon the ill Character he had of him. *Bonner* had also deceived him so formerly, and had been so cruel a Persecutor upon the Statute of the Six Articles, and was become so brutal and luxurious, that he judged it necessary to purge the Church of him. And the Sees of *London*, and *Winchester*, were of such consequence, that he was induced, for having these well supplied, to stretch a little in these Proceedings against those dissembling Bishops.

In the end of *February* he lost his friend *Martin Bucer*, on whose assistance he had depended much, in what remained yet to be done. *Bucer* died of the Stone, and Griping of the Guts, on the 28*th* of *February*. He lay ill almost all that Month, and expressed great desire to die. *Bradford*, who will be mentioned in the next Book with much Honour, waited most on him in his sickness. He lamented much the desolate State of *Germany*, and expressed his apprehensions of some such stroke coming upon *England*, by reason of the great dissoluteness of the Peoples Manners, of the want of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the general neglect of the Pastoral Charge. He was very patient in all his pain, which grew violent on him; he lay oft silent, only after long intervals cried out sometimes, *Chastise me Lord, but throw me not off in mine old Age.* He was by order from *Cranmer*, and Sir *John Check*, buried with the highest Solemnities that could be devised, to express the value the University had for him. The Vice-Chancellor, and all the Graduates, and the Major, with all the Town, accompanied his Funeral to St. *Maries*; where, after Prayers, *Haddon* the University Orator made such a Speech concerning him, and pronounced it with that affe-

Bucers Death.

1551. ction, that almost the whole Assembly shed Tears. Next Dr. Parker, that had been his most intimate Friend, made an *English* Sermon, in his praise, and concerning the sorrowing for our departed Friends. And the day following Dr. *Redmayn*, then Mr. of *Trinity* Colledge, made another Sermon concerning Death: and in it gave a full account of *Bucers* Life and Death. He particularly commended the great sweetness of his temper, to all, but remarkably to those who differed from him. *Redmayn* and he had differed in many things, both concerning Justification, and the Influences of the Divine Grace. But he said, as *Bucer* had satisfied him in some things, so he believed if he had lived he had satisfied him in more; and that he being dead, he knew none alive from whom he could learn so much. This Character given him by so grave and learned a Man, who was in many Points of a different perswasion from him, was a great commendation to them both. And *Redmayn* was indeed an extraordinary Person. All in the University, that were eminent either in *Greek* or *Latin* Poetry, did adorn his Coffin with Epitaphs: in which they expressed a very extraordinary sense of their loss: about which one *Carr* writ a copious and passionate Letter to Sir *John Cheek*. But *Peter Martyr* bore his death with the most sensible sorrow that could be imagined; having in him lost a *Father*, and the only intimate Friend he had in *England*. He was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate Person. Perhaps he was inferior to none of all the Reformers for Learning: but for Zeal, for true Piety, and a most tender care of preserving Unity among the Forreign Churches, *Melancthon* and he, without any injury done the rest, may be ranked a-part by themselves. He was much opposed by the Popish Party at *Cambridge*; who, though they complied with the Law, and so kept their Places, yet either in the way of Argument, as it had been for disputes sake, or in such Points as were not determined, set themselves much to lessen his esteem. Nor was he furnished naturally with the quickness that is necessary for a Dispute, from which they studied to draw advantages: and therefore *Peter Martyr* writ to him to avoid all publick Disputes with them. For they did not deal candidly on these occasions. They often kept up their Questions till the hour of the Dispute, that so the extemporary faculty of him who was to preside might be the more exposed; and right or wrong they used to make Exclamations, and run away with a Triumph: In one of his Letters to *Bucer*, he particularly mentions Dr. *Smith* for an Instance of this. It was that *Smith* he said who writ against the Marriage of Priests, and yet was believed to live in Adultery with his Mans Wife. This Letter was occasioned by the Disputes that were in *August* the former Year, between *Bucer* and *Sedgwick*, *Young* and *Pern*, about the Authority of the Scripture, and the Church. Which Disputes *Bucer* intending to publish, caused them to be writ out, and sent the Copy to them to be corrected, offering them, that if any thing was omitted that they had said, or if they had any thing else to say which was forgot in the Dispute, they might add it: but they sent back the Papers to him without vouchsafing to read them. At *Ratisbone* he had a Conference with *Gardiner*, who was then King *Henry's* Ambassador: in which *Gardiner* broke out into such a violent passion, that as he spared no reproachful words, so the Company thought he would have fall'n on *Bucer* and beat him: he was in such disorder, that the little Vein between his Thumb

His Character.

and

[illegible] fore-finger did swell and palpitate, which *Bucer* said he had never before that observed in any Person in his life. 1551.

Gardiner is deprived.

But as *Bucer* was taken away by death, so *Gardiner* was soon after put out, which was a kind of death; though he had afterwards a Resurrection fatal to very many. There was a Commission issued out, to the Arch-bishop, the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Lincoln*, Secretary *Petre*, Judge *Hales*, *Griffith*, and *Leyson*, two Civilians, and *Goodrick*, and *Gosnold*, two Masters of *Chancery*, to proceed against *Gardiner* for his contempt in the matters formerly objected to him. He put in a Compurgation, by which he endeavoured to shew there was malice born to him, and Conspiracies against him, as appeared by the Business of Sir *Hen. Knevet*, mentioned in the former Part, and the leaving him out of the late Kings Will, which he said was procured by his Enemies. He complained of his long Imprisonment without any Trial, and that Articles of one sort after another were brought to him: so that it was plain he was not detained for any Crime, but to try if such usage could force him to do any thing, that should be imposed on him. He declared, that what Order soever were set out by the Kings Council, he should never speak against it, but to the Council themselves: and that though he could not give consent to the Changes before they were made, he was now well satisfied to obey them; but he would never make any acknowledgment of any fault. The things chiefly laid against him, were, that being required, he refused, to preach concerning the Kings Power when he was under Age; and that he had affronted Preachers sent by the King into his Diocess; and had been negligent in obeying the Kings Injunctions; and continued, after all, so obstinate, that he would not confess his fault, nor ask the King mercy. His Crimes were aggravated by this, that his timely asserting the Kings Power under Age, might have been a great mean for preventing the Rebellion and Effusion of Blood; which had afterwards happened, chiefly on that pretence, to which his obstinacy had given no small occasion. Upon this, many Witnesses were examined; chiefly the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earls of *Wilt-shire*, and *Bedford*, who deposed against him. But to this he answered, That he was not required to do it by any Order of Council, but only in a private Discourse, to which he did not think himself bound to give obedience. Other Witnesses were also examined on the other Particulars. But he appealed from the Delegates to the King in Person. Yet his Judges, on the 18*th* of *April*, gave sentence against him; by which, for his disobedience and contempt, they deprived him of his Bishoprick. Upon that he renewed his Protestation and Appeal: and so his Process ended, and he was sent back to the *Tower*, where he lay till Queen *Mary* discharged him.

The same Censures, with the same Justifications, belong both to this, and *Bonners* Business: so I shall repeat nothing that was formerly said. He had taken a Commission, as well as *Bonner*, to hold his Bishoprick only during the Kings Pleasure; so they both had the less reason to complain which way soever the Royal Pleasure was signified to them. Eight days after, on the 26*th* of *April*, *Poinet* was translated from *Rochester* to *Winchester*; and had 2000 Marks a Year in Lands assigned him out of that wealthy Bishoprick for his Subsistence. Dr. *Story* was made Bishop of *Rochester*. *Veysey* Bishop of *Exeter* did also resign, pretending extream

1551. tream old Age; but he had reserved 485 *l.* a year in Pension for himself, during Life, out of the Lands of the Bishoprick; and almost all the rest he had basely alienated, taking care only of himself, and ruining his Successors. *Miles Coverdale* was made Bishop of *Exeter.* So that now the Bishopricks were generally filled with Men well affected to the Reformation. The business of *Hooper* was now also setled. He was to be attired in the Vestments that were prescribed, when he was consecrated, and when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral, or in any publick Place; but he was dispens'd with upon other occasions. On these Conditions he was consecrated in *March:* for the Writ for doing it bears date the *7th* of that Month. So now the Bishops being generally addicted to the purity of Religion, most of this Year was spent in preparing Articles, which should contain the Doctrine of the Church of *England.*

Hooper is consecrated upon his Conformity.

Many thought they should have begun first of all with those. But *Cranmer* upon good Reasons was of another mind, though much pressed by *Bucer* about it. Till the Order of Bishops was brought to such a Model, that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that design go on slowly, than to set out a Profession of their Belief, to which so great a part of the chief Pastors might be obstinathly averse. The corruptions that were most important were those in the Worship, by which Men in their immediate Addresses to God, were necessarily involved in unlawful compliances, and these seemed to require a more speedy Reformation. But for speculative Points, there was not so pressing a necessity to have them all explained, since in these, Men might, with less prejudice, be left to a freedom in their Opinions. It seemed also advisable to open and ventilate matters in publick Disputations and Books, written about them for some years, before they should go too hastily to determine them: lest if they went too fast in that Affair, it would not be so decent to make alterations afterwards; nor could the Clergy be of a sudden brought to change their old Opinions. Therefore upon all these Considerations that Work was delayed till this Year; in which they set about it, and finished it, before the Convocation met in the next *February.* In what Method they proceeded for the compiling of these Articles; whether they were given out to several Bishops and Divines to deliver their Opinions concerning them, as was done formerly, or not, it is not certain. I have found it often said, that they were framed by *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*; which I think more probable; and that they were by them sent about to others, to correct or add to them as they saw cause. They are in the *Collection* with the differences between these, and those set out in Queen *Elizabeths* time, marked on the Margent.

Collection Number 55

The Articles of Religion are prepared.

They began with the Assertion of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation of the Eternal Word, and Christs descent into Hell; grounding this last on these Words of St. *Peter*, of his *Preaching to the Spirits that were in Prison.* The next Article was about Christs Resurrection: The fifth about the Scriptures containing all things necessary to Salvation: so that nothing was to be held an Article of Faith that could not be proved from thence. The sixth, That the Old Testament was to be kept still.

The 7th for the receiving the three Creeds, the *Apostles*, the *Nicen*, and *Athanasius* Creed: in which they went according to the received Opinion, that *Athanasius* was the Author of that Creed, which is now found not to have been compiled till near three Ages after him. 1551.

The 8th makes Original Sin to be the corruption of the nature of all Men descending from *Adam*; by which they had fallen from Original Righteousness, and were by nature given to evil: but they defined nothing about the derivation of guilt from *Adams* sin.

The 9th for the necessity of prevailing Grace, without which we have no free Will to do things acceptable to God.

The 10th about Divine Grace, which changeth a Man, and yet puts no force on his Will.

The 11th, That Men are justified by Faith only; as was declared in the Homily.

The 12th, That Works done before Grace are not without sin.

The 13th, Against all Works of Supererogation.

The 14th, That all Men, Christ only excepted, are guilty of sin.

The 15th, That Men who have received Grace, may sin afterwards, and rise again by Repentance.

The 16th, That the blaspheming against the Holy Ghost is, when Men out of malice and obstinately rail against Gods Word, though they are convinced of it, yet persecuting it: which is unpardonable.

The 17th, That Predestination is Gods free Election of those, whom he afterwards justifies: which though it be matter of great comfort to such as consider it aright, yet it is a dangerous thing for curious and carnal Men to prie into: and it being a Secret, Men are to be governed by Gods revealed Will: they added not a word of Reprobation.

The 18th, That only the Name of Christ, and not the Law or Light of Nature, can save Men.

The 19th, That all Men are bound to keep the Moral Law.

The 20th, That the Church is a Congregation of Faithful Men, who have the Word of God Preached, and the Sacraments rightly Administred: and that the Church of *Rome*, as well as other particular Churches, have erred in matters of Faith.

The 21st, That the Church is only the Witness and Keeper of the Word of God: but cannot appoint any thing contrary to it, nor declare any Articles of Faith without Warrant from it.

The 22d, That General Councils may not be gathered without the consent of Princes: that they may erre and have erred in matters of Faith: and that their Decrees in matters of Salvation have strength only as they are taken out of the Scriptures.

The 23d, That the Doctrines of Purgatory, Pardons, Worshiping of Images, and Relicks, and Invocation of Saints, are without any Warrant, and contrary to the Scriptures.

The 24th, That none may Preach or Minister the Sacraments, without he be lawfully called by Men who have lawful Authority.

The 25th, That all things should be spoken in the Church in a Vulgar Tongue.

The 26th, That there are two Sacraments, which are not bare Tokens of our Profession, but effectual Signs of Gods good Will to us:

1551. which strengthen our Faith, yet not by vertue only of the Work wrought, but in those who receive them worthily.

The 27th, That the vertue of these does not depend on the Minster of them.

The 28th, That by Baptism we are the adopted Sons of God; and that Infant Baptism is to be commended, and in any ways to be retained.

The 29th, That the Lords Supper is not a bare Token of love among Christians; but is the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ: that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation is contrary to Scripture, and hath given occasion to much Superstition: that a Body being only in one place, and Christs Body being in Heaven, therefore there cannot be a real and bodily Presence of his Flesh and Blood in it: and that this Sacrament is not to be kept, carried about, lifted up, nor worshiped.

The 30th, That there is no other Propitiatory Sacrifice, but that which Christ offered on the Cross.

The 31st, That the Clergy are not by Gods command obliged to abstain from Marriage.

The 32d. That Persons rightly excommunicated are to be looked on as Heathens, till they are by Penance reconciled, and received by a Judge competent.

The 33d, It is not necessary that Ceremonies should be the same at all times: but such as refuse to obey lawful Ceremonies, ought to be openly reproved as offending against Law and Order, giving scandal to the weak.

The 34th, That the Homilies are godly and wholesom, and ought to be read.

The 35th, That the Book of Common-Prayer is not repugnant, but agreeable to the Gospel; and ought to be received by all.

The 36th, That the King is Supream Head under Christ: that the Bishop of *Rome* hath no Jurisdiction in *England*: that the Civil Magistrate is to be obeyed for Conscience sake: that Men may be put to death for great offences: and that it is lawful for Christians to make War.

The 37th, That there is not to be a community of all Mens Goods: but yet every Man ought to give to the Poor according to his ability.

The 38th, That though rash swearing is condemned: yet such as are required by the Magistrate may take an Oath.

The 39th, That the Resurrection is not already past, but at the last day Men shall rise with the same Bodies they now have.

The 40th, That departed Souls do not die, nor sleep with their Bodies, and continue without sense, till the last day.

The 41st, That the Fable of the Millenaries, is contrary to Scripture, and a *Jewish* dotage.

The last condemned those who believe that the damned, after some time of suffering, shall be saved.

Thus was the Doctrine of the Church, cast into a short and plain Form: in which they took care both to establish the positive Articles of Religion, and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in the time of Popery,

ropery, or of late broached by the Anabaptists and Enthusiasts of *Germany:* avoiding the niceties of School-men, or the peremptoriness of the Writers of Controversie: leaving in matters that are more justly controvertible, a liberty to Divines to follow their private Opinions, without thereby disturbing the Peace of the Church. 1551.

There was in the Ancient Church a great simplicity in their Creeds, and the Exposition of the Doctrine. But afterwards, upon the breaking out of the *Arrian*, and other Heresies, concerning the Person of Jesus Christ; as the Orthodox Fathers were put to find out new Terms to drive the Hereticks out of the equivocal use of these formerly received; so they too soon grew to love niceties, and to explain Mysteries, with Similies, and other subtilties which they invented: and Councils afterwards were very liberal in their Anathematismes against any who did not agree in all Points to their Terms, or ways of Explanation. And though the Council of *Ephesus* decreed, That there should be no Additions made to the Creed, they understood that not of the whole Belief of Christians, but only of the Creed it self: and did also load the Christian Doctrine with many Curiosities. But though they had exceeded much, yet the School-men getting the management of the Doctrine, spun their Thread much finer: and did easily procure Condemnations, either by Papal Bulls, or the Decrees of such Councils as met in these times, of all that differed from them in the least matter. Upon the progress of the Reformation, the *German* Writers, particularly *Osiander*, *Illiricus*, and *Amstorfius*, grew too peremptory, and not only condemned the *Helvetian* Churches, for differing from them in the manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament, but were severe to one another for lesser Punctilio's, and were at this time exercising the patience of the great and learned *Melancton*, because he thought that in things of their own Nature indifferent, they ought to have complied with the Emperor. This made those in *England* resolve on composing these Articles with great temper, in many such Points. Only one Notion that has been since taken up by some, seems not to have been then thought of; which is, That these were rather Articles of Peace than of Belief: so that the subscribing was rather a Compromise not to teach any Doctrine contrary to them, than a Declaration that they believed according to them. There appears no reason for this conceit, no such thing being then declared: so that those who subscribed, did either believe them to be true, or else they did grosly prevaricate.

Some Corrections made in the Common-Prayer-Book.

The next Business in which the Reformers were employed this Year, was the correcting the Common-Prayer-Book, and the making some Additions, with the changing of such Particulars as had been retained only for a time. The most considerable Additions were, That in the daily Service they prepared a short, but most simple and grave, Form of a general Confession of sins; in the use of which they intended that those who made this Confession should not content themselves with a bare recital of the Words, but should joyn with them in their Hearts, a particular Confession of their private sins to God. To this was added a General Absolution, or Pronouncing in the Name of God, the pardon of sin to all those who did truly repent, and unfeignedly believe the Gospel. For they judged, that if the People did seriously practise this, it would keep up in their thoughts frequent reflections on their sins; and

1551. it was thought that the pronouncing a Pardon upon these Conditions might have a better effect on the People, than that absolute and unqualified Pardon which their Priests were wont to give in Confession. By which Absolution in times of Popery the People were made to believe that their sins were thereupon certainly forgiven; than which nothing could be invented that would harden them into a more fatal security; when they thought a full Pardon could be so readily purchased. But now they heard the terms, on which they could only expect it, every day promulgated to them. The other Addition was also made upon good consideration, in the Office of the Communion; to which the People were observed to come without due seriousness or preparation: therefore for awakening their Consciences more feelingly, it was ordered, that the Office of the Communion should begin with a solemn pronouncing of the Ten Commandments: all the Congregation being on their Knees; as if they were hearing that Law a-new: and a stop to be made at every Commandment, for the Peoples devotion, of imploring mercy for their past offences, and Grace to observe it for the time to come. This seemed as effectual a Mean as they could devise, till Church-penitence were again set up, to beget in Men deep reflections on their sins, and to prepare them thereby to receive that Holy Sacrament worthily. The other Changes were, the removing of some Rites which had been retained in the former Book; such as the use of Oyl in Confirmation, and Extream Unction, the Prayers for Souls departed, both in the Communion-Service, and in the Office of Burial, the leaving out some Passages in the Consecration of the Eucharist that seemed to favour the Belief of the Corporal Presence, with the use of the Cross, in it, and in Confirmation, with some smaller variations. And indeed they brought the whole Liturgy to the same Form in which it is now, except some inconsiderable variations that have been since made for the clearing of some Ambiguities.

An Account of kneeling in the Communion.

In the Office of the Communion, they added a Rubrick concerning the posture of kneeling, which was appointed to be still the gesture of Communicants. It was hereby declared, that that gesture was kept up as a most reverent and humble way of expressing our great sense of the Mercies of God in the death of Christ there communicated to us: but that thereby there was no adoration intended to the Bread and Wine, which were gross Idolatry: nor did they think the very Flesh and Blood of Christ were there present; since his Body, according to the nature of all other Bodies, could be only in one place at once; and so he being now in Heaven, could not be corporally present in the Sacrament. This was by Queen *Elizabeth* ordered to be left out of the Common-Prayer-Book; since it might have given offence to some, otherwise inclinable to the Communion of the Church, who yet retained the belief the Corporal Presence. But since his present Majesties Restoration, many having excepted to the Posture, as apprehending some thing like Idolatry or Superstition might lie under it, if it were not rightly explained; that Explication which was given in King *Edwards* time, was again inserted in the Common-Prayer-Book.

For the Posture, it is most likely that the first Institution was in the Table-gesture, which was, lying along on one side. But it was apparent in our Saviours Practice, that the *Jewish* Church had changed the Posture of

of that Institution of the Passover, in whose room the Eucharist came. 1551.
For though Moses had appointed the Jews to eat their Paschal Lamb, standing, with their Loins girt, with Staves in their Hands, and Shooes on their Feet; yet the Jews did afterwards change this into the Common-Table-Posture: of which change, though there is no mention in the Old Testament, yet we see it was so in our Saviours time; and since he complied with the common Custom, we are sure that Change was not criminal. It seemed reasonable to allow the Christian Church the like Power in such things with the Jewish: and as the Jews thought their coming into the Promised Land, might be a Warrant to lay aside the Posture appointed by Moses, which became Travellers best; so Christ being now exalted, it seemed fit to receive this Sacrament with higher Marks of outward respect, than had been proper in the first Institution, when he was in the state of Humiliation, and his Divine Glory not yet so fully revealed. Therefore in the Primitive Church they received standing, and bending their Body, in a posture of Adoration. But how soon that Gesture of kneeling came in, is not so exactly observed, nor is it needful to know. But surely there is a great want of ingenuity in them that are pleased to apply these Orders of some later Popes for kneeling at the Elevation, to our kneeling; when ours is not at one such part, which might be more liable to exception, but during the whole Office: by which it is one continued Act of Worship, and the Communicants kneel all the while. But of this no more needs to be said, than is exprest in the Rubrick, which occasioned this Digression.

Thus were the Reformations both of Doctrine and Worship prepared: To which all I can add of this Year, is, that there were six eminent Preachers chosen out to be the Kings Chaplains in Ordinary: two of those were always to attend at Court; and four to be sent over England to preach and instruct the People. In the first year, two of these were to go into Wales, and the other two into Lancashire: the next year two into the Marches of Scotland, and two into York-shire; the third year, two into Devon-shire, and two into Hamp-shire; and the fourth year, two into Norfolk, and two into Kent and Sussex. These were Bill, Harle, Pern, Grindal, Bradford, the Name of the sixth is so dashed in the Kings Journal, that it cannot be read. These, it seems, were accounted the most zealous and readiest Preachers of that time; who were thus sent about, as Itinerants to supply the defects of the greatest part of the Clergy, who were generally very faulty.

Some Orders given to the Kings Chaplains.

The Business of the Lady Mary was now taken up with more heat than formerly. The Emperors earnest sute, that she might have Mass in her House, was long rejected: for it was said, that as the King did not interpose in the matters of the Emperors Government, so there was no reason for the Emperor to meddle in his Affairs. Yet the state of England making his friendship at that time necessary to the King, and he refusing to continue in his League, unless his Kinswoman obtained that favour, it was promised, that for some time, in hope she would reform, there should be a forbearance granted. The Emperors Ambassadors pressed to have a License for it under the Great Seal. It was answered, That being against Law, it could not be done: Then they desired to have it certified under the Kings Hand, in a Letter to the Emperor; but even that was refused. So that they only gave a Promise for some time by

The Lady Mary continued to have Mass said in her Chappel.

1551. word of mouth, and *Paget*, and *Hobby*, who had been the Ambassadors with the Emperor, declared they had spoke of it to him with the same limitations. But the Emperor, who was accustomed to take for absolute what was promised only under conditions, writ to the Lady *Mary*, that he had an absolute Promise for the free exercise of her Religion: and so she pretended this, when she was at any time questioned about it. The two Grounds she went on, were, that she would follow the ancient and universal way of Worship, and not a new invention that lay within the four Seas: and that she would continue in that Religion, in which her Father had instructed her. To this, the King sent an Answer, telling her, That she was a part of this Church and Nation, and so must conform her self to the Laws of it; that the way of Worship now set up, was no other than what was clearly consonant to the pure Word of God; and the King's being young, was not to be pretended by her, lest she might seem to agree with the late Rebels. After this, she was sent for to Court, and pains was taken to instruct her better. But she refused to hear any thing, or to enter into any reasonings, but said, she would still do as she had done. And she claimed the Promise that was said to be made to the Emperor. But it was told her, that it was but temporary and conditional. Whereupon the last Summer she was designing to fly out of *England*; and the King of *France* gave Sir *John Mason*, the *English* Resident, notice, that the Regent of *Flanders* had hired one *Scipperus* who should Land on the Coast of *Essex*, as if it had been to victual his Ship, and was to have conveyed her away. Upon this Information, order was given to see well to the Coast; so the design being discovered, nothing could be effected. It was certainly a strange advice to carry her away, and no less strange in the Kings Ministers to hinder it, if there was at that time any design formed to put her by her Succession. For if she had been beyond Sea at the Kings death, it is not probable that she could have easily come to the Crown. The Emperors Ambassador solicited for her violently, and said he would presently take leave, and protest, that they had broken their Faith to his Master, who would resent the usage of the Lady *Mary* as highly as if it were done immediately to himself. The Counsellors, having no mind to draw a new War on their Heads, especially from so victorious a Prince, were all inclined to let the matter fall. There was also a years Cloath lately sent over to *Antwerp*; and 1500 Cinqtails of Powder, with a great deal of Armour, bought there for the Kings use, was not come over. So it was thought by no means advisable to provoke the Emperor, while they had such effects in his Ports; nor were they very willing to give higher provocations to the next Heir of the Crown. Therefore they all advised the King not to do more in that matter at present, but to leave the Lady *Mary* to her discretion, who would certainly be made more cautious by what she had met with, and would give as little scandal as was possible by her Mass. But the King could not be induced to give way to it, for he thought the Mass was impious and idolatrous; so he would not consent to the continuance of such a sin. Upon this the Council ordered *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Poinet*, to discourse about it with him. They told him, that it was always a sin in a Prince to permit any sin; but to give a connivance, that is, not to punish, was not always a sin: since sometimes a lesser evil connived at, might prevent a greater. He was overcome by this; yet not so easily, but

The King is very earnest against it.

but that he burst forth in Tears, lamenting his Sisters obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a way of Worship as he esteemed the Mass. So he answered the Emperors Agents, that he should send over an Ambassador to clear that matter. And Dr. *Wotton* was dispatched about it, who carried over Attestations from all the Council, concerning the qualifications of the Promise that had been made: and was instructed to press the Emperor, not to trouble the King in his Affairs at home in his own Kingdom. If the Lady *Mary* was his Kinswoman, she was the Kings Sister, and Subject: He was also to offer, that the King would grant as much liberty for the Mass in his Dominions, as the Emperor would grant for the *English* Service in his Dominions. But the Emperor pretended, that when her Mother died, she left her to his protection, which he had granted her, and so must take care of her. And the Emperor was so exalted with his Successes, that he did not easily bear any contradiction. But the Council being further offended with her for the project of going beyond Sea, and being now less in fear of the Emperor, since they had made Peace with *France*, resolved to look more nearly to her. And finding that Dr. *Mallet*, and *Berkley*, her Chaplains, had said Mass in one of her Houses, when she was not in it, they ordered them to be proceeded against. Upon which, in *December* the last year, she writ earnestly to the Council to let it fall. By her Letter it appears, that *Mallet* used to be sometimes at his Benefice, where it is certain he could officiate no other way but in that prescribed by Law: so it seems his Conscience was not very scrupulous. The Council writ her a long Answer, which being in the Stile of a Churchman, seems to have been penned either by *Cranmer*, or *Ridley*. In which Letter they fully clear'd the matter of the Promise: then they shewed how express the Law was, with which they could not dispense: and how ill grounded her Faith, as she called it, was. They asked her what Warrant there was in Scripture, that the Prayers should be in an unknown Tongue, that Images should be in the Church, or that the Sacrament should be offered up for the Dead. They told her, that in all Questions about Religion, St. *Austin* and the other ancient Doctors appealed to the Scripture; and if she would look into these, she would soon see the errors of the old Superstition, which were supported by false Miracles and lying Stories, and not by Scripture or good Authority. They exprest themselves in terms full of submission to her, but said they were trusted with the execution of the Kings Laws, in which they must proceed equally. So they required her, if the Chaplains were in her House, to send them to the Sheriff of *Essex*. But it seems they kept out of the way, and so the matter slept till the beginning of *May* this year, that *Mallet* was found, and put in the *Tower*, and convicted of his offence. Upon this there passed many Letters between the Council and her: she earnestly desiring to have him set at liberty, and they as positively refusing to do it.

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The Council writ to her of it.

In *July* the Council sent for *Rochester*, *Inglefield*, and *Walgrave*, three of her chief Officers; and gave them Instructions to signifie the Kings express pleasure to her, to have the new Service in her Family; and to give the like charge to her Chaplains, and all her Servants; and to return with an answer. In *August* they came back, and said, she was much indisposed, and received the Message very grievously. She said, she would

1551. would obey the King in all things, except where her Conscience was touched: but she charged them to deliver none of their Message to the rest of her Family; in which they being her Servants could not disobey her, especially when they thought it might prejudice her health. Upon this, they were sent to the *Tower*. The Lord Chancellor, Sir *Ant. Wingfield*, and Sir *William Petre*, were next sent to her, with a Letter from the King, and Instructions from the Council, for the charge they were to give to her and her Servants. They came to her House of *Copthall* in *Essex*. The Lord Chancellor gave her the Kings Letter, which she received on her Knees: and said, she payed that respect to the Kings Hand, and not to the matter of the Letter, which she knew proceeded from the Council: and when she read it, she said, *Ah! Mr.* Cecil *took much pains here:* (he was then Secretary of State in Dr. *Wottons* room.) So she turned to the Counsellors, and bid them deliver their Message to her. She wished them to be short, for she was not well at ease, and would give them a short answer, having writ her mind plainly to the King with her own Hand. The Lord Chancellor told her, that all the Council were of one mind, that she must be no longer suffered to have private Mass, or a Form of Religion different from what was established by Law. He went to read the Names of those who were of that mind; but she desired him to spare his pains, she knew they were all of a sort. They next told her, they had order to require her Chaplains to use no other Service, and her Servants to be present at no other, than what was according to Law. She answered, She was the Kings most obedient Subject, and Sister; and would obey him in every thing, but where her Conscience held her, and would willingly suffer death to do him service: but she would lay her Head on a Block, rather than use any other Form of Service, than what had been at her Fathers death: only she thought she was not worthy to suffer death on so good an account. When the King came to be of Age, so that he could order these things himself, she would obey his Commands in Religion: for although he, *Good sweet King*, (these were her words) had more knowledge than any of his years, yet he was not a fit Judge in these matters; for if Ships were to be set to Sea, or any matter of Policy to be determined, they would not think him fit for it, much less could he be able to resolve Points of Divinity. As for her Chaplains, if they would say no Mass, she could hear none; and for her Servants, she knew they all desired to hear Mass: her Chaplains might do what they would, it was but a whiles Imprisonment: but for the new Service, it should never be said in her House: and if any were forced to say it, she would stay no longer in the House. When the Counsellors spake of *Rochester*, *Inglefield*, and *Walgrave*, who had not fully executed their charge; she said, it was not the wisest Counsel, to order her Servants to controul her in her own House: and they were the honester Men not to do such a thing against their Consciences. She insisted on the Promise made to the Emperor, which she had under his Hand, whom she believed better than them all: they ought to use her better for her Fathers sake, who had raised them all almost out of nothing. But though the Emperor were dead, or would bid her obey them; she would not change her mind, and she would let his Ambassador know how they used her. To this they answered, clearing the mistake about the Promise, to which she gave little heed.

And sent some to her.

But she was Intractable.

heed. They told her, they had brought one down to ſerve as her Comptroller in *Rocheſters* room: She ſaid, ſhe would chooſe her own Servants; and if they went to impoſe any on her, ſhe would leave the Houſe. She was ſick, but would do all ſhe could to live: but if ſhe died, ſhe would proteſt they were the cauſes of it: they gave her good words, but their deeds were evil. Then ſhe took a Ring from her Finger, and on her Knees gave it to the Lord Chancellor, to give to the King as a Token from her, with her humble Commendations; and proteſted much of her duty to him; but ſhe ſaid, this will never be told him. The Counſellors went from her to her Chaplains, and delivered their Meſſage to them, who promiſed they would obey. Then they charged the reſt of the Servants in like manner, and alſo commanded them to give notice if thoſe Orders were broken. And ſo they went to go away. But as they were in the Court, the Lady *Mary* called to them from her Window, to ſend her Comptroller to her; for ſhe ſaid, that now ſhe her ſelf received the accounts of her Houſe, and knew how many Loaves were made of a Buſhel of Meal, to which ſhe had never been bred, and ſo was weary of that Office; but if they would needs ſend him to Priſon, ſhe ſaid, I beſhrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good Will; and concluded, I pray God to ſend you to do well in your Souls and Bodies, for ſome of you have but weak Bodies. This is the ſubſtance of the Report theſe Counſellors gave when they returned back to the Court on the 29*th* of *Auguſt*. By which they were now out of all hopes of prevailing with her by perſwaſions or Authority: So it was next conſidered, whether it was fit to go to further extremities with her. How the matter was determined, I do not clearly find; it is certain the Lady *Mary* would never admit of the new Service, and ſo I believe ſhe continued to keep her Prieſts, and have Maſs; but ſo ſecretly, that there was no ground for any publick complaint. For I find no further mention of that matter, than what is made by *Ridley*, of a Paſſage that befel him in *September* next year. 1551.

Nor would ſhe hear Biſhop *Ridley* preach.

He went to wait on her, ſhe living then at *Hunſden*; where ſhe received him at firſt civilly, and told him, ſhe remembred of him in her Fathers time, and at Dinner ſent him to dine with her Officers: after Dinner, he told her, he came not only to do his Duty to her, but to offer to Preach before her next *Sunday*: She bluſhed, and once or twice deſired him to make the Anſwer to that himſelf. But when he preſſed her further, ſhe ſaid, the Pariſh-Church would be open to him if he had a mind to preach in it: but neither ſhe, nor any of her Family ſhould hear him. He ſaid, he hoped ſhe would not refuſe to hear Gods Word; She ſaid, She did not know what they called Gods Word; but ſhe was ſure that was not now Gods Word that was called ſo in her Fathers days. He ſaid, Gods Word was the ſame at all times. She anſwered, She was ſure he durſt not for his Ears have avowed theſe things in her Fathers time, which he did now: and for their Books, as, ſhe thanked God, ſhe never had, ſo ſhe never would read them. She alſo uſed many reproachful words to him, and asked him, If he was of the Council; He ſaid not: She replied, He might well enough be, as the Council goes now a-days; and ſo diſmiſſed him, thanking him for coming to ſee her, but not at all for offering to preach before her. Sir *Tho. Wharton*, one of her Officers, carried him to a place where he deſired him to drink; which *Rid-*

ley

1551. ley did: but reflecting on it, said, He had done amiss, to drink in a place where Gods Word was rejected: for if he had remembred his Duty, he should upon that refusal have shaken the dust off his Feet, for a Testimony against the House, and have departed immediately. These words he was observed to pronounce with an extraordinary concern, and went away much troubled in his mind. And this is all I find of the Lady *Mary* during this Reign. For the Lady *Elizabeth*, she had been always bred up to like the Reformation; and Dr. *Parker*, who had been her Mothers Chaplain, received a strict charge from her Mother a little before her death, to look well to the instructing her Daughter in the Principles of true Religion; so that there is no doubt to be made of her chearful receiving all the changes that had been established by Law.

The Designs of the Earl of Warwick.

And this is all that concerns Religion, that falls within this Year. But now a design came to be laid, which though it broke not out for some time, yet it was believed to have had a great influence on the Fall of the Duke of *Somerset*. The Earl of *Warwick* began to form great Projects for himself, and thought to bring the Crown into his Family. The King was now much alienated from the Lady *Mary*; the Privy-Council had also embroiled themselves so with her, that he imagined it would be no hard matter to exclude her from the Succession. There was but one reason that could be pretended for it; which was, that she stood illegitimated by Law; and that therefore the next Heirs in Blood could not be barred their right by her; since it would be a great blot on the Honour of the *English* Crown to let it devolve on a Bastard. This was as strong against the Lady *Elizabeth*, since she was also illegitimated by a Sentence in the Spiritual Court, and that confirmed in Parliament: so if their jealousie of the elder Sisters Religion, and the fear of her revenge, moved them to be willing to cut her off from the Succession, the same reason that was to be used in Law against her, was also to take place against her Sister. So he reckoned that these two were to be passed over, as being put both in the Act of Succession, and in the late Kings Will, by one error. The next in the Will, were the Heirs of the *French* Queen by *Charles Brandon*, who were the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, and her Sister. Though I have seen it often said in many Letters, and Writings of that time, that all that Issue by *Charles Brandon* was illegitimated: since he was certainly married to one *Mortimer*, before he married the Queen of *France*; which *Mortimer* lived long after his Marriage to that Queen: so that all her Children were Bastards: some say he was divorced from his Marriage to *Mortimer*, but that is not clear to me.

The Sweating Sickness.

This Year the Sweating Sickness, that had been formerly both in *Henry* the *7th*, and the late King's Reign, broke out with that violence in *England*, that many were swept away by it. Such as were taken with it, died certainly if they slept, to which they had a violent desire: but if it took them not off in twenty four hours, they did sweat out the venom of the distemper: which raged so in *London*, that in one week 800 died of it. It did also spread into the Country, and the two Sons of *Charles Brandon* by his last Wife, both Dukes of *Suffolk*, died within a day one of another. So that Title was fallen. Their Sister by the half Blood was married to *Gray* Lord Marquess of *Dorset*. So she being the eldest Daughter to the *French* Queen, the Earl of *Warwick* resolved to link himself to that Family; and to procure the Honour of the Dukedome

dome of *Suffolk* to be given the Marquess of *Dorset*, who was a weak Man, and easily governed. He had three Daughters; the eldest was *Jane*, a Lady of as excellent qualities as any of that Age; of great Parts, bred to Learning, and much conversant in Scripture; and of so rare a temper of mind, that she charmed all who knew her: in particular the young King, about whom she was bred, and who had always lived with her in the familiarities of a Brother. The Earl of *Warwick* designed to marry her to *Guilford* his fourth Son, then living, his three elder being already married; and so to get the Crown to descend on them if the King should die, of which it is thought he resolved to take care. But apprehending some danger from the Lady *Elizabeths* Title, he intended to send her away. So an Ambassador was dispatched to *Denmark*, to treat a Marriage for her with that Kings eldest Son. 1551.

The King treats with the *French* King for a Marriage with his Daughter.

To amuse the King himself, a most splendid Embassy was sent to *France*, to propose a Marriage for the King to that Kings Daughter *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to *Philip* of *Spain*. The Marquess of *Northampton* was sent with this Proposition, and with the Order of the Garter. With him went the Earls of *Worcester*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond*; the Lords *Lisle*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Abergaveny*, and *Evers*; and the Bishop of *Ely*, who was to be their Mouth: With them went many Gentlemen of Quality, who with their Train made up near 500. King *Henry* received the Garter with great expressions of Esteem for the King. The Bishop of *Ely* told him, They were come to desire a more close tie between these Crowns by Marriage, and to have the League made firmer between them in other Particulars. To which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* made answer, in his way of speaking, which was always vain, and full of ostentation. A Commission was given to that Cardinal, the Constable, the Duke of *Guise*, and others, to treat about it.

The *English* began first, for Forms sake, to desire the Queen of *Scots*. But that being rejected, they moved for the Daughter of *France*, which was entertained; but so that neither Party should be bound in Honour and Conscience, till the Lady were twelve years of Age. Yet this never taking effect, it is needless to enlarge further about it; of which the Reader will find all the Particulars in King *Edwards* Journal. The King of *France* sent another very noble Embassy into *England*, with the Order of St. *Michael* to the King, and a very kind Message, that he had no less love to him than a Father could bear to his own Son. He desired the King would not listen to the vain Rumors, which some malicious Persons might raise, to break their friendship; and wished, there might be such a regulation on their Frontiers, that all differences might be amicably removed. To this the young King made answer himself, " That he thanked his good Brother for his Order, and for the Assurances " of his Love, which he would always requite. For Rumors, they were " not always to be credited, nor always to be rejected; it being no less " vain to fear all things, than it was dangerous to doubt of nothing: and " for any differences that might arise, he should be always ready to determine them, by reason, rather than force; so far as his Honour should " not be thereby diminished. Whether this Answer was prepared beforehand, or not, I cannot tell; I rather think it was; otherways it was extraordinary for one of fourteen to talk thus on the sudden.

1551. But while all this was carrying on, there was a design laid to destroy the Duke of *Somerset*. He had such access to the King, and such freedoms with him, that the Earl of *Warwick* had a mind to be rid of him, lest he should spoil all his Projects. The Duke of *Somerset* seemed also to have designed in *April* this Year to have got the King again in his power: and dealt with the Lord *Strange*, that was much in his favour, to perswade him to marry his Daughter *Jane*, and that he would advertise him of all that passed about the King. But the Earl of *Warwick*, to raise himself and all his Friends higher, procured a great Creation of new Honours. *Gray* was made Duke of *Suffolk*, and himself Duke of *Northumberland*, for *Henry Piercy*, the last Earl of *Northumberland*, dying without Issue, his next Heirs were the Sons of *Thomas Piercy*, that had been attainted in the last Reign for the *York-shire* Rebellion. *Pawlet* then Lord Treasurer, and Earl of *Wilt-shire*, was made Marquess of *Winchester*; and Sir *William Herbert*, that had married the Marquess of *Northampton's* Sister, was made Earl of *Pembroke*. The Lord *Russel* had been made Earl of *Bedford* last year, upon his return from making the Peace with the *French*: Sir *Tho. Darcy* had also been made Lord *Darcy*. The new Duke of *Northumberland* could no longer bear such a Rival in his greatness, as the Duke of *Somerset* was, who was the only Person that he thought could take the King out of his Hands. So on the 17th of *October* the Duke was apprehended, and sent to the *Tower*; and with him the Lord *Gray*; Sir *Ralph Vane*, who had escaped over the River, but was taken in a Stable in *Lambeth*, hid under the Straw: Sir *Tho. Palmer*, and Sir *Tho. Arundel*, were also taken, yet not sent at first to the *Tower*, but kept under Guards in their Chambers. Some of his followers, *Hamond*, *Nudigate*, and two of the *Seimours*, were sent to Prison. The day after, the Dutchess of *Somerset* was also sent to the *Tower*, with one *Crane*, and his Wife, that had been much about her, and two of her Chamber-women. After these, Sir *Tho. Holdcroft*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Wingfield*, *Bannister*, and *Vaughan*, were all made Prisoners. The Evidence against the Duke, was, That he had made a Party for getting himself declared Protector in the next Parliament; which the Earl of *Rutland* did positively affirm; and the Duke did so answer it, that it is probable it was true. But though this might well inflame his Enemies, yet it was no crime. But Sir *Tho. Palmer*, though imprisoned with him as a Complice, was the Person that ruined him. He had been before that brought secretly to the King, and had told him, that on the last St. *Georges* day, the Duke apprehending there was mischief designed against him, thought to have raised the People, had not Sir *William Herbert* assured him he should receive no harm: that lately he intended to have the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, invited to Dinner at the Lord *Pagets*; and either to have set on them by the way, or to have killed them at Dinner: that Sir *Ralph Vane* had 2000 Men ready, that Sir *Tho. Arundel* had assured the Tower, and that all the Gandarmoury were to be killed: The Duke of *Somerset*, hearing *Palmer* had been with the King, challenged him of it, but he denied all. He sent also for Secretary *Cecil*, and told him he suspected there was an ill design against him: To which the Secretary answered, if he were not in fault, he might trust to his innocency; but if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him.

A Conspiracy against the Duke of *Somerset*.

All

All this was told the King with such Circumstances, that he was induced to believe it; and the probity of his disposition wrought in him a great aversion to his Unkle; when he looked on him as a Conspirator against the Lives of the other Counsellors: and so he resolved to leave him to the Law. *Palmer* being a second time examined, said, That Sir *Ralph Vane* was to have brought 2000 Men, who, with the Duke of *Somersets* 100 Horse, were on a Muster-day to have set on the Gendarmoury; that being done, the Duke resolved to have gone thorough the City, and proclaimed Liberty, Liberty: and if his attempt did not succeed, to have fled to the Isle of *Wight*, or to *Pool*. *Crane* confirmed all that *Palmer* had said; to which he added, That the Earl of *Arundel* was privy to the Conspiracy: and that the thing had been executed, but that the greatness of the Enterprise had caused delays, and sometimes diversity of advice: and that the Duke, being once given out to be sick, had gone privately to *London*, to see what Friends he could make. *Hamond* being examined, confessed nothing, but that the Dukes Chamber at *Greenwich* had been guarded in the night, by many Armed Men. Upon this Evidence, both the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget* were sent to the *Tower*. The Earl had been one of the chief of those who had joyned with the Earl of *Warwick* to pull down the Protector; and being, as he thought, ill rewarded by him, was become his Enemy. So this part of the Information seemed very credible. The thing lay in suspence till the first of *December*, that the Duke of *Somerset* was brought to his Trial: where the Marquess of *Winchester* was Lord Steward. The Peers that judged him, were twenty seven in number. The Dukes of *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bath*, *Sussex*, *Worcester*, *Pembroke*, and the Viscount of *Hereford*, the Lords *Abergaveny*, *Audley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Souch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy*, *Sturton*, *Windsor*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*. The Crimes laid against him, were cast into five several Indictments, as the King has it in his Journal; but the Record mentions only three, whether Indictments or Articles is not so clear. That he had designed to have seized on the Kings Person, and so have governed all Affairs, and that he with one hundred others intended to have imprisoned the Earl of *Warwick*, afterwards Duke of *Northumberland*, and that he had designed to have raised an Insurrection in the City of *London*. Now by the Act that passed in the last Parliament, if twelve Persons should have assembled together to have killed any Privy-Counsellor, and upon Proclamation they had not dispersed themselves, it was Treason: or if such Twelve had been by any malicious Artifice brought together, for any Riot, and being warned, did not disperse themselves, it was Felony, without benefit of Clergy or Sanctuary. It seemed very strange that the three Peers, *Northumberland*, *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, who were his professed Enemies, and against the first of whom it was pretended in the Indictment that he had conspired, should sit his Judges: for though by the Law no Peer can be challenged in a Trial, yet the Law of Nations, that is Superior to all other Laws, makes, that a Man cannot be Judge in his own Cause: and which was very unusual, the Lord Chancellor, though then a Peer, was left out of the number; but it is like the Reconciliation between the Duke of *Somerset* and him was then suspected, which made him not be called to be one of his Judges.

1551.

The King is possessed against him.

He is brought to his Trial.

1551. The Duke of *Somerset* being, it seems, little acquainted with Law, did not desire Council to plead, or assist him in Point of Law; but only answered to matters of Fact. He prefaced, that he desired no advantage might be taken against him, for any idle or angry word that might have at any time fallen from him. He protested he never intended to have raised the Northern Parts, but had only upon some reports sent to Sir *William Herbert* to be his Friend: that he had never determined to have killed the Duke of *Northumberland*, or any other Person, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it: that for the design of destroying the Gendarmoury, it was ridiculous to think that he with a small Troop could destroy so strong a Body of Men, consisting of 900; in which, though he had succeeded, it could have signified nothing: that he never designed to raise any stirs in *London*, but had always looked on it as a Place where he was most safe: that his having Men about him in *Greenwich* was with no ill design, since when he could have done mischief with them, he had not done it; but upon his Attachment rendred himself a Prisoner, without any resistance. He objected also many things against the Witnesses, and desired they might be brought face to face. He particularly spake much against Sir *Tho. Palmer*, the chief Witness. But the Witnesses were not brought, only their Examinations were read: Upon this, the Kings Council pleaded against him, that to levy War was certainly Treason; that to gather Men with intention to kill Privy-Counsellors was also Treason; that to have Men about him to resist the Attachment was Felony; and to assault the Lords, or contrive their deaths, was Felony. Whether he made any defence in Law, or not, does not appear: For the material defence, is not mentioned in all the accounts I have seen of it; which was, that these Conspiracies, and gatherings of the Kings Subjects were only treasonable and fellonious, after they had been required to disperse themselves, and had refused to give obedience. And in all this matter, that is never so much as alledged, no not in the Indictment it self, to have been done. It is plain it was not done: For if any such Proclamation, or Charge, had been sent him, it is probable he would either have obeyed it, or gone into *London*, or to the Country, and tryed what he could have done by force: but to have refused such a command, and so to have come within the guilt of Treason, and yet not to stir from his House, are not things consistent.

When the Peers withdrew, it seems the Proofs about his design of raising the North, or the City, or of the killing the Gandarmes, did not satisfie them. For all these had been without question treasonable. So they only held to that Point of conspiring to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland*. If he, with Twelve Men about him, had conspired to do that, and had continued together after Proclamation, it was certainly Felony. But that not being pretended, it seems there was no Proclamation made. The Duke of *Suffolk* was of opinion, that no contention among private Subjects should be on any account screued up to be Treason. The Duke of *Northumberland* said, he would never consent that any practise against him, should be reputed Treason. After a great difference of Opinion, they all acquitted him of Treason. But the greater number found him guilty of Felony. When they returned him not guilty of Treason, all the People who were much concerned for his preser-

And is acquitted of Treason, but found guilty of Felony.

preservation, shouted for joy, so loud, and so long, that they were heard at *Charing-Cross*. But the joy lasted not long, when they heard that he was condemned of Felony, and Sentence was thereupon given that he should die as a Felon. 1551.

The Duke had carried himself all the while of the Trial with great temper and patience; and though the Kings Council had, in their usual way of Pleading, been very bitter against him; perhaps the rather, that thereby they might recommend themselves to the Duke of *Northumberland*; yet he never took notice of these reflections, nor seemed much affected with them. When Sentence was given, he thanked the Lords for their favour, and asked pardon of the Duke of *Northumberland*, *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, for his ill intentions against them; and made sute for his Life, and for his Wife, and Children. From thence he was carried back to the *Tower*. Whether this asking the Lords pardon, had in it a full Confession of the Crime charged on him, or was only a complement to them, that they might not obstruct his Pardon, is but a matter of conjecture. He confessed he had spoken of killing them, and this made it reasonable enough for him to ask their pardon; so that it does not imply a Confession of the Crime. All People thought, that being acquitted of Treason, and there being no fellonious Action done by him, but only an intention of one, and that only of Imprisoning a Peer, proved; that one so nearly joyned to the King in Blood, would never be put to death on such an occasion. But to possess the King much against him, a Story was brought him, and put by him in his Journal; That at the Dukes coming to the Tower, he had confessed, that he had hired one *Bartuile* to kill the Lords; and that *Bartuile* himself acknowledged it; and that *Hammond* knew of it. But whether this was devised to alienate the King wholly from him, or whether it was true, I can give no assurance. But though it was true, it was Felony in *Bartuile*, if he were the Kings Servant; but not in the Duke, who was a Peer. Yet no doubt this gave the King a very ill opinion of his Unkle, and so made him more easily consent to his execution: since all such Conspiracies are things of that inhumane and barbarous cruelty, that it is scarce possible to punish them too severely: But it is certain, that there was no Evidence at all of any design to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, otherwise the Indictment had not been laid against him, only for designing to seize on, and imprison him, as it was; the conspiring to kill him not being so much as mentioned in the Indictment, but it was maliciously given out to possess the World, and chiefly the King, against him.

See the Indictment, *Cokes Entries*, *fol.* 482.

The King also, in his Letter to *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, who was like to be his favourite, and was then sent over for his breeding into *France*, writ, that the Duke seemed to have acknowledged the Felony, and that after Sentence he had confessed it, though he had formerly vehemently sworn the contrary. From whence it is plain, that the King was perswaded of his being guilty. Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Tho. Arundel*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Miles Partridge*, were next brought to their Trials. The first, and the last of these, were little pitied. For, as all great Men have People about them, who make use of their greatness only for their own ends, without regarding their Masters Honour, or true Interest; so they were the Persons upon whom the ill things which had been done by the Duke of *Somerset* were chiefly cast. But Sir *Tho. Arundel* was much

Some of his Friends also condemned.

pitied,

1551. pitied, and had hard measure in his Trial, which began at seven a Clock in the Morning, and continued till Noon. Then the Jury went aside, and they did not agree on their Verdict, till next morning, when those who thought him not guilty, yet, for preserving their own Lives, were willing to yield to the fierceness of those who were resolved to have him found guilty. Sir *Ralph Vane* was the most lamented of them all. He had done great Services in the Wars, and was esteemed one of the bravest Gentlemen of the Nation. He pleaded for himself, that he had done his Country considerable Service during the Wars; though now in time of Peace, the Coward and the Couragious were equally esteemed. He scorned to make any submissions for Life. But this height of mind in him did certainly set forward his condemnation, and to add more infamy to him in the manner of his Death, he and *Partridge* were hanged, whereas the other two were beheaded.

The Seals are taken from the Lord *Rich*,

The Duke of *Somerset* was using means to have the King better informed, and disposed towards him; and engaged the Lord Chancellor to be his Friend: who thereupon sent him an Advertisement of somewhat designed against him by the Council, and being in hast, writ only on the back of his Letter, *To the Duke*; and bid one of his Servants carry it to the *Tower*, without giving him particular directions to the Duke of *Somerset*. But his Servant having known of the familiarities between his Master and the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was still in the *Tower*; and knowing none between him and the other Duke; carried the Letter to the Duke of *Norfolk*. When the Lord Chancellor found the mistake at night, he knew the Duke of *Norfolk*, to make *Northumberland* his Friend, would certainly discover him; so he went in all hast to the King, and desired to be discharged of his Office, and thereby prevented the malice of his Enemies: and upon this he fell sick, either pretending he was ill, that it might raise the more pity for him, or perhaps the fright in which he was did really cast him into sickness. So the Seal was sent for, by the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Darcy*, on the 21*st* of *December*, and put into the Hands of the Bishop of *Ely*, who was made Keeper during pleasure: And when the Session of Parliament came on, he was made Lord Chancellor.

And given to the Bishop of *Ely*.

But this was much censured: When the Reformation was first preached in *England*, *Tindal*, *Barns*, and *Latimer*, took an occasion, from the great Pomp and Luxury of Cardinal *Wolsey*, and the Secular Imployments of the other Bishops and Clergy-men, to represent them as a sort of Men that had wholly neglected the care of Souls, and those Spiritual Studies and Exercises that disposed Men to such Functions; and only carried the Names of Bishops and Church-men, to be a Colour to serve their Ambition and Covetousness. And this had raised great prejudices in the Minds of the People against those who were called their Pastors, when they saw them fill their Heads with cares, that were at least impertinent to their Callings, if not inconsistent with the Duties that belonged to them. So now upon *Goodrick's* being made Lord Chancellor, that was a Reformed Bishop, it was said by their Adversaries, these Men only condemned Secular Imployments in the Hands of Church-men, because their Enemies had them, but changed their mind as soon as any of their own Party came to be advanced to them. But as *Goodrick* was raised by the Popish Interest in opposition to the Duke of *Somerset*, and to *Cranmer*, that

was his firm Friend; so it appeared in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, that he was ready to turn with every Tide: and that whether he joyned in the Reformation only in Compliance to the time, or was perswaded in his mind concerning it; yet he had not that sense of it that became a Bishop, and was one of these who resolved to make as much advantage by it as he could, but would suffer nothing for it. So his practise in this matter is neither a Precedent to justifie the like in others, nor can it cast a scandal on those to whom he joyned himself. Christ being spoke to to divide an Inheritance between two Brethren, said, *Who made me a Judge, or a Divider?* St. *Paul*, speaking of Church-men, says, *No Man that warreth intangleth himself with the Affairs of this Life:* which was understood by St. *Cyprian* as a perpetual Rule against the Secular Imployments of the Clergy. There are three of the Apostolical Canons against it: and *Cyprian* reckoning up the sins of his time, that had provoked God to send a Persecution on the Church, names this, that many Bishops forsaking their Sees, undertook Secular Cares. In which he was so strict, that he thought the being Tutor to Orphans was a distraction unsutable to their Character: so that one Priest leaving another Tutor to his Children, because by the *Roman* Law he to whom this was left was obliged to undergo it, the Priests Name who made that Testament was appointed to be struck out of the List of those Church-men who had died in the Faith, and were remembred in the daily Offices. *Samosatenus* is represented as one of the first eminent Church-men that involved himself much in Secular Cares. Upon the Emperors turning Christian, it was a natural effect of their Conversion for them to cherish the Bishops much, and many of the Bishops became so much in love with the Court and publick Imployments, that Canons were made against their going to Court, unless they were called, and the *Canalis* or Road to the Court was kept by the Bishop of *Rome*, so that none might go without his Warrant. Their medling in Secular Matters was also condemned in many Provincial Councils, but most copiously and amply by the General Council at *Chalcedon*. It is true, the Bishops had their Courts for the Arbitration of Civil Differences: which were first begun upon St. *Pauls* Epistle to the *Corinthians*, against their going to Law before Unbelievers, and for submitting their Sutes to some among themselves. The Reasons of this ceased when the Judges in the Civil Courts were become Christians; yet these Episcopal Audiences were still continued after *Constantines* time, and their Jurisdiction was sometimes enlarged, and sometimes abridged, as there was occasion given. St. *Austin*, and many other Holy Bishops, grew weary even of that, and found, that the hearing Causes, as it took up much of their time, so filled their Heads with thoughts of another nature than what properly belonged to them. 1551.

The Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* taking advantage from the greatness and Wealth of their Sees, began first to establish a Secular Principality of the Church; and the Confusions that fell out in *Italy* after the 5*th Century*, gave the Bishops of *Rome* great opportunities for it, which they improved to the utmost advantage. The Revolutions in *Spain* gave a Rise to the *Spanish* Bishops medling much in all Civil Matters. And when *Charles* the Great and his Son had given great Territories and large Jurisdictions to many Sees and Monasteries, Bishops and Ab-

1551. bots came after that not only to have a share in all the publick Councils of most of the States of *Europe*, to which their Lands gave them a Right, but to be chiefly imployed in all Affairs and Offices of State. The Ignorance of these Ages made this in a manner necessary: and Church-Preferments were given as Rewards to Men who had served in the State in Embassies, or in their Princes Courts of Justice. So that it was no wonder if Men advanced upon that merit continued in their former Method and course of Life. Thus the Bishops became for the greatest part only a sort of Men who went in peculiar Habits, and upon some high Festivities performed a few Offices; but for the Pastoral care, and all the Duties incumbent on them, they were universally neglected: and that seriousness, that abstraction from the World, that application to Study and Religious Exercises, and chiefly the care of Souls, which became their Function, seemed inconsistent with that course of Life which Secular Cares brought on Men who pursued them. Nor was it easie to perswade the World, that their Pastors did very much aspire to Heaven, when they were thrusting themselves so indecently into the Courts of Princes, or ambitiously pretending to the Administration of Matters of State; and it was always observed, that Church-men who assumed to themselves Imployments, and an Authority that was excentrick to their Callings, suffered so much in that Esteem, and lost so much of that Authority, which of right belonged to their Character and Office.

But to go on with the Series of Affairs. There was all possible care taken to divert and entertain the Kings Mind with pleasing Sights, as will appear by his Journal, which it seems had the effect that was desired, for he was not much concerned in his Unkles Preservation.

1552. An Order was sent for beheading the Duke of *Somerset* on the 22*d* of *January*, on which day he was brought to the Place of Execution, on *Tower-hill*. His whole deportment was very composed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been: he first kneeled down, and prayed; and then he spake to the People in these words.

The Duke of *Somerset's* Speech at his Execution.

"Dearly beloved Friends, I am brought here to suffer death, albeit "that I never offended against the King neither by word nor deed; and "have been always as faithful and true to this Realm, as any Man hath "been. But, for so much as I am by Law condemned to die, I do ac-"knowledge my self, as well as others, to be subject thereto. Where-"fore, to testifie my obedience which I owe unto the Laws, I am come "hither to suffer death: whereunto I willingly offer my self, with most "hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of Repentance; "who might through sudden death have taken away my Life, that nei-"ther I should have acknowledged him, nor my self. Moreover, there "is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian "Religion; which, so long as I was in Authority, I always diligently "set forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I me of my "doings, but rejoice therein, sith that now the State of Christian Reli-"gion cometh most near unto the Form and Order of the Primitive "Church: which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God both "to you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is "most purely set forth to you, you will with like thankfulness accept and "embrace, and set out the same in your living; which thing if you do "not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.

When

EDWARDUS SEYMERUS SOMERSETI DUX

R: White sculp:

Angliæ Protector, Avunculus, Capite
Edwardi Regis truncatus 22. Jã: 1552.

OY POUR DEVOI

Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in S.^t Pauls Churchyard.

When he had gone so far, there was an extraordinary noise heard, as if some House had been blown up with Gun-powder; which frighted all the People, so that many run away, they knew not for what: and the Relator, who tarried still, says, it brought into his remembrance the astonishment that the Band was in that came to take our Saviour, who thereupon fell backwards to the ground. At the same time Sir *Ant. Brown* came riding towards the Scaffold, and they all hoped he had brought a Pardon; upon which there was a general shouting, *Pardon, Pardon, God save the King*; many throwing up their Caps; by which the Duke might well perceive how dear he was to the People. But as soon as these disorders were over, he made a Sign to them with his Hand to compose themselves, and then went on in his Speech thus. 1551.

"Dearly beloved Friends, there is no such matter here in hand, as you "vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, "whose Ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient to. "Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my "Death; which I am most willing to suffer. And let us now joyn in "Prayer to the Lord for the preservation of the Kings Majesty, unto "whom hitherto I have always shewed my self a most faithful and firm "Subject. I have always been most diligent about his Majesty, in his Af-"fairs both at home and abroad; and no less diligent in seeking the com-"mon Commodity of the whole Realm; (upon this the People cried "out *it was most true*) unto whose Majesty I wish continual health, "with all felicity, and all prosperous success. Moreover, I do wish unto "all his Counsellors, the Grace and Favour of God, whereby they may "rule in all things uprightly with justice: unto whom I exhort you all "in the Lord to shew your selves obedient, as it is your bounden Duty, "under the pain of condemnation; and also most profitable for the pre-"servation and safeguard of the Kings Majesty. Moreover, for as much "as heretofore I have had Affairs with divers Men, and hard it is to please "every Man, therefore if there have been any that have been offended "or injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness; but "especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my Life I have most "grievously offended: and all other whatsoever they be that have offen-"ded me, I do with my whole Heart forgive them. Then he desired "them to be quiet, lest their Tumults might trouble him; and said, Al-"beit the Spirit be willing and ready, the Flesh is frail and wavering; "and through your quietness I shall be much more quieter. Moreover, "I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the Faith of Jesus "Christ, desiring you to help me with your Prayers, that I may persevere "constant in the same to my lives end.

Then Dr. *Cox*, who was with him on the Scaffold, put a Paper in his Hand, which was a Prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his Knees, then he took leave of all about him, and undressed himself to be fitted for the Axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only his Face was a little rudier than ordinary: he continued calling, *Lord Jesus save me*, till the Executioner severed his Head from his Body. His Death,

Thus fell the Duke of *Somerset*: a Person of great Vertues, eminent for Piety, humble, and affable in his greatness, sincere and candid in all his Transactions. He was a better Captain, than a Counsellor: had been oft successful in his undertakings, was always careful of the Poor and And Character.

1551. the Oppressed, and in a word, had as many Vertues, and as few faults, as most great Men, especially when they were so unexpectedly advanced, have ever had. It was generally believed, that all this pretended Conspiracy, upon which he was condemned, was only a forgery. For both *Palmer*, and *Crane*, the chief Witnesses, were soon after discharged, as were also *Bartuile*, and *Hamond*, with all the rest that had been made Prisoners on the pretence of this Plot. And the Duke of *Northumberland* continued after that in so close a friendship with *Palmer*, that it was generally believed he had been corrupted to betray him. And indeed, the not bringing the Witnesses into the Court, but only the Depositions, and the Parties sitting Judges, gave great occasion to condemn the Proceedings against him. For it was generally thought, that all was an Artifice of *Palmers*, who had put the Duke of *Somerset* in fears of his Life, and so got him to gather Men about him for his own preservation; and that he afterwards being taken with him, seemed through fear to acknowledge all that which he had before contrived. This was more confirmed by the death of the other four formerly mentioned, who were executed on the 26*th* of *February*, and did all protest they had never been guilty of any design, either against the King, or to kill the Lords. *Vane* added, That his Blood would make *Northumberland's* Pillow uneasie to him. The People were generally much affected with this Execution; and many threw Handkerchiefs into the Duke of *Somersets* Blood, to preserve it in remembrance of him. One Lady, that met the Duke of *Northumberland* when he was led through the City in Queen *Maries* Reign, shaking one of these Bloody Handkerchiefs, said, Behold the Blood of that worthy Man, that good Unkle of that excellent King, which was shed by thy malicious practise, doth now begin apparently to revenge it self on thee. Sure it is, that *Northumberland*, as having maliciously contrived this, was ever after hated by the People.

But on the other hand, great notice was taken that the Duke of *Norfolk*, (who, with his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, were believed to have fallen in all their misery, by the Duke of *Somersets* means,) did now out-live him, and saw him fall by a Conspiracy of his own Servants, as himself and his Son had done. The Proceeding against his Brother was also remembred, for which many thought the Judgments of God had overtaken him. Others blamed him for being too apt to convert things Sacred to his own use, and because a great part of his Estate was raised out of the Spoils of many Churches: and some late Writers have made an Inference from this, upon his not claiming the Benefit of Clergy, that he was thus left of God not to plead that Benefit, since he had so much invaded the Rights and Revenues of the Church. But in this they shewed their ignorance. For by the Statute, that Felony of which he was found guilty, was not to be purged by Clergy. Those who pleased themselves in comparing the events in their own times, with the Transactions of the former Ages, found out many things to make a parallel between the Duke of *Somerset*, and *Humphrey* the good Duke of Glocester in *Henry* the 6*th's* time; but I shall leave the Reader in that to his own observation.

Now was the Duke of *Northumberland* absolute at Court, all Offices being filled with those that were his Associates. But here I stop to give a general view of Affairs beyond Sea this year, though I have a little transgressed

The Affairs of *Germany*.

greſſed the bounds of it, to give an account of the Duke of *Somerſets* Fall all together. The Siege of *Magdeburg* went on in *Germany*. But it was coldly followed by *Maurice*, who had now other deſigns. He had agreed with the *French* King, who was both to give him aſſiſtance, and to make War on the Emperor, at the ſame time when he ſhould begin. *Ferdinand* was alſo not unwilling to ſee his Brothers greatneſs leſſened; for he was preſſing him, not without threatnings, to lay down his Dignity; as King of the *Romans*, and thought to have eſtabliſhed it on his Son. All the other Princes of *Germany* were alſo oppreſſed by him, ſo that they were diſpoſed to enter into any alliance for the ſhaking off of that Yoke. *Maurice* did alſo ſend over to try the inclinations of *England*; if they would joyn with him, and contribute 400000 Dollars towards the expence of a War, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and recovering the liberty of *Germany*. The Ambaſſadors were only ſent to try the Kings mind, but were not empow'red to conclude any thing. They were ſent back with a good Anſwer, That the King would moſt willingly joyn in alliance with them that were of the ſame Religion with himſelf; but he deſired, that the matter of Religion might be plainly ſet down, leſt under the pretence of that, War ſhould be made for other Quarrels. He deſired them alſo to communicate their deſigns with the other Princes, and then to ſend over others more fully empow'red. *Maurice*, ſeeing ſuch Aſſiſtances ready for him, reſolved, both to break the Emperors deſigns, and by leading on a new League againſt him, to make himſelf more acceptable to the Empire, and thereby to ſecure the Electoral Dignity in his Family. So after *Magdeburg* had endured a long Siege, he, giving a ſecret intimation to ſome Men in whom they confided, perſwaded them about the end of *November* to ſurrender to him; and then broke up his Army: but they fell into the Dominions of ſeveral of the Popiſh Princes, and put them under very heavy Contributions. This alarumed all the Empire, only the Emperor himſelf, by a fatal ſecurity, did not apprehend it, till it came ſo near him, that he was almoſt ruined before he dreamed of any danger. 1551.

This Year the Tranſactions of *Trent* were remarkable. The Pope had called the Council to meet there, and the firſt of *May* this year there was a Seſſion held. There was a War now broken out, between the Pope, and the King of *France*, on this occaſion. The Pope had a mind to have *Parma* in his own Hands, but that Prince, fearing that he would keep it, as the Emperor did *Placentia*, and ſo he ſhould be ruined between them, implored the Protection of *France*, and received a *French* Garriſon for his ſafety. Upon this, the Pope cited him to *Rome*, declaring him a Traitor if he appeared not: and this engaged the Pope in a War with *France*. At firſt he ſent a threatning Meſſage to that King, that if he would not reſtore *Parma* to him, he would take *France* from him. Upon this the King of *France* proteſted againſt the Council of *Trent*, and threatned that he would call a National Council in *France*. The Council was adjourned to the 10*th* of *September*. In the mean while the Emperor preſſed the *Germans* to go to it. So *Maurice*, and the other Princes of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, ordered their Divines to conſider of the matters which they would propoſe to the Council. The Electors of *Mentz* and *Trier* went to *Trent*. But the King of *France* Proceedings at Trent.

1551. ſent the Abbot of *Belloſana* thither, to make a proteſtation, that by reaſon of the War that the Pope had raiſed, he could not ſend his Biſhops to the Council: and that therefore he would not obſerve their Decrees: (for they had declared in *France*, that abſent Churches were not bound to obey the Decrees of a Council: for which many Authorities were cited from the Primitive time.) But at *Trent* they proceeded for all this, and appointed the Articles about the Euchariſt to be firſt examined: and the Preſidents recommended to the Divines, to handle them according to Scripture, Tradition, and Ancient Authors, and to avoid unprofitable curioſities. The *Italian* Divines did not like this. For they ſaid, to argue ſo, was but an Act of the memory, and was an old and inſufficient way, and would give great advantage to the *Lutherans*, who were skilled in the Tongues; but the School-Learning was a myſtical and ſublime way, in which it was eaſier to ſet off or conceal matters as was expedient. But this was done to pleaſe the *Germans*: And, at the ſute of the Emperor, the matter of Communicating in both kinds was poſtponed, till the *German* Divines could be heard. A ſafe Conduct was deſired, by the *Germans*, not only from the Emperor, but from the Council. For at *Conſtance*, *John Huſs*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, were burnt, upon this pretence, that they had not the Councils ſafe conduct; and therefore when the Council of *Baſil* called for the *Bohemians*, they ſent them a ſafe Conduct, beſides that which the Emperor gave them. So the Princes deſired one in the ſame Form that was granted by thoſe of *Baſil*. One was granted by the Council, which in many things differed from that of *Baſil*; particularly in one Clauſe, that all things ſhould be determined according to the Scriptures, which was in that ſafe Conduct of *Baſil*, but was now left out. In *October* an Ambaſſador from the Elector of *Brandenburg* came to *Trent*, who was endeavouring to get his Son ſetled in the Arch-biſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, which made him more compliant. In his firſt Addreſs to the Council, he ſpake of the reſpect his Maſter had to the Fathers in it, without a word of ſubmitting to their Decrees. But in the Anſwer that was made in the Name of the Council, it was ſaid, they were glad he did ſubmit to them, and would obey their Decrees. This being afterwards complained of, it was ſaid, that they anſwered him according to what he ſhould have ſaid, and not according to what he had ſaid. But in the mean while, the Council publiſhed their Decrees about the Euchariſt; in the firſt part of which, they defined, that the way of the Preſence could hardly be expreſſed, and yet they called Tranſubſtantiation a fit term for it. But this might be well enough defended, ſince that was a thing as hard to be either expreſſed or underſtood, as any thing they could have thought on. They went on next to examine Confeſſion, and Penitence. And now, as the Divines handled the matter, they found the gathering Proofs out of Scripture grew endleſs and trifling; for there was not a place in Scripture where *I confeſs* was to be found, but they drew it in to prove Auricular Confeſſion. From that they went on to Extream Unction. But then came the Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Wittenberg*, another Prince of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, and ſhewed their Mandate to the Emperors Ambaſſadors; who deſired them to carry it to the Preſidents; but they refuſed to do that; ſince it was contrary to the Proteſtation, which the Princes of their Confeſſion had made againſt a Council in which the Pope ſhould preſide.

preside. On the 25*th* of *November* they published the Decree of the necessity of Auricular Confession, that so the Priest might thereby know how to proportion the Penance to the sin. It was much censured, to see it defined that Christ had instituted Confession to a Priest, and not shew'd where or how it was instituted. And the reason for it, about the proportioning the Penance, was laughed at, since it was known what slight Penances were universally injoyned to expiate the greatest sins. But the Ambassadors of *Wirtenberg* moving that they might have a safe Conduct for their Divines to come and propose their Doctrine; The Legate answered, that they would not upon any terms enter into any Disputation with them; but if their Divines had any scruple, in which they desired satisfaction, with a humble and obedient mind, they should be heard. And for a safe Conduct, he thought it was a distrusting the Council, to ask any other than what was already granted. Soon after this, there arrived Ambassadors from *Strasburg*, and from other five Cities, and those sent from the Duke of *Saxe* were on their Journey: so the Emperor ordered his Ambassadors to study to gain time till they came; and then an effectual course must be taken for compassing that about which he had laboured so long in vain to bring it to a happy conclusion. And thus this Year ended. 1551.

The Parliament was opened on the 23*d* of *January*, and sate till the 15*th* of *April*. So I shall begin this Year with the account of the Proceedings in it. The first Act that was put into the House of Lords, was for an Order to bring Men to Divine Service; which was agreed to on the 26*th*, and sent down to the Commons, who kept it long before they sent it back. On the 6*th* of *April*, when it was agreed to, the Earl of *Darby*, the Bishops of *Carlisle*, and *Norwich*, and the Lords *Sturton*, and *Windsor*, dissented. The Lords afterwards brought in another Bill, for authorizing a new Common-Prayer-Book, according to the Alterations which had been agreed on the former Year. This the Commons joyned to the former, and so put both in one Act. By it was first set forth, "That an Order of Divine Service being published, many did "wilfully abstain from it, and refused to come to their Parish-Churches; "therefore all are required, after the Feast of *All-hallows* next, to come "every *Sunday* and Holy-day, to Common-Prayers, under pain of the "Censures of the Church. And the King, the Lords Temporal, and "the Commons, did in Gods Name require, all Arch-bishops, Bishops, "and other Ordinaries, to endeavour the due execution of that Act, as "they would answer before God for such Evils and Plagues, with which "he might justly punish them, for neglecting that good and wholesome "Law: and they were fully authorized to execute the Censures of the "Church on all that should offend against this Law. To which is added, "That there had been divers doubts raised about the manner of the Ministration of the Service, rather by the curiosity of the Ministers and Mistakers, than of any other worthy Cause; and that for the better explanation "of that, and for the greater perfection of the Service, in some places, "where it was fit to make the Prayer and fashion of Service more earnest "and fit, to stir Christian People to the true honouring of Almighty God; "therefore it had been by the Command of the King and Parliament perused, explained, and made more perfect. They also annexed to it the "Form 1552.

A Session of Parliament.

An Act authorizing the new Common-Prayer-Book.

1552. "Form of making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and so appointed this "new Book of Service, to be every where received after the Feast of "*All-Saints* next, under the same Penalties that had been enacted three "years before, when the former Book was set out.

Which was much censured.

It was upon this Act said by the Papists, That the Reformation was like to change as oft as the Fashion did; since they seemed never to be at a Point in any thing, but new Models were thus continually framing. To which it was answered, That it was no wonder that the corruptions which they had been introducing for above a thousand years, were not all discovered or thrown out at once; but now the business was brought to a fuller perfection, and they were not like to see any more material Changes. Besides, any that would take the pains to compare the Offices that had been among the Papists, would clearly perceive, that in every Age there was such an encrease of additional Rites and Ceremonies, that though the old ones were still retained, yet it seemed there would be no end of new improvements and additions. Others wondred why the execution of this Law was put off so long as till the end of the Year. All the account I can give of this is, that it was expected that by that time the new Body of the Ecclesiastical Laws, which was now preparing, should be finished; and therefore, since this Act was to be executed by the Clergy; the day, in which it was to be in force, was so long delayed, till that Reformation of their Laws were concluded.

An Act concerning Treasons.

On the 8*th* of *February* a Bill of Treasons was put in, and agreed to by all the Lords, except the Lord *Wentworth*. It was sent down to the Commons, where it was long disputed; and many sharp things were said of those who now bore the sway; that whereas they who governed in the beginning of this Reign had put in a Bill for lessening the number of such offences, now they saw the change of Councils, when severer Laws were proposed. The Commons at last rejected the Bill, and then drew a new one, which was passed. By it they Enacted, "That if "any should call the King, or any of his Heirs named in the Statute of "the 35*th* of his Fathers Reign, Heretick, Schismatick, Tyrant, Infidel, "or Usurper of the Crown; for the first offence they should forfeit "their Goods and Chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the "second, should be in a *Præmunire*; for the third, should be attainted "of Treason: but any who should advisedly set that out in printing or "writing, was for the first offence to be held a Traitor. And that those who "should keep any of the Kings Castles, Artillery, or Ships, six days after they "were lawfully required to deliver them up, should be guilty of Treason: "that Men might be proceeded against for Treasons committed out of "the Kingdom, as well as in it. They added a Proviso, That none "should be Attainted of Treason on this Act, unless two Witnesses "should come, and to their face averr the Fact for which they were to be "tried; except such as without any violence should confess it: and that "none should be questioned for any thing said or written, but within "three Months after it was done.

This Proviso seems clearly to have been made with relation to the Proceeding against the Duke of *Somerset*, in which the Witnesses were not brought to averr the Evidence to his Face, and by that means he was deprived of all the benefit and advantage which he might have had by cross examining them. It is certain, that though some false Witnesses

have practised the Trade so much, that they seem to have laid off all shame, and have a brow that cannot be daunted; yet for the greatest part a bright serenity and cheerfulness attends Innocence, and a lowring dejection betrays the Guilty, when the Innocent and they are confronted together. 1552.

On the 3d of *March* a Bill was brought in to the Lords for Holy-days and Fasting days; and sent down to the Commons on the 15th of *March*, by whom it was passed, and had the Royal Assent. In the Preamble it is set forth, "That Men are not at all times so set on the performance of "Religious Duties as they ought to be; which made it necessary that there "should be set times, in which labour was to cease, that Men might on "these days wholly serve God: which days were not to be accounted "holy of their own nature, but were so called, because of the Holy "Duties then to be set about; so that the Sanctification of them (was "not any Magical Vertue in that time, but) consisted in the dedicating "them to Gods Service: that no day was dedicated to any Saint; but "only to God, in remembrance of such Saints: that the Scripture had "not determined the number of Holy-days, but that these were left to "the liberty of the Church. Therefore they Enact, That all *Sundays*, "with the days marked in the Calendar and Liturgy, should be kept as "Holy-days: and the Bishops were to proceed by the Censures of the "Church against the disobedient. A Proviso was added for the observation of St. *George*'s Feast by the Knights of the Garter; and another, That Labourers or Fisher-men might, if need so required, work on those days either in or out of Harvest. The Eves before Holy-days were to be kept as Fasts; and in *Lent*, and on *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, abstinence from Flesh was Enacted: but if a Holy-day fell to be on a *Munday*, the Eve for it was to be kept on *Saturday*, since *Sunday* was never to be a Fasting-day. But it was generally observed, that in this and all such Acts, the People were ready enough to lay hold on any relaxation made by it, but did very slightly observe the stricter parts of it: so that the liberty left to Trades-men to work in cases of necessity, was carried further than it was intended, to a too publick profanation of the time so sanctified; and the other parts of it, directing the People to a conscientious observing of such times, was little minded.

An Act about Fasts and Holy-days.

On the 5th of *March*, a Bill concerning the relief of the Poor was put into the House of Lords: the Form of passing it has given occasion to some to take notice, that though it is a Bill for taxing the Subjects; yet it had its first birth in the Lords House, and was agreed to by the Commons. By it the Church-wardens were empow'red to gather charitable Collections for the Poor; and if any did refuse to contribute, or did disswade others from it, the Bishop of the Diocess was to proceed against them. On the 9th of *March* the Bishops put in a Bill for the security of the Clergy from some ambiguous words that were in the submission which the Convocation had made to King *Henry* in the 21st year of his Reign: by which they were under a *Præmunire*, if they did any things in their Courts contrary to the Kings Prerogative; which was thought hard, since some through ignorance might transgress. Therefore it was desired, that no Prelate should be brought under a *Præmunire*, unless they had proceeded in any thing after they were prohibited by the Kings Writ. To this the Lords consented, but it was let fall by the Commons.

1552. An Act for the Marriage of the Clergy.

There was another Act brought in for the Marriage of the Clergy, which was agreed to by the Lords; the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Rutland*, and *Bath*, and the Lords *Abergaveny*, *Stourton*, *Mounteagle*, *Sands*, *Windsor*, and *Wharton*, protesting against it. The Commons also passed it, and it was assented to by the King. By it was set forth, "That many took "occasion from words in the Act formerly made about this matter, to "say, that it was only permitted, as Usury and other unlawful things "were, for the avoiding greater evils; who thereupon spake slande-"rously of such Marriages, and accounted the Children begotten in "them to be Bastards; to the high dishonour of the King, and Parlia-"ment, and the Learned Clergy of the Realm, who had determined, "that the Laws against Priests Marriages were most unlawful by the "Law of God; to which they had not only given their Assent in the "Convocation, but Signed it with all their Hands. These slanders did "also occasion, that the Word of God was not heard with due reve-"rence: whereupon it was Enacted, That such Marriages, made accor-"ding to the Rules prescribed in the Book of Service, should be esteem-"ed good and valid, and that the Children begot in them should be in-"heritable according to Law.

The Marquess of *Northampton* did also put in a Bill for confirming his Marriage, which was passed: only the Earl of *Darby*, the Bishops of *Carlisle*, and *Norwich*, and the Lord *Stourton* dissented. By it, the Mar-"riage is declared lawful, as by the Law of God indeed it was; any De-"cretal, Canon, Ecclesiastical Law, or usage to the contrary notwith-"standing. This occasioned another Act, That no Man might put away his Wife, and marry another, unless he were formerly divorced; to which the Bishop of *Norwich* dissented; because he was of opinion, that a Divorce did not break the Marriage-Bond. But this Bill fell in the House of Commons, being thought not necessary, for the Laws were already severe enough against such double Marriages.

By another Act, the Bishoprick of *Westminster* was quite suppressed, and re-united to the See of *London*: but the Collegiate Church, with its exempted Jurisdiction, was still continued. Another Bill was put in against Usury; which was sent from the Lords to the Commons, and passed by both, and assented to. By it, an Act passed in Parliament in the 37*th* year of the late Kings Reign, "That none might take above 20 "*per Cent.* for Money lent, was repealed; which, they say, was not inten-"ded for the allowing of Usury, but for preventing further inconvenien-"ces: and since Usury was by the Word of God forbidden, and set out in "divers places of Scripture as a most odious and detestable vice; which "yet many continued to practise, for the filthy gain they made by it; "therefore from the first of *May* all Usury or gain for Money lent, was to "cease: and whosoever continued to practise to the contrary, were to suf-"fer imprisonment, and to be fined at the Kings pleasure.

An Act against Usury.

This Act has been since repealed, and the gain for Money lent has been at several times brought to several regulations. It was much questioned, whether these Prohibitions of Usury by *Moses* were not judicial Laws, which did only bind the Nation of the *Jews*; whose Land being equally divided among the Families by Lot, the making gain by lending Money was forbid to them of that Nation: yet it did not seem to be a thing of its nature sinful, since they might take encrease of a Stranger. The not

lending

lending Money on ufe was more convenient for that Nation; which a- 1552.
bounding in People, and being fhut up in a narrow Country, they were neceffarily to apply themfelves to all the ways of Induftry for their fubfiftence; fo that every one was, by that Law of not lending upon ufe, forced to emply his Money in the way of Trade or Manufacture, for which they were fure to have vent, fince they lay near *Tyre* and *Sidon*, that were then the chief Places of Traffick and Navigation of the World: and without fuch Induftry the Soil of *Judea* could not poffibly have fed fuch vaft numbers as lived on it: So that it feemed clear that this Law in the Old Teftament properly belonged to that policy. Yet it came to be looked on by many Chriftians as a Law of perpetual obligation. It came alfo to be made a part of the Canon Law; and Abfolution could not be given to the breakers of it, without a fpecial faculty from *Rome*. But for avoiding the feverity of the Law, the invention of Mortgages was fallen on; which at firft, were only Purchafes made, and let back to the owner, for fuch Rent as the ufe of the Money came to: fo that the ufe was taken as the Rent of the Land thus bought. And thofe who had no Land to fell thus, fell upon another way: The Borrower bought their Goods, to be payed within a Year, (for inftance an hundred and ten Pound) and fold them back, for a Sum to be prefently laid down as they fhould agree, (it may be a hundred Pound;) by this means the one had a hundred Pound in hand, and the other was to have ten Pound or more at a years end. But this being in the way of Sale, was not called Ufury. This Law was look'd on as impoffible to be obferved in a Country, like *England*: and it could not eafily appear where the immorality lay, of lending Money upon moderate gain, fuch as held proportion to the value of Land; provided that the perpetual Rule of Chriftian Equity and Charity were obferved, which is, not to exact above the proportion duly limited by the Law, and to be merciful in not exacting feverely of Perfons who by inevitable accidents have been difabled from making payment. This digreffion I thought the more neceffary, becaufe of the fcruples that many good and ftrict Perfons have ftill in that matter.

Another Act paffed both Houfes, againft all Simoniacal Pactions, the refervation of Penfions out of Benefices, and the granting Advowfons while the Incumbent was yet alive. It was agreed to by the Lords, the Earls of *Derby*, *Rutland*, and *Suffex*, the Vifcount *Hereford*, and the Lords *Mounteagle*, *Sands*, *Wharton*, and *Evers*, diffenting. But upon what reafon I do not know, the Bill was not affented to by the King; who being then fick, there was a Collection made of the Titles of the Bills which were to have the Royal Affent, and thofe the King Signed, and gave Commiffion to fome Lords to pafs them in his Name. Thefe abufes have been oft complained of, but there have been ftill new contrivances found out, to elude all Laws againft Simony: either bargains being made by the Friends of the Parties concerned without their exprefs knowledge; or Bonds of Refignation given, by which Incumbents lie at the mercy of their Patrons, and in thefe, the faultinefs of fome Clergy-men, is made the colour of impofing fuch hard terms upon others, and of robbing the Church oftentimes by that means.

A Bill againft Simony.

1552.

A Repeal of the Entail of the Duke of Somersets Estate.

There was a private Bill put in, about the Duke of *Somersets* Estate, which had been by Act of Parliament entailed on his Son in the 23d Year of the last Kings Reign. On the third of *March* it was sent to the House of Commons, Signed by the King, it was for the Repeal of that Act. Whether the King was so alienated from his Unkle, that this extraordinary thing was done by him for the utter ruine of his Family, or not, I cannot determine: but I rather incline to think it was done in hatred to the Dutchess of *Somerset* and her Issue. For the Estate was entailed on them by that Act of Parliament, in prejudice of the Issue of the former Marriage, of whom are descended the *Seimours* of *Devon-shire*; who were disinherited and excluded from the Duke of *Somersets* Honours by his Patents, and from his Estate by Act of Parliament; partly upon some jealousies he had of his former Wife, but chiefly by the power his second Wife had over him. This Bill of Repeal was much opposed in the House, though sent to them in so unusual a way, by the King himself. And though there was on the 8*th* of *March* a Message sent from the Lords, that they should make hast towards an end of the Parliament, yet still they stuck long upon it; looking on the breaking of Entails that were made by Act of Parliament, as a thing of such consequence, that it dissolved the greatest security that the Law of *England* gives for property. It was long argued by the Commons, and was fifteen several days brought in. At last a new Bill was devised, and that was much altered too: it was not quite ended till the day before the Parliament was dissolved. But near the end of the Session, a Proviso was sent from the Lords, to be added to the Bill, confirming the Attainder of the Duke and his Complices. It seems his Enemies would not try this at first, till they had by other things measured their strength in that House; and finding their interest grew there, they adventured on it; but they mistook their measures, for the Commons would not agree to it. In conclusion, the Bill of Repeal was agreed to. But whereas there had been some Writings for a Marriage between the Earl of *Oxfords* Daughter and the Duke of *Somersets* Son, and a Bill was put in for voiding these; upon a division of the House the 28*th* of *March* there were sixty eight that agreed, and sixty nine that rejected it, so this Bill was cast out. By this we see what a thin House of Commons there was at that time, the whole being but 137 Members. But this was a natural effect of a long Parliament: many of those who were at first chosen, being infirm; and others not willing to put themselves to the charge and trouble of such constant and long attendance. It is also from hence clear, how great an interest the Duke of *Somerset* had in the affections of the Parliament.

The Commons refuse to attaint the Bishop of *Duresme* by Bill.

Another Bill gave a more evident discovery how hateful the Duke of *Northumberland* was to them. The Bishop of *Duresme* was, upon some complaint brought against him of misprision of Treason, put into the *Tower* about the end of *December* last year. What the Particulars were I do not find; but it was visible that the secret reason was, that he being Attainted, the Duke of *Northumberland* intended to have had the Dignities and Jurisdiction of that Principality conferred on himself: so that he should have been made Count Palatine of *Duresme*. *Tonstall* had in all Points given obedience to every Law, and to all the Injunctions that had been made: but had always in Parliament protested against the

changes

changes in Religion; which he thought he might with a good Conscience submit to and obey; though he could not consent to them. Only in the matter of the Corporal Presence; he was still of the old Perswasion, and writ about it. But the *Latine* Stile of his Book is much better than the Divinity and Reasonings in it. So what he would have done, if he had been required to subscribe the Articles, that were now agreed on, did not appear, for he was all this while Prisoner. There was a constant good correspondence between *Cranmer* and him: Though in many things they differed in opinion; yet *Tonstall* was both a Man of candor, and of great moderation, which agreed so well with *Cranmers* temper, that no wonder they lived always in good terms. So when the Bill for Attainting him as guilty of Misprision of Treason was passed in the House of Lords, on the 31*st* of *March*, being put in on the 28*th*, *Cranmer* spake so freely against it, that the Duke of *Northumberland* and he were never after that in friendship together. What his Arguments were, I could not recover; but when he could do no more, he protested against it, being seconded only by the Lord *Stourton*. How it came to pass that the other Popish Lords and Bishops that protested against the other Acts of this Parliament, did not joyn in this, I cannot imagine: unless it was, that they were the less concerned for *Tonstall*, because *Cranmer* had appeared to be so much his friend, or were awed by their fear of offending the Duke of *Northumberland*. But when the Bill was carried down to the Commons, with the Evidences against him, which were some Depositions that had been taken, and brought to the Lords; they who were resolved to condemn that practise for the future, would not proceed upon it now. So on the fifth of *April* they ordered the Privy-Counsellors of their House, to move the Lords, that his Accusers and he might be heard face to face: and that not being done, they went no further in the Bill.

1552.

By these Indications the Duke of *Northumberland* saw how little kindness the House of Commons had for him. The Parliament had now sate almost five years, and being called by the Duke of *Somerset*, his Friends had been generally chose to be of it. So that it was no wonder, if upon his Fall they were not easie to those who had destroyed him: nor was there any motion made for their giving the King a Supply. Therefore the Duke of *Northumberland* thought it necessary for his Interest to call a new Parliament. And accordingly on the 15*th* of *April* the Parliament was dissolved; and it was resolved to spend this Summer in making Friends all over *England*, and to have a new Parliament in the opening of the next Year.

The Parliament is Dissolved.

The Convocation at this time agreed to the Articles of Religion that were prepared the last Year: which, though they have been often printed, yet since they are but short, and of so great consequence to this History, I have put them into the Collection, as was formerly told.

Thus the Reformation of Doctrine and Worship were brought to their perfection; and were not after this in a tittle mended or altered in this Reign, nor much afterwards; only some of the Articles were put in more general words under Queen *Elizabeth*.

Another part of the Reformation was yet unfinished, and it was the chief work of this year: that was, the giving Rules to the Ecclesiastical Courts, and for all things relating to the Government of the Church, and

A Reformation of Ecclesiastical Courts considered.

1552. and the exercise of the several Functions in it. In the former Volume it was told, that an Act had passed for this effect; yet it had not taken effect, but a Commission was made upon it, aud these appointed by King *Henry* had met and consulted about it, and had made some progress in it, as appears by an Original Letter of *Cranmers* to that King in the Year 1545. in which he speaks of it as a thing then almost forgotten, and quite laid aside; for from the time of the six Articles till then, the design of the Reformation had been going backward: At that time the King began to re-assume the thoughts of it, and was resolved to remove some Ceremonies, such as the creeping to the Cross, the ringing of Bells on St. *Andrews* Eve, with other superstitious Practises; for which *Cranmer* sent him the draught of a Letter to be written in the Kings Name, to the two Arch-bishops, and to be by them communicated to the rest of the Clergy. In the Postscript of his Letter he complains much of the sacrilegious wast of the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, where the Dean and Prebendaries had been made to alienate many of their Mannours upon Letters obtained by Courtiers from the King, as if the Lands had been desired for the Kings use: upon which they had surrendred those Lands, which were thereupon disposed of to the Courtiers that had an Eye upon them. This Letter should have come in in the former Volume, but I had not seen it then, so I took hold on this Occasion to direct the Reader to it in the *Collection*.

Collection Number 61.

It was also formerly told, that an Act had passed in this Reign, to empower thirty two Persons, who should be named by the King, to make a Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws, which was to be finished within three years. But the revolutions of Affairs, and the other more pressing things that were still uncompleated, had kept them hitherto from setting to that work. On the first of *November* last year, a Commission was given to eight Persons to prepare the matter for the review of the two and thirty, that so it might be more easily compiled, being in a few hands, than could well be done, if so many had been to set about it. These eight were, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Cox*, and *Peter Martyr*, two Divines, Dr. *May*, and Dr. *Taylor*, two Doctors of the Law, and *John Lucas*, and *Richard Goodrick*, two Common Lawyers. But on the 14*th* of *November* the Commission was renewed, and the Bishop of *London* was named in the room of the Bishop of *Ely*; one *Traheron* in the room of *May*; and *Gosnald* in *Goodrick's* room. These, it seems, desiring more time than one year to finish it in, for two of the years were now lapsed, in the last Session of the Parliament they had three years more time offered them. But it seems the Work was believed to be in such a forwardness, that this continuation was not judged necessary, for the Royal Assent was not given to that Act. After the Parliament was ended, they made hast with it. But I find it said in the Preface to the Book, as it was printed in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, that *Cranmer* did the whole Work almost himself: which will justifie the Character some give of him, that he was the greatest Canonist then in *England*. Dr. *Haddon*, that was University Orator in *Cambridge*, and Sir *Jo. Cheek*, were employed to put it in *Latine* And they did so imitate the Stile of the *Roman* Laws, that any who reads the Book, will fancy himself to be reading a Work of the purer Ages of that State, when their Language was not yet corrupted with

these barbarous terms which the mixture of other Nations brought in, and made it no where more nauseously rude than in the Canon Law. 1552.

The Work was digested and cast into fifty one Titles: to bring it near the Number of the Books of the Pandects, into which *Justinian* had digested the *Roman* Law. It was prepared by *February* this year, and a Commission was granted to thirty two Persons, of whom the former eight were a part: consisting of eight Bishops, eight Divines, among whom *John a Lasco* was one, eight Civilians, and eight Common Lawyers. They were to revise, correct, and perfect the Work, and so to present it to the King. They divided themselves into four Classes, eight to a Classis; and every one of these were to prepare their Corrections, and so to communicate them to the rest. And thus was the Work carried on, and finished; but before it received the Royal Confirmation, the King died, and this fell with him: nor do I find it was ever since that time taken up, or prosecuted, with the care that a thing of such consequence deserved: and therefore I shall not think it improper for me, having before shewed what was done, in the next place to give an account of what was then intended to be done; and is now very fit to be well considered.

The first Title was of the Trinity, and the Catholick Faith; in which those who denied the Christian Religion were to suffer death, and the loss of their Goods. The Books of Scripture were numbred, these called *Apocryphal* being left out of the Canon; which, though they were read in the Church, it was only for the edification of the People, but not for the proof of the Doctrine. The power of the Church was subjected to the Scriptures: The four General Councils were received; but all Councils were to be examined by the Scripture; as were also the Writings of the Fathers, who were to be much reverenced, but according to what themselves have written, they were only to be submitted to when they agreed with the Scriptures. The Chief Heads of it.

The second Title contains an enumeration of many Heresies, *viz.* against the Trinity, Jesus Christ, the Scriptures, about Original sin, Justification, the Mass, Purgatory; and censured those who denied Magistracy to be lawful, or asserted the Community of Goods, or Wives; or who denied the Pastoral Office, and thought any might assume it at pleasure; or who thought the Sacraments naked Signs, who denied the Baptism of Infants, or thought none could possibly be saved that were not Baptized; or who asserted Transubstantiation, or denied the lawfulness of Marriage, particularly in the Clergy; or who asserted the Popes Power; or such as excused their ill Lives by the pretence of Predestination, as many wicked Men did: from which and other Heresies all are disswaded, and earnestly exhorted to endeavour the extirpation of them.

The third was about the Judgments of Heresie before the Bishop of the Diocess, even in exempted Places. They were to proceed by Witnesses; but the Party, upon fame, might be required to purge himself: if he repented, he was to make publick profession of it in those places where he had spread it; and to renounce his Heresie, swearing never to return to it any more: but obstinate Hereticks were to be declared infamous, incapable of publick Trust, or to be Witnesses in any Court, or to have power to make a Testament, and were not to have the benefit

of

1552. of the Law: Clergy-men falling into Heresie were not to return to their Benefices, unless the Circumstances were such that they required it; and thus all Capital Proceedings for Heresie were laid down.

The fourth was about Blasphemy, flowing from hatred or rage against God, which was to be punished as obstinate Heresie was.

The fifth was about the Sacraments of Baptism, and the Lords Supper. To which is added, that Imposition of Hands is to be retained in the Ordination of Pastors; that Marriages are to be solemnly made; that those who renew their Baptismal Vow, be confirmed by the Bishop: and that the Sick should be visited by their Pastors.

The sixth was about Idolatry, Magick, Witchcraft, or consulting with Conjurers; who were to be arbitrarily punished, if they submitted; otherwise, to be excommunicated.

The seventh was about Preachers; whom the Bishops were to examine carefully, before they licensed them; and were once a year to gather together all those who were licensed in their Diocesses, to know of them the true state of their Flock; what Vices abounded, and what Remedies were most proper. Those who refused to hear Sermons, or did make disturbance in them, were to be separated from the Communion. It seems it was designed, that there should be in every Diocess, some who should go round a Precinct, and Preach like *Evangelists*, as some then called them.

The eighth was about Marriage; which was to be after asking Banes, three *Sundays*, or Holy-days. Those who were married in any other Form, than that in the Book of Service, were not to be esteemed lawfully married: those who corrupted Virgins, were to be excommunicated, if they did not marry them; or if that could not be done, they were to give them the third part of their Goods, besides other arbitrary punishments. Marriages made without the consent of Parents or Guardians, were declared null. Then follow the things that may void Marriages; they are left free to all: Poligamy is forbid, Marriages made by force are declared void, Mothers are required to suckle their Children.

The ninth is about the Degrees of Marriage. All these in the Levitical Law, or those that are reciprocal to them, are forbidden: but Spiritual Kindred was not to hinder Marriage, since there was nothing in Scripture about it, nor was there any good reason for it.

The tenth was about Adultery. A Clergy-man guilty of it was to forfeit all his Goods and Estate to his Wife, and Children; or if he had none, to the Poor, or some pious use; and to lose his Benefice, and be either banished, or imprisoned during Life. A Lay-man was to restore his Wives Portion, and to give her the half of his Goods, and be imprisoned, or banished, during Life. Wives that were guilty, were to be in like manner punished. But the Innocent Party might marry again; yet such were rather exhorted, if they saw hope of amendment, to be reconciled to the offending Party. No Marriage was to be dissolved without a Sentence of Divorce. Desertion, long Absence, Capital Enmities where either Party was in hazard of their Life, or the constant perverseness or fierceness of a Husband against his Wife, might induce a Divorce: but little Quarrels might not do it; nor a perpetual Disease,

Relief

Relief in such a Misery being one of the Ends of Marriage. But all separation from Bed and Board, except during a Trial, was to be taken away. 1552.

The 11th was about Admission to Ecclesiastical Benefices. Patrons were to consider, the choice of the Person was trusted to them, but was not to be abused to any sacrilegious or base ends: if they did otherwise, they were to lose their right for that time. Benefices were not to be given, or promised, before they were void; nor let lie destitute above six Months, otherwise they were to devolve to the Bishop. Clergy-men before their Ordination were to be examined by the Arch-deacons, with such other Triers as the Bishop should appoint to be assistant to them: and the Bishop himself was to try them, since this was one of the chief things, upon which the happiness of the Church depended. The Candidate was to give an Oath to answer sincerely, upon which he was to be examined about his Doctrine, chiefly of the whole Points of the Catechisme, if he understood them aright: and what knowledge he had of the Scriptures: they were to search him well whether he held Heretical Opinions: None was to be admitted to more Cures than one; and all Priviledges for Pluralities were for ever to cease: nor was any to be absent from his Cure except for a time, and a just cause, of which he was to satisfie his Ordinary. The Bishops were to take great care to allow no absence longer than was necessary: every one was to enter upon his Cure within two Months after he was Instituted by the Bishop. Prebendaries who had no particular Cure, were to preach in the Churches adjacent to them. Bastards might not be admitted to Orders, unless they had eminent Qualities. But the Bastards of Patrons were upon no account to be received, if presented by them. Other bodily defects, unless such as did much disable them, or made them very contemptible, were not to be a barr to any. Beside the Sponsions in the Office of Ordination, they were to swear that they had made no agreement to obtain the Benefice to which they were presented, and that if they come to know of any made by others on their account, they should signifie it to the Bishop; and that they should not do any thing to the prejudice of their Church.

The 12th and 13th were about the renouncing or changing of Benefices.

The 14th was about purgation upon common fame, or when one was accused for any crime, which was proved incompleatly, and only by presumptions. The Ecclesiastical Courts might not re-examine any thing that was proved in any Civil Court, but upon a high scandal a Bishop might require a Man to purge himself, otherwise to separate him from Holy things. The Form of a Purgation was, to swear himself innocent; and he was also to have four Compurgators of his own Rank, who were to swear, that they believed he swore true: upon which the Judge was to restore him to his Fame. Any that were under suspicion of a Crime, might by the Judge be required to avoid all the occasions from which the suspition had risen: But all superstitious Purgations were to be rejected.

The 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th, were about Dilapidations, the Letting of the Goods of the Church, the confirming the former Rules of Election in Cathedrals or Colledges, and the Collation of Bene-

1552. fices. And there was to be a Purgation of Simony, as there should be occasion for it.

The 19*th* was about Divine Offices. In the Mornings on Holy-days, the Common-Prayer was to be used, with the Communion-Service joyned to it. In Cathedrals, there was to be Communion every *Sunday* and Holy-day; where the Bishop, the Dean, and the Prebendaries, and all maintained by that Church, were to be present. There was no Sermon to be in Cathedrals in the Morning, lest that might draw any from the Parish Churches; but only in the Afternoons. In the Anthems, all Figured Musick, by which the Hearers could not understand what they sung, was to be taken away. In Parish Churches, there were only to be Sermons in the Morning; but none in the Afternoon, except in great Parishes. All who were to receive the Sacrament, were to come the day before, and inform the Minister of it; who was to examine their Consciences, and their Belief. On Holy-days in the Afternoon, the Catechism was to be explained for an hour. After the Evening-Prayers, the Poor were to be looked to; and such as had given open scandal were to be examined, and publick Penitence was to be enjoyned them: and the Minister, with some of the Ancients of the Parish, were to commune together about the state of the People in it: that if any carried themselves indecently, they might be first charitably admonished; and, if that did not prevail, subjected to severer Censures: but none were to be excommunicated, without the Bishop were first informed, and had consented to it. Divine Offices were not to be performed in Chappels, or private Houses, lest the Churches should under that pretence be neglected, and Errors more easily disseminated; excepting only the Houses of Peers and Persons of great Quality, who had numerous Families; but in these, all things were to be done according to the Book of Common-Prayer.

The 20*th* was about those that bore Office in the Church; Sextons, Church-wardens, Deacons, Priests, and Rural Deans. This last was to be a Yearly Office: he that was named to it by the Bishop, being to watch over the manners of the Clergy and People in his Precinct, was to signifie the Bishops pleasure to them, and to give the Bishop an account of his Precinct every sixth Month. The Arch-deacons were to be general Visitors over the Rural Deans. In every Cathedral, one of the Prebendaries, or one procured by them, was thrice a week to expound some part of the Scriptures. The Bishops were to be over all, and to remember that their Authority was given to them for that end, that many might be brought to Christ, and that such as had gone astray might be restored by Repentance. To the Bishop all were to give obedience according to the Word of God. The Bishop was to preach often in his Church; was to Ordain none for Rewards, or rashly; was to provide good Pastors, and to deprive bad ones: he was to visit his Diocess every third year, or oftener as he saw cause; but then he was to do it at his own charge: he was to have yearly Synods, and to confirm such as were well instructed. His Family was to consist of Clergy-men, whom he should bring up to the Service of the Church; (so was St. *Austins*, and other Ancient Bishops Families constituted.) This being a great means to supply the great want of good and faithful Ministers. Their Wives and Children were also to avoid all levity or vain dressing. They were

never

never to be absent from their Diocesses, but upon a publick and urgent cause: and when then grew sick or infirm, they were to have Coadjutors. If they became scandalous or heretical, they were to be deprived by the Kings Authority. The Arch-bishops were to exercise the Episcopal Function in their Diocess; and were once to visit their whole Province, and to oversee the Bishops, to admonish them for what was amiss, and to receive and judge Appeals, to call Provincial Synods upon any great occasion, having obtained Warrant from the King for it. Every Bishop was to have a Synod of his Clergy some time in *Lent*, so that they might all return home before *Palm-Sunday*. They were to begin with the Letany, a Sermon, and a Communion; then all were to withdraw into some private place, where they were to give the Bishop an account of the State of the Diocess, and to consult of what required advice; every Priest was to deliver his opinion, and the Bishop was to deliver his Sentence, and to bring matters to as speedy a Conclusion as might be; and all were to submit to him, or to appeal to the Arch-bishop. 1552.

The 21*st*, 22*d*, 23*d*, 24*th*, 25*th*, 26*th*, 27*th*, 28*th*, and 29*th* Titles are about Church-wardens, Universities, Tithes, Visitations, Testaments, Ecclesiastical Censures, Suspension, Sequestration, Deprivation.

The 30*th* is about Excommunication, of which, as being the chief Ecclesiastical Censure, I shall set down their Scheme the more fully.

Their design concerning the use of Excommunication.

Excommunication they reckon an Authority given of God to the Church, for removing scandalous or corrupt Persons, from the use of the Sacraments, or fellowship of Christians, till they give clear signs of their repentance, and submit to such Spiritual punishments, by which the Flesh may be subdued, and the Spirit saved. This was trusted to Churchmen, but chiefly, to Arch-bishops, Bishops, Arch-deacons, Deans, and any other appointed for it by the Church. None ought to be excommunicated but for their obstinacy in great faults; but it was never to be gone about rashly; and therefore the Judge who was to give it, was to have a Justice of Peace with him, and the Minister of the Parish where the Party lived, with two or three learned Presbyters, in whose Presence the matter was to be examined, and Sentence pronounced, which was to be put in writing. It was to be intimated in the Parish where the Party lived, and in the neighbouring Parishes, that all Persons might be warned to avoid the company of him that was under Excommunication: and the Minister was to declare what the nature and consequences of Exmunication were, the Person so censured being cut off from the Body of Christ: after that, none was to eat, or drink, or keep company with him, but those of his own Family: whosoever did otherwise, if being admonished they continued in it, were also to be Excommunicated. If the Person censured continued forty days without expressing any repentance, it was to be certified into the *Chancery*, and a Writ was to issue for taking and keeping him in Prison, till he should become sensible of his offences; and when he did confess these, and submitted to such punishments as should be enjoyned, the Sentence was to be taken off, and the Person publickly reconciled to the Church. And this was to take place against those, who, being condemned for capital Offences, obtained the Kings Pardon, but were notwithstanding to be subject to Church-censures.

1552. Then follows the Office of receiving Penitents. They were first to stand without the Church, and desire to be again received into it, and so to be brought in: the Minister was to declare to the People the hainousness of sin, and the mercies of God in the Gospel, in a long Discourse, of which the Form is there prescribed: Then he was to shew the People, that as they were to abhor hard'ned sinners, so they were to receive with the Bowels of true Charity, all sincere Penitents: he was next to warn the Person, not to mock God, and deceive the People, by a feigned Confession; he was thereupon to repeat, first a general Confession, and then more particularly to name his sin, and to pray to God for mercy to himself, and that none by his ill example might be defiled; and finally to beseech them all to forgive him, and to receive him again into their Fellowship: Then the Minister was to ask the People, whether they would grant his desires, who were to answer, they would: Then the Pastor was to lay his Hand on his Head, and to absolve him from the punishment of his offences, and the bond of Excommunication; and so to restore him to his place in the Church of God. Then he was to lead him to the Communion-Table, and there to offer up a Prayer of Thanksgiving to God for reclaiming that sinner. For the other Titles they relate to the other parts of the Law of those Courts, for which I refer the Reader to the Book it self.

How far any of those things, chiefly the last about Excommunication, may be yet brought into the Church, I leave to the Consultations of the Governors of it, and of the two Houses of Parliament. It cannot be denied, that Vice and Immorality, together with much impiety, have over-run the Nation; and though the charge of this is commonly cast on the Clergy, who certainly have been in too many places wanting to their duty; yet on the other hand, they have so little power, or none at all, by Law, to censure even the most publick sins, that the blame of this great defect ought to lie more universally on the whole Body of the Nation, that have not made effectual provision for the restraining of vice, the making ill Men ashamed of their ways, and the driving them from the Holy Mysteries, till they change their course of Life.

A Project for relieving the Clergy reduced to great Poverty.

There was another thing proposed this Year for the correcting the great disorders of Clergy-men, which were occasioned by the extream misery and poverty to which they were reduced. There were some motions made about it in Parliament, but they took not effect: so one writ a Book concerning it, which he dedicated to the Lord Chancellor, then the Bishop of *Ely*. He shewed, that without Rewards or Encouragements few would apply themselves to the Pastoral Function, and that those in it, if they could not subsist by it, must turn to other employments: so that at that time, many Clergy-men were Carpenters, and Taylors, and some kept Ale-houses. It was a reproach on the Nation, that there had been so profuse a zeal for superstition, and so much coldness in true Religion. He complains of many of the Clergy who did not maintain Students at the Universities according to the Kings Injunctions; and that in Schools, and Colledges, the poor Scholars Places were generally filled with the Sons of the Rich; and that Livings were most scandalously sold; and the greatest part of the Country-Clergy were so ignorant, that they could do little more than read. But there was no hope of doing any thing effectually for redressing so great a calamity,

calamity, till the King ſhould be of Age himſelf to ſet forward 1552.
ſuch Laws as might again recover a competent maintenance for the Clergy.

Heath and Day turned out of their Biſhopricks.

This Year, both *Heath* of *Worceſter*, and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, were put out of their Biſhopricks. For *Heath*, it has been already ſaid, that he was put in priſon for refuſing to conſent to the Book of Ordinations. But for *Day*, whether he refuſed to ſubmit to the new Book, or fell into other tranſgreſſions, I do not know. Both theſe were afterwards deprived, not by any Court conſiſting of Church-men, but by Secular Delegates, of whom three were Civilians, and three Common Lawyers, as King *Edwards* Journal informs us. *Dayes* Sentence is ſomething ambiguouſly expreſſed, in the Patent that *Scory* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had to ſucceed him; which bears date the 24*th* of *May*, and mentions his being put there in the room of *George* late Biſhop of that See, who had been deprived or removed from it: In *June* following, upon *Hollbeach* Biſhop of *Lincoln's* death, *Taylour*, that had been Dean of *Lincoln*, was made Biſhop. This Year the Biſhoprick of *Gloceſter* was quite ſuppreſſed, and converted into an exempted Arch-deaconry; and *Hooper* was made Biſhop of *Worceſter*. In the *December* before, *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter* had been united, by reaſon of their Voicinage, and their great poverty, and that they were not very populous: ſo they were to be for ever after one Biſhoprick with two Titles, as *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and *Bath* and *Wells* were; and *Hooper* was made Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*. But now they were put into another method, and the Biſhop was to be called only Biſhop of *Worceſter*. In all the vacancies of Sees, there were a great many of their beſt Lands taken from them: and the Sees that before had been profuſely enriched, were now brought to ſo low a condition, that it was ſcarce poſſible for the Biſhops to ſubſiſt: and yet, if what was ſo taken from them had been converted to good uſes, to the bettering the condition of the poor Clergy over *England*, it had been ſome mitigation of ſo hainous a Robbery; but theſe Lands were ſnatched up by every hungry Courtier, who found this to be the eaſieſt way to be ſatisfied in their pretenſions: and the World had been ſo poſſeſſed with the opinion of their exceſſive Wealth, that it was thought they never could be made poor enough.

The Affairs of Ireland.

This Year a Paſſage fell out, relating to *Ireland*, which will give me occaſion to look over to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Kings of *England* had formerly contented themſelves with the Title of Lords of *Ireland*: which King *Henry* the 8*th*, in the 33*d* Year of his Reign, had in a Parliament there, changed into the Title of a Kingdom. But no ſpecial Crown or Coronation was appointed, ſince it was to follow the Crown of *England*. The Popes and the Emperors have pretended, that the conferring Titles of Sovereign Dignity belonged to them. The Pope derived his claim from what our Saviour ſaid, *That all Power in Heaven and in Earth was given to him*, and by conſequence to his Vicar. The Emperors, as being a dead ſhadow of the *Roman* Empire, which Title, with the deſignation of *Cæſar*, they ſtill continued to uſe, and pretended, that as the *Roman* Emperors did anciently make Kings, ſo they had ſtill the ſame right: though becauſe thoſe Emperors made Kings in the Countreys which were theirs by Conqueſt, it was an odd ſtretch to infer, that thoſe who retained nothing of their Empire, but the Name,

1552. should therefore make Kings in Countries that belonged not to them: and it is certain, that every entire or independent Crown or State may make for or within it self what Titles they please. But the Authority the Crown of *England* had in *Ireland* was not then so entire, as by the many Rebellions that have fallen out since, it is now become. The Heads of the *Clans* and Names had the Conduct of all their several Tribes, who were led on by them to what designs they pleased: And though within the *English* Pale, the King was obeyed, and his Laws executed almost as in *England*; yet the native *Irish* were an uncivilized and barbarous Nation, and not yet brought under the Yoke; and for the greatest part of *Ulster*, they were united to the *Scots*, and followed their Interests.

There had been a Rebellion in the second Year of this Reign. But Sir *Anthony St. Leiger*, then Deputy, being recalled, and Sir *Edw. Bellinghame* sent in his room, he subdued *O-Canor*, and *O-More*, that were the chief Authors of it: and not being willing to put things to extremities, when *England* was otherwise distracted with Wars, he perswaded them to accept of Pensions of 100 *l.* a-piece, and so they came in and lived in the *English* Pale. But the Winter after, there was another Rebellion designed in *Ulster*, by *O-Neal*, *O-Donnel*, *O-Docart*, and the Heads of some other Tribes; who sent to the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, to procure them assistance from *France*, and they would keep up the disorders in *Ireland*. The Bishop of *Valence*, being then in *Scotland*, was sent by her to observe their strength, that he might accordingly perswade the King of *France* to assist them. He cross'd the S[illegible] and met with them, and with *Wauchop*, a *Scotch-man*, who was [illegible] Bishop of *Armagh* of the Popes making, and who, though he was blind, was yet esteemed one of the best at Riding Post in the World. They set out all their greatness to the *French* Bishop, to engage him to be their friend at the Court of *France*: but he seemed not so well satisfied of their ability to do any great matter, and so nothing followed on this. One passage fell out here, which will a little discover the temper of that Bishop. When he was in *O-Docarts* House, he saw a fair Daughter of his, whom he endeavoured to have corrupted, but she avoided him carefully. Two *English* Gray-Friars, that had fled out of *England* for their Religion, and were there at that time, observing the Bishops inclinations, brought him an *English* Whore, whom he kept for some time. She one night looking among his things, found a Glass full of somewhat that was very odoriferous, and poured it all down her Throat: which the Bishop perceiving too late, fell into a most violent passion; for it had been presented to him by *Soliman* the Magnificent, at his leaving that Court, as the richest Balm in *Egypt*; and was valued at 2000 Crowns. The Bishop was in such a rage, that all the House was disturbed with it; whereby he discovered both his lewdness and passion at once. This is related by one that was then with him, and was carried over by him to be a Page to the *Scotch* Queen; Sir *James Melvil*, who lived long in that Court, under the Constable of *France*, and was afterwards much employed by the Prince Elector *Palatine* in many Negotiations; and coming home to his own Country, was sent on many occasions to the Court of *England*, where he lived in great Esteem. He in his old Age writ a Narrative of all the Affairs that himself had been concerned in, which is one

one of the best and perfectest Pieces of that nature that I have seen. 1552.
The Original is yet extant under his own Hand in *Scotland*: a Copy of it was shewed me by one descended from him, from which I shall discover many considerable Passages, though the Affairs in which he was most employed, were something later than the time of which I am to write. But to return to *Ireland*. Upon the Peace made with *France* and *Scotland*, things were quieted there; and Sir *Ant. St. Leiger* was in *August* 1550. again sent over to be Deputy there. For the Reformation, it made but a small progress in that Kingdom. It was received among the *English*, but I do not find any endeavours were used to bring it in among the *Irish*. This Year *Bale* was sent into *Ireland*. He had been a busie Writer upon all occasions, and had a great deal of Learning, but wanted Temper, and did not write with the decency that became a Divine, or was sutable to such matters; which it seems made those who recommended Men to preferment in this Church, not think him so fit a Person to be employed here in *England*. But the Bishoprick of *Ossery* being void, the King proposed him to be sent thither. So in *August* this Year Dr. *Goodaker* was sent over to be Bishop of *Armagh*, and *Bale* to be Bishop of *Ossery*. There were also two other, who were *Irish* Men, to be promoted. When they came thither, the Arch-bishop of *Dublin* intended to have consecrated them according to the old Pontifical; for the new Book of Ordination had not been yet used among them. *Goodaker* and the two others were easily perswaded to it, but *Bale* absolutely refused to consent to it: who being assisted by the Lord Chancellor, it was carried, that they should be ordained according to the new Book. When *Bale* went into his Diocess, he found all things there in dark Popery; but before he could make any Reformation there, King *Edwards* death put an end to his and all such designs.

In *England* nothing else that had any relation to the Reformation passed this Year, unless what belongs to the change made in the Order of the Garter may be thought to relate to it. On the 23*d* of *April* the former Year, being St. *George*'s day, a Proposition was made to consider the Order and Statutes, since there was thought to be a great deal of superstition in them; and the Story upon which the Order was founded, concerning St. *George*'s fighting with the Dragon, looked like a Legend formed in the darker Ages, to support the humour of Chivalry, that was then very high in the World. And as the Story had no great credibility in it self, so it was delivered by no Ancient Author. Nor was it found that there had been any such Saint: there being among Ancient Writers none mentioned of that Name, but *George* of *Alexandria*, the *Arrian* Bishop, that was put in when *Athanasius* was banished. Upon this motion in the former Year, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earls of *Wilt-shire*, and *Warwick*, were appointed to review the Statutes of the Order. So this Year the whole Order was changed; and the Earl of *Westmorland* and Sir *Andrew Dudley*, who were now to be installed, were the first that were received according to the new Model, (which the Reader will find in the Collection, as it was translated into *Latin* out of the *English*, by the King himself, written all with his own Hand, and it is the third Paper after his Journal.) The Preamble of it sets forth the noble design of the Order, to animate great Men to gallant Actions, and to associate them into a Fraternity,

A Change made in the Order of the Garter.

King *Edward's* Remains, Number 23.

for

1552. for their better encouragement and assistance; but says, it had been much corrupted by superstition, therefore the Statutes of it were hereafter to be these,

It was no more to be called the Order of St. *George*, nor was he to be esteemed the Patron of it; but it was to be called the Order of the Garter. The Knights of this Order were to wear the Blew Ribond or Garter as formerly; but at the Collar, in stead of a George, there was to be on one side of the Jewel, a Knight carrying a Book upon a Sword point, on the Sword to be written *Protectio*, on the Book *Verbum Dei*; on the Reverse, a Shield, on which should be written *Fides*; to express their resolution both with offensive and defensive Weapons to maintain the Word of God. For the rest of the Statutes I shall refer the Reader to the Paper I mentioned. But this was repealed by Queen *Mary*, and so the old Rules took place again, and do so still. This design seems to have been chiefly intended, that none but those of the Reformed Religion might be capable of it; since the adhering to, and standing for the Scriptures, was then taken to be the distinguishing Character between the Papists and the Reformers.

This is the sum of what was either done or designed this Year with relation to Religion. As for the State, there was a strict enquiry made of all who had cheated the King in the suppression of Chantries, or in any other thing that related to Churches; from which the Visitors were believed to have embezeled much to their own uses, and there were many Sutes in the *Star-Chamber* about it. Most of all these Persons had been the Friends or Creatures of the Duke of *Somerset*: and the enquiry after these things seems to have been more out of hatred to him, than out of any design to make the King the richer by what should be recovered for his use. But on none did the Storm break more severely than on the Lord *Paget*. He had been Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and was charged with many misdemeanours in that Office, for which he was fined in 6000 *l.* But that which was most severe, was, that on St. *George*'s Eve, he was degraded from the Order of the Garter, for divers offences; but chiefly, because he was no Gentleman, neither by Fathers side nor Mothers side. His chief offence was his greatest Vertue. He had been on all occasions a constant Friend to the Duke of *Somerset*: for which the Duke of *Northumberland* hated him mortally, and so got him to be degraded to make way for his own Son. This was much censured, as a barbarous Action, that a Man who had so long served the Crown in such publick Negotiations, and was now of no meaner Blood than he was when King *Henry* first gave him the Order, should be so dishonoured, being guilty of no other fault, but what is common to most Courtiers, of enriching himself at his Masters cost; for which his Fine was severe enough for the expiation. But the Duke of *Northumberland* was a Person so given up to violence and revenge, that an ordinary disgrace did not satisfie his hatred.

Paget degraded from being a Knight of the Garter.

Sir *Ant. St. Leiger*, another Knight of the Order, was at the same time accused, upon complaint sent from the Arch-bishop of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, for some high words that he had used. But these being examined, he was cleared, and admitted to his Place among the Knights at the Garter. Many others that were obnoxious came in, upon this violent prosecution, to purchase the favour of *Northumberland*, who was much

much set on framing a Parliament to his mind, and so took those methods 1552. which he thought likeliest to work his ends. It being ordinary for Men of insolent and boisterous tempers, who are generally as abject when they are low, as they are puft up with prosperity, to measure other People by themselves; therefore knowing that the methods of reason and kindness would have no operation on themselves, and that height and severity are the only ways to subdue them, they use that same way of gaining others which they find most effectual with themselves.

This Year the King went on, in paying his Debts, reforming the Coin, and other ways that might make the Nation great and wealthy. And one great Project was undertaken, which has been the chief beginning and foundation of the great Riches, and strength of Shipping, to which this Nation has attained since that time. From the days of King *Henry* the third the free Towns of *Germany*, who had assisted him in his Wars, obtained great Priviledges in *England*: they were made a Corporation, and lived together in the *Still-yard* near the Bridge. They had in *Edward* the 4th's time been brought into some trouble, for carrying their Priviledges further than their Charter allowed them: and so Judgment was given that they had forfeited it, but they redeemed themselves out of that, by a great Present which they made to the King. That which chiefly supported them at Court, was, that they trading in a Body were not only able to take the Trade out of all other Persons Hands, by underselling them, but they had always a great stock of Money; and so when the Government was in a strait, they were ready, upon a good Security, to lend great Sums: and on lesser occasions could obtain the favour of a States-man by the Presents they made him. But now Trade was raised much above what it had been, and Courts becoming more magnificent than formerly, there was a greater consumption, particularly of Cloth, than had ever been known. The discovery of the *Indies* had raised both Trade and Navigation, so that there was a quicker circulation of the Wealth of the World, than had been in former Ages.

The encrease of Trade.

Antwerp, and *Hamburgh*, lying both conveniently, the one in the mouth of the *Elb*, and the other near the mouth of the *Rhine*, which were the two greatest Rivers that fell into those Seas, the Merchants of those two Cities at that time had the chief Trade of the World. The *English* began to look on those Easterlings with envy. All that was Imported or Exported came for most part in their bottoms: all Markets were in their Hands, so that Commodities of forreign growth were vented by them in *England*, and the Product of the Kingdom was bought up by them. And all the Nation being then set much on Pasture, they had much advanced their Manufacture; in so much that their own Wooll, which had been formerly wrought at *Antwerp*, was now made into Cloth in *England*, which the *Still-yard* Men obtained leave to carry away. At first they Shiped not above eight Cloths in a year, after that an hundred, then a thousand, then six thousand; but this last year there was Shipped in their Name 44000 Cloaths; and not above 1100 by all others that traded within *England*.

The Merchant Adventurers found they could not hold out, unless this Company was broke. So they put in their complaint against them in the beginning of this year, to which the *Still-yard* Men made answer, and

they

1552. they replied. Upon this, the Council made a Decree, that the Charter was broken, and so dissolved the Company. Those of *Hamburg*, and *Lubeck*, and the Regent of *Flanders*, solicited the Council to have this redressed, but in vain: for the advantage the Nation was to have by it, was too visible to admit of any interposition. But the design of Trade being thus set on foot, another Project of a higher nature followed it. The War was now begun between the Emperor and the King of *France*. And that, with the persecution raised in *Flanders* against all that leaned to the Doctrine of the Protestants, made many there think of changing their Seats. It was therefore proposed here in *England* to open a free Trade, and to appoint some Mart Towns, that should have greater Priviledges and Securities for encouraging Merchants to live in them, and should be easier in their Customs than they were any where else. *Southampton* for the Cloth Trade, and *Hull* for the Northern Trade, were thought the two fittest Places. And for the advantages and disadvantages of this design, I find the young King had ballanced the matter exactly; for there is a large Paper all written with his own Hand, containing what was to be said on both sides. But his death, and Queen *Maries* marrying the Prince of *Spain*, put an end to this Project: though all the Addresses her Husband made, seconding the desires of the *Easterlings*, could never prevail to the setting up of that company again. If the Reader would understand this matter more perfectly, he may find a great deal of it in the Kings Journal, and in the fourth Paper that follows it, where the whole Affair seems to be considered on all hands: but Men that know Merchandise more perfectly will judge better of these things.

King *Edwards* Remains, Number 4.

Cardan in *England*.

This Summer, *Cardan*, the great Philosopher of that Age, passed thorough *England*. He was brought from *Italy* on the account of *Hamilton* Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews*, who was then desperately sick of a Dropsie. *Cardan* cured him of his Disease: but being a Man much conversant both in Astrology, and Magick, as himself professed, he told the Arch-bishop, that though he had at present saved his Life, yet he could not change his fate; for he was to die on a Gallows. In his going through *England* he waited on King *Edward*, where he was so entertained by him, and observed his extraordinary Parts and Vertues so narrowly, that on many occasions he writ afterwards of him, with great astonishment, as being the most wonderful Person he had ever seen.

The Affairs of *Scotland*.

But the mention of the *Scotch* Arch-bishops sickness leads me now to the Affairs of *Scotland*. The Queen had passed thorough *England* from *France* to *Scotland* last year. In her Passage she was treated by the King with all that respect that one Crowned Head could pay to another. The Particulars are in his Journal, and need not be recited here. When she came home, she set herself much to perswade the Governour to lay down the Government, that it might be put in her Hands; to which he, being a soft Man, was the more easily induced, because his Brother, who had great power over him, and was a violent and ambitious Man, was then so sick, that there was no hope of his Life. He had also received Letters from *France*, in such a Stile, that he saw he must either lay down the Government, or not only lose the Honour and Pension he had there, but be forced to struggle for what he had in his own Country. Whether the *French* understood any thing by their Spies in the Court of *England*, that

it

it had been proposed there to perswade him to pretend to the Crown, 1552.
and were therefore the more earnest to have the Government out of his Hands, I do not know: but though I have seen many hundreds of Letters that passed in those times between *England* and *Scotland*, I could not find by any of them that he ever entred into any Treaty about it.

It seems his base Brother had some thoughts of it. For when he was so far recovered that he could enquire after news, and heard what his Brother had done, he flew out in a passion, and called him *a Beast for parting with the Government, since there was none but a Lass between him and the Crown.* I set down his own words, leaving a space void for an Epithete he used of the young Queen, scarce decent enough to be mentioned. There had been a great Consultation in *France* what to do with the Queen of *Scotland*. Her Unkles pressed the King to marry her to the *Dolphin*: For thereby another Kingdom would be added to *France*, which would be a perpetual Thorn in the side of *England*; She had also some Prospect of succeeding to the Crown of *England*; so that on all accounts it seemed the best Match in *Europe*, for the *Dolphin*. But the wise Constable had observed, that the *Spaniards* lost by their Dominions that lay so remote from the chief Seat of their Government; though these were the richest Countries in *Europe*; namely, *Sicily*, *Naples*, *Millain*, and the *Netherlands*; and wisely apprehended that *France* might suffer much more, by the accession of such a Crown, which not only was remote, but where also the Country was poor, and the People not easily governed. It would be a vast charge to them, to send Navies, and to pay Armies there: The Nobility might when they would, by confederating with *England*, either shake off the *French* Government, or put them to a great expence to keep it: so that whereas *Scotland* had been hitherto, by a Pension, and sometimes by a little assistance, kept in a perpetual alliance with *France*, he apprehended by such a Union it might become their Enemy, and a great weight on their Government. This the Constable pressed much, both out of his care of his Masters Interest, and in opposition to the House of *Guise*. He advised the King rather to marry her to some of his Subjects, of whom he was well assured, and to send her and her Husband home into *Scotland*; by which means the perpetual amity of that Kingdom might be preserved on easie terms. But the King was so possessed with the notion of the Union of that Crown to *France*, that he gave no ear to this wise advise; thinking it flowed chiefly from the hatred and enmity which he knew the Constable bore the Family of *Guise*. This the Constable himself told *Melvil*, from whose Narrative I have it. The Queen Mother of *Scotland* being possessed of the Government, found two great Factions in it. The Head of the one was the Arch-bishop, who now recovering, and finding himself neglected, and the Queen governed by other Councils, set himself much against her, and drew the Clergy for the most part into his Interests. The other Faction was of those who hated him, and them both, and inclined to the Reformation. They set up the Prior of St. *Andrews*, who was their young Queens natural Brother, as their Head; and by his means offered their Service to the Queen now made Regent: they offered that

1552. they would agree with her to send the Matrimonial Crown to the *Dolphin*, and consent to the Union of both Kingdoms; only they desired her protection from the violence of the Clergy, and that they might have secretly Preachers in their Houses to instruct them in the Points of Religion. This Offer the Queen readily accepted of, and so by their assistance carried things till near the end of her Regency with great moderation and discretion. And now the Affairs of *Scotland* were put in a Channel, in which they held long steady and quiet, till about six years after this, that upon the Peace with the King of *Spain* there were cruel Councils laid down in *France*, and from thence sent over into *Scotland*, for extirpating Heresie. But of that we shall discourse in its proper place.

The Affairs of Germany. As for the Affairs of *Germany*, there was this year a great and sudden turn of things there; with which the Emperor was surprized by a strange supineness, that proved as fatal to him, as it was happy to the Empire; though all the World besides saw it coming on him. Upon the delivery of *Magdeburg*, *Maurice* of *Saxe*'s Army, pretending there was an Arrear due to them, took up their Winter Quarters, near *Saxe*, in the Dominions of some Popish Princes: where they were very unwelcome Guests. The Sons of the *Landgrave*, being required by their Father, pressed the Duke of *Saxe* on his Honour, to free their Father, or to become their Prisoner in his room, since they had his faith for his liberty: so he went to them, and offered them his Person; but though he did not trust them with his whole design; yet he told them so much that they were willing to let him go back. The Emperors Counsellors were allarumed with what they heard from all hands. And the Duke of *Alva* (well known afterwards by his cruelties in the *Netherlands*) advised him to send for *Maurice* to come and give an account of all those suspitious passages, to take the Army out of his hands; and to take such securities from him, as might clear all the jealousies, for which his carriage had given great cause. But the Bishop of *Arras* was on the other hand so assured of him, that he said, the giving him any suspition of the Emperors distrust might really engage him into such designs; and that such deep Projects as they heard he was in, were too fine conceits for *Dutch* drunken Heads. He also assured them he had two of his Secretaries in Pension, so that he was advertised of all his motions. But the Duke of *Saxe* came to know that those his Secretaries were the Emperors Pensioners; and dissembled it so well, that he used them in all appearance with more confidence than formerly: he held all his Consultations in their presence, and seemed to open his heart so to them, that they possessed the Bishop with a firm confidence of his sincerity and steadiness to the Emperors Interests. Yet his lingering so at the Town of *Magdeburg*, with the other dark Passages concerning him, made the Emperor conceive at last a jealousie of him, and he writ for him to come and clear himself: Then he refined it higher; for having left Orders with the Officers whom he had made sure to him, to follow with the Army in all the hast they could; he himself took Post, with as small a Train as his Dignity could admit of, and carried one of those corrupted Secretaries with him: but on the way he complained of pains in his side, so that he could not hold on his Journey: but sent forward his Secretary,

cretary, who gave such an account of him, that it, together with his 1552.
coming so readily a great part of his way in so secure a manner, made the Emperor now lay down all his former distrusts. The Emperor writ to *Trent*, and to many other Places, that there was no cause of fear from *Maurice*. And *Maurice*, to colour the matter more compleatly, had sent his Ambassadors to *Trent*, and had ordered *Melancthon*, and his other Divines, to follow them slowly, that as soon as the safe Conduct was obtained, they might go on and defend their Doctrine.

Upon their coming to *Trent*, and proposing their desires, that all might be again considered; the Legates rejected the Proposition with much scorn. The Emperors Ambassadors and Prelates pressed that they might be well received. The Arch-bishop of *Toledo* shew'd how much Christ had born with the Scribes and Pharisees; and that in imitation of him, they ought to leave nothing undone that might gain upon them. So it was resolved, that the Council should make a Protestation, that the usage they gave them was out of Charity, which is above all Law; since it was against the Decretals to have any Treaty with professed Hereticks. At the same time the Imperialists dealt no less earnestly with the Ambassadors from the Protestant Princes, not to ask too much at once, but to go on by degrees; and assured them they had a mind to lessen the Popes greatness as much as they had. The Ambassadors first step was to be for obtaining a safe Conduct. They excepted to that which the Council had given, as different from that the Council of *Basil* had sent to the *Bohemians*, in four material Points. The first was, That their Divines should have a decisive Voice. 2. That all Points should be determined according to the Scriptures; and according to the Fathers, as they were conformable to those. The third, That they should have the exercise of their Religion within their own Houses. 4. That nothing should be done in contempt of their Doctrine. So they desired that the safe Conduct might be word for word the same with that of *Basil*.

Proceedings at Trent.

But the Legates abhorred the Name of that Council, that had endeavoured so much to break the Power of the Popedom, and had consented to that extraordinary safe Conduct, only to unite *Germany*, and to gain them by such compliance to be of their side against the Pope. Yet the Legates promised to consider of it. The Ambassadors were received in a Congregation, which differed from a Session of the Council, just as a Committee of a whole House of Parliament, differs from the House, when set according to its Forms. They began their Speech with this Salutation, *Most Reverend and most Mighty Fathers and Lords*; they added a cold Complement, and desired a safe Conduct. At this time the Pope hearing that the Emperor was resolved to bring on the old designs of some Councils for lessening his greatness, and that the *Spanish* Bishops were much set on it, united himself to *France*, and resolved to break the Council as soon as it was possible; and therefore he ordered the Legates to proceed in the decision of the Doctrine, hoping that the Protestants would despair of obtaining any thing, and so go away. So the safe Conduct they had desired was not granted them, and another was offered in its room, con-

1552. taining only full security for their Persons. Upon this security, such as it was, Divines came both from *Wirtenberg*, and the Town of *Strasburg*. But as they were going on to treat of Matrimony, the War of *Germany* broke out, and the Bishops of the Empire, with the other Ambassadors, immediately went home. The Legates laid hold on this so readily, that though the Session was to have been held on the second of *May*, they called an extraordinary one on the 28*th* of *April*, and suspended the Council for two years.

An Account of the Council of *Trent*.

And being to have no other occasion to say any thing more of this Council, I shall only add, that there had been a great expectation over Christendome of some considerable event of a General Council for many years. The Bishops and Princes had much desired it, hoping it might have brought the differences among Divines to a happy composure; and have setled a Reformation of those abuses, which had been long complained of, and were still kept up by the Court of *Rome*, for the ends of that Principality that they had assumed in Sacred things. The Popes for the same reasons were very apprehensive of it, fearing that it might have lessened their Prerogatives; and by cutting off abuses, that brought in a great Revenue to them, have abridged their Profits. But it was, by the cunning of the Legates, the dissensions of Princes, the great number of poor *Italian* Bishops, and the ignorance of the greatest part of the other, so managed, that in stead of composing differences in Religion, things were so nicely defined, that they were made irreconcilable. All those abuses, for which there had been nothing but practise, and that much questioned before, were now, by the Proviso's, and Reservations, excepted for the Priviledges of the *Roman* See, made warrantable. So that it had in all Particulars an Issue quite contrary to what the several Parties concerned had expected from it, and has put the World ever since out of the humour of desiring any more General Councils, as they are accustomed to call them. The History of that Council was writ with as much Life, and Beauty, and Authority, as had been ever seen in any humane Writing, by Frier *Paul* of *Venice*, within half an Age of the time in which it was ended; when the thing was yet fresh in Mens Memories, and many were alive who had been present: and there was not one in that Age that engaged to write against it.

And a Judgment of the Histories of it.

But about forty years after, when Father *Paul*, and all his friends who knew from what Vouchers he writ, were dead; *Pallavicini*, a Jesuit, who was made a Cardinal, for this Service, undertook to answer him, by another History of that Council, which, in many matters of Fact, contradicts Father *Paul*; upon the credit (as he tells us) of some Journals and Memorials of such as were present, which he perused, and cites upon all occasions. We see that *Rome* hath been in all Ages so good at forging those things which might be of use to its Interests, that we know not how to trust that Shop of false Wares in any one thing that comes out of it. And therefore it is not easie to be assured of the truth and genuineness of any of the Materials, out of which the Jesuite composed his Work. But as for the main Thread of the Story, both his and Father *Pauls* Accounts do so agree, that whosoever compares them, will clearly see, that

that all things were managed by Intrigues and secret Practises; so 1552.
that it will not be easie for a Man of common sense, after he has read over *Pallavicini's* History to fancy that there was any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost hovering over and directing their Councils. And the care they took for palliating all the corruptions then complained of was so apparent, that their Historian had no other way by which to excuse it, but to set up a new Hypothesis, which a *French* Writer since has wittily called *the Cardinals New Gospel*; "That there must be a Temporal Principality in the "Church, that all things which support that Principality are to be "at least tolerated, though they be far contrary to the Primitive "Patterns, and to the first delivery of the Gospel by Christ and "his Apostles. That which was then set up, he accounts a state of "Infancy, to which Milk was proper; but the Church being since "grown to its full state and strength, other things are now necessa-"ry for the maintaining and preserving of it.

But to return to *Maurice*, he having possessed the Emperor with an entire confidence in him, gathered his Army together, took *Ausburg*, with many other Imperial Cities; and displaced the Magistrates which the Emperor had put in them, and restored their old ones, with the banished Ministers: so that every thing began to put on a new face. *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* did Mediate; both on his own account, for the *Turks* were falling into *Hungary*; and on the Empires, for the King of *France* was come with a great Army to the Confines of the Empire: and the Constable, pretending that he only desired passage through the Town of *Metz*, entred it, and possessed himself of it. *Toul* and *Verdun* fell also into his Hands: and the *French* were endeavouring to be admitted into *Strasburg*. The Emperor was now in great disorder; he had no Army about him; those he had confided in were declared against him; his own Brother was not ill pleased at his misfortune, the *French* were like to gain ground on his Hereditary Dominions. Being thus perplexed, and irresolved, he did not send a speedy Answer to *Maurice's* Demands, which he had sent by his Brother; for the setting of the Landgrave at liberty, restoring the freedoms of the Empire, and particularly in matters of Religion. But to lose no time the mean while, *Maurice* marched on to *Inspruch*, where the Emperor lay: and surprized a Pass to which he had trusted, so that he was within two Miles of him before he was aware of it. Upon this the Emperor rose from Supper in great hast, and by Torch-light fled away to make his escape into *Italy*. He gave the Duke of *Saxe* his liberty; but he generously resolved to follow him in this his calamity; and perhaps he was not willing to owe his liberty to his Cousin *Maurice*. Thus all that design, which the Emperor had been laying so many years, was now broken off on a sudden: he lost all the advantages he had of his former Victories, and was forced to set the Prisoners at liberty, and to call in the Proscriptions; and in conclusion, the Edict of *Passaw* was made, by which the several Princes and Towns were secured in the free exercise of their Religion.

I have

1552. I have made this digression, which I thought not disagreeable to the matter of my History, to give account of the extream danger in which Religion was in *Germany*, and how strangely it was recovered; in which he who had been the chief Instrument of the miseries it had groaned under, was now become its unlooked-for deliverer. I have enlarged on some Passages that are in none of the Printed Histories, which I draw from *Melvils* Memoires, who says he had them from the Elector Palatines own Mouth.

The Emperor is much cast down.

But the Emperors misfortunes redoubled on him. For having made Peace in the Empire, he would against all reason, or probability of success, sit down before *Metz*. But the Duke of *Guise* defended the Place so against him, and the time of the year was so unseasonable, being in *December*, that after a great loss of Men, and vast expence of Treasure, he was forced to raise his Siege. From thence he retired into *Flanders*; where his afflictions seised so violently on him, that for some time he admitted none to come near him: Some said he was frantick, others, that he was sullen and Melancholly. The *English* Ambassadors at *Brussels* for many Weeks could learn nothing certain concerning him. Here, it is said, he began to reflect on the vanity of the World; when, he who had but a year before given Law to Christendome, was now driven to so low an ebbe, that as he had irrecoverably lost all his footing in *Germany*; so in all other things his Councils were unlucky. It was one of the notablest turns of Fortune that had been in many Ages; and gave a great demonstration, both of an over-ruling Providence, that disposes of all humane Affairs at pleasure, and of a particular care that God had of the Reformation, in thus recovering it, when it seemed gone without hope in *Germany*.

These Reflections made deep impressions on his mind, and were believed to have first possessed him with the design which not long after he put in execution, of laying down his Crowns, and retiring to a private course of Life. In his retirement having time to consider things more impartially, he was so much changed in his opinion of the Protestant Religion, that he who hitherto had been a most violent opposer of it, was suspected of being turned to it before he died.

1553. Thus ended this Year; and now I come to the last and fatal Year of this young Kings Life and Reign: The first thing done in it, was, a regulation of the Privy-Council, which was divided into so many Committees, and every one of these had its proper Work, and days appointed for the receiving and dispatching of all Affairs. In all these things a Method was prescribed to them, of which the Reader will see a full account in the sixth Paper of those that follow King *Edwards* Journal; which Paper, though it is not all written with his Hand, as the others be, yet it is in so many places interlined by him, that he seems to have considered it much, and been well pleased with it. His second Parliament was opened on the first of *March*. On the sixth of *March* it was moved in the House of Commons to give the King two Tenths and two Fifteenths with

A Regulation of the Privy-Council.

King *Edwards* Remains, Number 6.

A new Parliament.

with a Subsidy for two years: It was long argued at first, and at the passing the Bill it was again argued, but at last the Commons agreed to it. The Preamble of it is a long Accusation of the Duke of *Somerset*, for involving the King in Wars, wasting his Treasure, engaging him in much Debt, embasing the Coin, and having given occasion to a most terrible Rebellion. In fine, considering the great Debt the King was left in by his Father, the loss he put himself to in the reforming the Coin, and they finding his temper to be set wholly on the good of his Subjects, and not on enriching himself; therefore they give him two Tenths, and two Fifteenths, with one Subsidy for two years. Whether the debate in the House of Commons was against the Subsidies in this Act, or against the Preamble, cannot be certainly known: but it is probable the Debate at the engrossing the Bill was about the Preamble, which the Duke of *Northumberland* and his Party were the more earnestly set on, to let the King see how acceptable they were, and how hateful the Duke of *Somerset* had been. The Clergy did also, for an expression of their affection and duty, give the King six Shillings in the Pound of their Benefices. There was also a Bill sent down from the Lords, That none might hold any Spiritual Promotion, unless he were either Priest or Deacon: But after the third reading it was cast out. The reason of it was, because many Noblemen and Gentlemens Sons had Prebends given them, on this pretence, that they intended to fit themselves by Study for entring into Orders; but they kept these, and never advanced in their Studies: upon which the Bishops prevailed to have the Bill agreed to by the Lords, but could carry it no further. 1553.

The Bishoprick of Duresme suppressed, and two new ones appointed.

Another Act passed for the suppressing the Bishoprick of *Duresme*, which is so strangely mis-represented by those who never read more than the Title of it, that I shall therefore give a more full account of it. It is set forth in the Preamble, "That that Bishoprick being then void of a Prelate, so that the Gift thereof was "in the Kings pleasure: and the compass of it being so large, extending to so many Shires so far distant, that it could not be sufficiently served by one Bishop; and since the King, according to "his godly disposition, was desirous to have Gods Holy Word "preached in these Parts, which were wild and barbarous, for lack "of good Preaching, and good Learning; therefore he intended to "have two Bishopricks for that Diocess: the one at *Duresme*, which "should have 2000 Marks Revenue; and another at *Newcastle*, "which should have 1000 Marks Revenue: and also to Found a "Cathedral Church at *Newcastle*, with a Deanry and Chapter, out "of the Revenues of the Bishoprick: therefore the Bishoprick of "*Duresme* is utterly extinguished and dissolved, and Authority is "given for Letters Patents to erect the two new Bishopricks together with the Deanry and Chapter at *Newcastle*: with a Proviso "that the Rights of the Deanry, Chapter, and Cathedral of *Duresme* should suffer nothing by this Act.

When this Bill is considered, that dissolution that was designed by it will not appear to be so sacrilegious a thing as some Writers have

1553. have represented it. For whosoever understands the value of old Rents, especially such as these were near the Marches of an Enemy, where the Service of the Tenants in the War made their Lands be set at very low rates, will know, that 3000 Marks of Rent being reserved, besides the endowing of the Cathedral, which could hardly be done under another thousand Marks, there could not be so great a Prey of that Bishoprick as has been imagined. *Ridley*, as himself writes in one of his Letters, was named to be Bishop of *Duresme*, being one of the Natives of that Country; but the thing never took effect. For in *May*, and no sooner, was the Temporalty of the Bishoprick turned into a County-Palatine, and given to the Duke of *Northumberland*. But the Kings sickness, and soon after his death, made that and all the rest of these designs prove abortive.

How *Tonstall* was deprived, I cannot understand. It was for misprision of Treason, and done by Secular Men. For *Cranmer* refused to meddle in it. I have seen the Commission given by Queen *Mary* to some Delegates to examine it: in which it is said, That the Sentence was given only by Lay-men; and that *Tonstal*, being kept Prisoner long in the *Tower*, was brought to his Trial, in which he had neither Counsel assigned him, nor convenient time given him for clearing himself; and that after divers Protestations, they had, notwithstanding his Appeal, deprived him of his Bishoprick. He was not only turned out, but kept Prisoner, till Queen *Mary* set him at liberty.

At the end of this Parliament the King granted a free Pardon: concerning which, this is only remarkable, That whereas it goes for a Maxime, that the Acts of Pardon must be passed without changing any thing in them, the Commons, when they sent up this Act of Pardon to the Lords, desired that some words might be amended in it; but it is not clear what was done, for that same day the Acts were passed, and the Parliament was dissolved.

In it the Duke of *Northumberland* had carried this Point, That the Nation made a publick Declaration of their dislike of the Duke of *Somersets* Proceedings; which was the more necessary, because the King had let fall words concerning his death, by which he seemed to reflect on it with some concern, and look'd on it as *Northumberlands* deed. But the Act had passed with such difficulty, that either the Duke did not think the Parliament well enough disposed for him; or else he resolved totally to vary from the Measures of the Duke of *Somerset*, who continued the same Parliament long, whereas this that was opened on the first was dissolved on the last day of *March*.

A Visitation for the Plate in the Churches.

Visitors were soon after appointed to examine, what Church-plate, Jewels, and other Furniture, was in all Cathedrals and Churches; and to compare their account with the Inventories made in former Visitations; and to see what was embezeled, and how it was done. And because the King was resolved to have Churches and Chappels furnished with that that was comely and convenient for the Administration of the Sacraments; they were to give one or two Chalices

ces of Silver, or more, to every Church, Chappel, or Cathedral, as their discretions should direct them; and to distribute comely Furniture for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices; and to sell the rest of the Linen, and give it to the Poor: and to sell Copes, and Altar-Cloaths, and deliver all the rest of the Plate and Jewels to the Kings Treasurer Sir *Edm. Pecham*. This is spitefully urged by one of our Writers, who would have his Reader infer from it, that the King was ill principled as to the matters of the Church, because when this Order was given by him he was now in the *16th* Year of his Age. But if all Princes should be thus judged by all Instructions that pass under their Hands, they would be more severely censured than there is cause. And for the particular matter that is charged on the Memory of this young Prince, which, as it was represented to him, was only a calling for the superfluous Plate and other Goods that lay in Churches more for pomp than for use; though the applying of it to common uses, except upon extream necessities, is not a thing that can be justified; yet it deserved not so severe a censure; especially the Instructions being Signed by the King in his sickness; in which it is not likely that he minded Affairs of that kind much, but set his Hand easily to such Papers as the Council prepared for him. 1553.

These Instructions were directed, in the Copy that I have perused, to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord President of the *North*: upon which occasion, I shall here make mention of that which I know not certainly in what Year to place, namely, the Instructions that were given to that Earl when he was made President of the *North*. And I mention them the rather, because there have been since that time some Contests about that Office, and the Court belonging to it. There was by his Instructions a Council to be assistant to him; whereof some of the Members were at large, and not bound to attendance, others were not to leave him without licence from him: and he was in all things to have a negative Voice in it. For the other Particulars, I refer the Reader to the Copy, which he will find in the *Collection*. One Instruction among them belongs to Religion; that he and the other Councellors, when there was at any time Assemblies of People before them, should perswade them to be obedient chiefly to the Laws about Religion, and especially concerning the Service set forth in their own Mother-Tongue. There was also a particular charge given them concerning the abolished Power of the Bishop of *Rome*: whose abuses they were by continual inculcation so to beat into the minds of the People, that they might well apprehend them, and might see that those things were said to them from their Hearts, and not from their Tongues only for Forms sake. They were also to satisfie them about the abrogation of many Holy-days appointed by the same Bishop; who endeavoured to perswade the World that he could make Saints at his pleasure: which by leading the People to idleness, gave occasion to many vices and inconveniences. These Instructions were given after the Peace was made with *Scotland*; otherwise there must have been a great deal in them relating to that War; but the Critical time of them I do not know.

Instructions for the President of the North.

Collection Number 55.

1553. This Year *Harly* was made Bishop of *Hereford*, instead of *Skip*, who died the last Year. And he being the last of those who were made so by Letters Patents, I shall give the Reader some satisfaction concerning that way of making Bishops. The Patents began with the mention of the vacancy of the See, by death, or removal: upon which the King being informed of the good qualifications of such a one, appoints him to be Bishop, during his natural Life, or so long as he shall behave himself well: giving him power to ordain and deprive Ministers, to confer Benefices, judge about Wills, name Officials, and Commissaries, exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, visit the Clergy, inflict Censures, and punish scandalous Persons, and to do all the other parts of the Episcopal Function that were found by the Word of God to be committed to Bishops; all which they were to execute and do in the Kings Name and Authority. After that in the same Patent follows the restitution of the Temporalties. The day after, a Certificate in a Writ called a *Significavit* was to be made of this, under the Great Seal, to the Arch-bishop, with a Charge to consecrate him.

The Form of the Bishops Letters Patents.

The first that had his Bishoprick by the Kings Patents was *Barlow* that was removed from St. *Davids* to *Bath* and *Wells*. They bear date the third of *February*, in the second Year of the Kings Reign: and so *Ferrar*, Bishop of St. *Davids*, was not the first, as some have imagined, for he was made Bishop the first of *August* that Year. This *Ferrar* was a rash indiscreet Man, and drew upon himself the dislike of the Prebendaries of St. *Davids*. He was made Bishop upon the Duke of *Somersets* favour to him. But last Year many Articles were objected to him: some, as if he had incurred a *Præmunire* for acting in his Courts not in the Kings, but his own Name, and some for neglecting his Charge; and some little indecencies were objected to him, as going strangely habited, travelling on foot, whistling impertinently, with many other things, which if true, shewed in him much weakness and folly. The heaviest Articles he denied: yet he was kept in Prison, and Commissioners were sent into *Wales* to examine Witnesses, who took many Depositions against him. He lay in Prison till Queen *Maries* time; and then he was kept in on the account of his Belief. But his suffering afterwards for his Conscience, when *Morgan*, who had been his chief Accuser before on those other Articles, being then made his Judge, condemned him for Heresie, and made room for himself to be Bishop by burning him, did much turn Peoples Censures from him, upon his Successor.

By these Letters Patents it is clear, that the Episcopal Function was acknowledged to be of Divine appointment, aud that the Person was no other way named by the King than as Lay-Patrons present to Livings; only the Bishop was legally authorized, in such a part of the Kings Dominions, to execute that Function which was to be derived to him by Imposition of Hands. Therefore here was no pretence for denying that such Persons were true Bishops, and for saying, as some have done, that they were not from Christ, but from the King.

Upon this occasion it will not be improper to represent to the Reader how this matter stands according to Law at this day, which

is the more neceſſary, becauſe ſome ſuperficial Writers have either 1553.
miſ-underſtood, or miſ-repreſented it. The Act that authorized thoſe Letters Patents, and required the Biſhops to hold their Courts in the Kings Name, was repealed both by the 1 *Mar. Chap.* 2. and 1, and 2 *Phil.* and *Mary Chap.* 8. The latter of theſe that repealed only a part of it, was repealed by the 1 *Eliz. Chap.* 1. and the former by the 1 *Jac. Chap.* 25. So ſome have argued, that ſince thoſe Statutes which repealed this Act of *Edward* the *6th* 1. *Par. Chap.* 2. are ſince repealed, that it ſtands now in full force. This ſeems to have ſome colour in it, and ſo it was brought in queſtion in Parliament in the fourth year of King *James*: and great debate being made about it, the King appointed the two Chief Juſtices to ſearch into the matter: they upon a ſlight enquiry agreed, that the Statute of *Edw.* the *6th* was in force by that Repeal; but the Chief Baron, and the other Judges, ſearching the matter more carefully, found, that the Statute had been in effect repealed by the firſt of *Eliz. Ch.* 1. where the Act of the 25 *Hen.* 8. concerning the Election and Juriſdiction of Biſhops, as formerly they had exerciſed it, was revived: ſo that being in full force, the Act of *Edw.* the *6th* that repealed it, was thereby repealed. To this all the Learned Men of the Law did then agree; ſo that it was not thought ſo much as neceſſary to make an explanatory Law about it, the thing being indeed ſo clear, that it did not admit of any ambiguity.

Coke 2. Inſt. P. 684, 685.

In *May* this Year the King by his Letters Patents authorized all School-maſters to teach a new and fuller Catechiſme, compiled, as is believed, by *Poinet*.

Theſe are all the Paſſages in which the Church is concerned this Year. The Forreign Negotiations were important. For now the ballance began to turn to the *French* ſide; therefore the Council reſolved to mediate a Peace between the *French* and the Emperor. The Emperor had ſent over an Ambaſſador in *September* laſt year, to deſire the King would conſider the danger in which *Flanders* was now, by the *French* Kings having *Metz*, with the other Towns in *Lorrain*, which did in a great meaſure divide it from the aſſiſtance of the Empire: and therefore moved, that according to the ancient League between *England* and the Houſe of *Burgundy*, they would enter into a new League with him. Upon this occaſion the Reader will find how the Secretaries of State bred the King to the underſtanding of buſineſs, with relation to the Studies he was then about: for Secretary *Cecil* ſet down all the Arguments for and againſt that League, with little Notes on the Margent, relating to ſuch Topicks from whence he brought them; by which it ſeems the King was then learning Logick. It is the fifth of thoſe Papers after his Journal.

King *Edwards* Remains, Number 5.

A Treaty with the Emperor.

It was reſolved on, to ſend Sir *John Moriſon*, with Inſtructions to complement the Emperor upon his coming into *Flanders*, and to make an offer of the Kings aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*, who had made great Depredations that year both in *Hungary*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*. If the Emperor ſhould, upon that, complain of the *French* King, and ſay, that he had brought in the *Turks*, and ſhould have asked aſſiſtance againſt him; he was to move the Emperor to ſend over an

1553. Ambassador to treat about it, since he that was then Resident in England was not very acceptable. These Instructions (which are in the Collection) were Signed in September, but not made use of till January this year. And then new Orders were sent to propose the King to be a Mediator between France and the Emperor. Upon which, the Bishop of Norwich, and Sir Phil. Hobbey were sent over, to joyn with Sir John Morison: and Sir William Pickering, and Sir Tho. Chaloner, were sent into France. In May the Emperor fell sick, and the English Ambassadors could learn nothing certainly concerning him: but then the Queen of Hungary, and the Bishop of Arras, treated with them. The Bishop of Arras complained, that the French had begun the War, had taken the Emperors Ships at Barcelona, had robbed his Subjects at Sea, had stirred up the Princes of Germany against him, had taken some of the Towns of the Empire from him; while the French Ambassadors were all the while swearing to the Emperor, that their Master intended nothing so much as to preserve the Peace: so that now, although the French were making several Overtures for Peace, they could give no credit to any thing that came from them. In fine, the Queen and Bishop of Arras, promised the English Ambassadors to let the Emperor know of the Kings offering himself to mediate; and afterwards told them, that the Emperor delayed giving answer till he were well enough to do it himself.

Collection Number 57.

On the 26th of May, the Ambassadors writ over that there was a Project sent them out of Germany, of an Alliance, between the Emperor, Ferdinand King of the Romans, the King of England, and the Princes of the Empire. They did not desire that the King should offer to come into it of his own accord; but John Frederick of Saxe would move Ferdinand to invite the King into it. This way they thought would give least jealousie. They hoped the Emperor would easily agree to the Conditions that related to the Peace of Germany, since he was now out of all hopes of making himself Master of it. The Princes neither loved, nor trusted him; but loved his Brother, and relied much on England. But the Emperor having proposed, that the Netherlands should be included in the perpetual League of the Empire, they would not agree to that, unless the Quota's of their Contribution were much changed: for these Provinces were like to be the Seats of Wars, therefore they would not engage for their defence, but upon reciprocal advantages and easie terms.

When the English Ambassadors in the Court of France, desired to know on what terms a Peace might be mediated, they found they were much exalted with their success: so that (as they writ over on the first of May) they demanded the restitution of Millan, and the Kingdoms of Sicily, Naples, and Navarre, the Sovereignty of Flanders, Artois, and the Town of Tournay; they would also have Siena to be restored to its liberty, and Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to continue under the Protection of France. These terms the Council thought so unreasonable, that, though they writ them over as News to their Ambassadors in Flandars, yet they charged them not to

propose

propose them. But the Queen of *Hungary* asked them what Propositions they had for a Peace, knowing already what they were; and from thence studied to inflame the Ambassadors, since it appeared how little the *French* regarded their Mediation, or the Peace of Christendome, when they asked such high and extravagant things upon a little success. 1553.

On the *9th* of *June* the Emperor ordered the Ambassadors to be brought into his Bed-Chamber, whither they were carried by the Queen of *Hungary*. He looked pale, and lean; but his Eyes were lively, and his Speech clear. They made him a Complement upon his Sickness, which he returned with another for their long attendance. Upon the matter of their Embassy, he said, the King of *France* had begun the War, and must likewise begin the Propositions of Peace: But he accepted of the Kings Offer very kindly, and said, They should always find in him great inclinations to a just Peace. On the first of *July* the Council writ to their Ambassadors. First, assuring them, that the King was still alive, and they hoped he should recover; they told them, they did not find that the *French* would offer any other terms than those formerly made: and they continued still in that mind, that they could not be offered by them as Mediators; yet they ordered them to impart them unto the Emperor as News, and carefully to observe his looks and behaviour upon their opening of every one of them.

The Kings sickness.

But now the Kings death broke off this Negotiation, together with all his other Affairs. He had last year, first the Measels, and then the Small-Pox, of which he was perfectly recovered: In his Progress, he had been sometimes violent in his Exercises, which had cast him into great Colds: but these went off, and he seemed to be well after it. But in the beginning of *January* this year, he was seized with a deep Cough; and all Medicines that were used did rather encrease than lessen it; upon which a suspition was taken up, and spread over all the World, (so that it is mentioned by most of the Historians of that Age) that some lingering Poison had been given him: but more than Rumours, and some ill-favoured Circumstances, I could never discover concerning this. He was so ill, when the Parliament met, that he was not able to go to *Westminster*; but ordered their first meeting, and the Sermon, to be at *White-hall*. In the time of his sickness, Bishop *Ridley* preached before him, and took occasion to run out much on Works of Charity; and the obligation that lay on Men of high Condition to be eminent in good Works. This touched the King to the quick: So that presently after Sermon he sent for the Bishop. And after he had commanded him to sit down by him, and be covered, he resumed most of the Heads of the Sermon, and said, he looked on himself as chiefly touched by it: he desired him, as he had already given him the Exhortation in general, so to direct him how to do his duty in that Particular. The Bishop, astonished at this tenderness in so young a Prince, burst forth in Tears, expressing how much he was overjoyed to see such inclinations in him: but told him he must take time to think on it, and craved leave to consult with the Lord Major, and Court of Aldermen. So the King writ by

His care of the Relief of the Poor.

1553. by him to them to consult speedily how the Poor should be relieved. They considered there were three sorts of Poor; such as were so by natural infirmity or folly, as impotent Persons, and Mad-men, or Ideots; such as were so by accident, as sick, or maimed Persons; and such as by their idleness did cast themselves into poverty. So the King ordered the *Gray-friars* Church near *Newgate*, with the Revenues belonging to it, to be a House for Orphans: St. *Bartholomews* near *Smith-field* to be an Hospital: and gave his own House of *Bridewell* to be a Place of Correction and Work for such as were wilfully idle. He also confirmed and enlarged the Grant for the Hospital of St. *Thomas* in *Southwark*, which he had erected and endowed in *August* last. And when he set his Hand to these Foundations, which was not done before the *26th* of *June* this Year: He thanked God, that had prolonged his Life, till he had finished that design. So he was the first Founder of those Houses, which, by many great Additions since that time, have risen to be among the Noblest in *Europe*.

He expressed in the whole course of his sickness, great submission to the Will of God, and seemed glad at the approaches of death; only the consideration of Religion and the Church touched him much; and upon that account he said, he was desirous of Life. About the end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, the Duke of *Suffolks* three Daughters were married: The eldest, Lady *Jane*, to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, the fourth Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, (who was the only Son whom he had yet unmarried:) The second, the Lady *Katharine*, to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s eldest Son, the Lord *Herbert*: The third, the Lady *Mary*, who was crooked, to the Kings Groom-Porter *Martin Keys*. The Duke of *Northumberland* married his two Daughters, the eldest to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Son to Sir *William Sidney*, that had been Steward to the King, when he was Prince; the other was married to the Lord *Hastings*, Son to the Earl of *Huntington*. The People were mightily inflamed against this insolent Duke, for it was generally given out, that he was sacrificing the King to his own extravagant ambition. He seemed little to regard their Censures, but attended on the King most constantly, and expressed all the care and concern about him that was possible. And finding that nothing went so near his Heart as the ruine of Religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his death, when his Sister *Mary* should come to the Crown: Upon that, he and his Party took advantage to propose to him to settle the Crown by his Letters Patents on the Lady *Jane Gray*. How they prevailed with him to pass by his Sister *Elizabeth*, who had been always much in his favour, I do not so well understand. But the King being wrought over to this, the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, who was next in King *Henry*'s Will, was ready to devolve her Right on her Daughter, even though she should come afterwards to have Sons. So on the *11th* of *June*, *Mountague* that was Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, and *Baker*, and *Bromley*, two Judges, with the Kings Attorney, and Solicitor, were commanded to come to Council. There they found the King with some Privy-Councellors about him. The King told them, he did now apprehend the

Several Marriages.

He is perswaded to leave the Crown to the Lady *Jane*.

Which the Judges at first opposed.

the danger the Kingdom might be in, if upon his death his Sister *Mary* should succeed; who might marry a Stranger, and so change the Laws and the Religion of the Realm. So he ordered some Articles to be read to them, of the way in which he would have the Crown to descend. They objected, that the Act of Succession, being an Act of Parliament, could not be taken away by any such device: yet the King required them to take the Articles, and draw a Book according to them: they asked a little time to consider of it. So having examined the Statute of the first Year of this Reign, concerning Treasons, they found that it was Treason, not only after the Kings death, but even in his Life, to change the Succession. Secretary *Petre* in the mean while pressed them to make hast: When they came again to the Council, they declared they could not do any such thing; for it was Treason; and all the Lords should be guilty of Treason if they went on in it. Upon which, the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was not then in the Council-Chamber, being advertised of this, came in great fury, calling *Mountague* a Traitor, and threatned all the Judges; so that they thought he would have beaten them. But the Judges stood to their Opinion. They were again sent for, and came, with *Gosnold* added to them, on the 15*th* of *June*. The King was present, and he somewhat sharply asked them, Why they had not prepared the Book as he had ordered them? They answered, That what ever they did would be of no force without a Parliament. The King said, He intended to have one shortly. Then *Mountague* proposed, that it might be delayed till the Parliament met. But the King said, He would have it first done, and then ratified in Parliament; and therefore he required them on their Allegiance to go about it; and some Counsellors told them, if they refused to obey that, they were Traitors. This put them in a great consternation; and old *Mountague*, thinking it could not be Treason what ever they did in this matter while the King lived, and at worst, that a Pardon under the Great Seal would secure him, consented to set about it, if he might have a Commission requiring him to do it, and a Pardon under the Great Seal when it was done. Both these being granted him, he was satisfied. The other Judges, being asked if they would concur, did all agree, being overcome with fear; except *Gosnald*, who still refused to do it. But he also, being sorely threatned, both by the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, consented to it the next day. So they put the Entail of the Crown in Form of Law, and brought it to the Lord Chancellor to put the Seal to it. They were all required to set their Hands to it, but both *Gosnald* and *Hales* refused. Yet the former was wrought on to do it, but the latter, though a most steady and zealous Man for the Reformation, would upon no consideration yield to it: After that the Lord Chancellor, for his Security, desired that all the Counsellors might set their Hands to it; which was done on the 21*st* of *June* by thirty three of them; it is like, including the Judges in the Number. But *Cranmer*, as he came seldom to Council after the Duke of *Somersets* Fall, so he was that day absent on design. *Cecil*, in a Relation which he made one write of this Transaction, for clearing himself afterwards, says, That when he had heard *Gosnald* and *Hales* declare how much it was against Law, he refused to set his Hand to it as a Counsellor, and that he only Signed as a Witness

1553.

But through fear all yielded except Judge *Hales*.

1553. Witneſs to the Kings Subſcription. But *Cranmer* ſtill refuſed to do it after they had all Signed it, and ſaid he would never conſent to the diſinheriting of the Daughters of his late Maſter. Many Conſultations were had to perſwade him to it. But he could not be prevailed on, till the King himſelf ſet on him; who uſed many Arguments, from the danger Religion would otherwiſe be in, together with other Perſwaſions; ſo that, by his Reaſons, or rather Importunities, at laſt he brought him to it. But whether he alſo uſed that diſtinction of *Cecils*, that he did it as a Witneſs, and not as a Counſellor, I do not know: but it ſeems probable, that if that liberty was allowed the one, it would not be denied the other.

Cranmer was very hardly brought to conſent to it.

The Kings ſickneſs becomes deſperate.

But though the ſetling this buſineſs gave the King great content in his mind, yet his Diſtemper rather encreaſed than abated; ſo that the Phyſicians had no hope of his recovery. Upon which, a confident Woman came, and undertook his Cure, if he might be put into her Hands. This was done, and the Phyſicians were put from him, upon this pretence, that they having no hopes of his recovery, in a deſperate Caſe deſperate Remedies were to be uſed. This was ſaid to be the Duke of *Northumberlands* advice in particular; and it encreaſed the Peoples jealouſie of him, when they ſaw the King grow very ſenſibly worſe every day after he came under the Womans care: which becoming ſo plain, ſhe was put from him, and the Phyſicians were again ſent for, and took him into their charge. But if they had ſmall hopes before, they had none at all now. Death thus haſtening on him, the Duke of *Northumberland*, who knew he had done but half his work, except he had the Kings Siſters in his Hands, got the Council to write to them in the Kings Name, inviting them to come and keep him company in his ſickneſs. But as they were on the way, on the ſixth of *July*, his Spirits and Body were ſo ſunk, that he found death approaching; and ſo he compoſed himſelf to die in a moſt devout manner. His whole exerciſe was in ſhort Prayers and Ejaculations. The laſt that he was heard to uſe was in theſe words: *Lord God deliver me out of this miſerable and wretched Life, and take me among thy Choſen; Howbeit not my Will but thine be done; Lord, I commit my Spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knoweſt how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy Choſens ſake ſend me Life and Health, that I may truly ſerve thee. O my Lord God, bleſs my People, and ſave thine Inheritance; O Lord God, ſave thy choſen People of* England; *O Lord God, defend this Realm from Papiſtry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praiſe thy Holy Name, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake.* Seeing ſome about him, he ſeemed troubled, that they were ſo near, and had heard him: but with a pleaſant countenance he ſaid, he had been praying to God. And ſoon after, the Pangs of death coming on him, he ſaid to Sir *Henry Sidney*, who was holding him in his Arms, *I am faint, Lord have mercy on me, and receive my Spirit*; and ſo he breathed out his Innocent Soul. The Duke of *Northumberland*, according to *Cecils* Relation, intended to have concealed his death for a fortnight, but it could not be done.

His laſt Prayer

His Death and Character.

Thus died King *Edward* the ſixth, that incomparable young Prince. He was then in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, and was counted the wonder of that Time. He was not only learned in the Tongues, and other Liberal

beral Sciences, but knew well the State of his Kingdom. He kept a 1553.
Book, in which he writ the Characters that were given him, of all the chief Men of the Nation, all the Judges, Lord-Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace over *England*: in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for Religion. He had studied the matter of the Mint, with the Exchange, and value of Money; so that he understood it well, as appears by his Journal. He also understood Fortification, and designed well. He knew all the Harbours and Ports, both of his own Dominions, and of *France*, and *Scotland*; and how much Water they had, and what was the way of coming in to them. He had acquired great knowledge in Forreign Affairs; so that he talked with the Ambassadors about them in such a manner, that they filled all the World with the highest opinion of him that was possible; which appears in most of the Histories of that Age. He had great quickness of apprehension; and being mistrustful of his memory, used to take Notes of almost every thing he heard: he writ these first in *Greek* Characters, that those about him might not understand them; and afterwards writ them out in his Journal. He had a Copy brought him of every thing that passed in Council, which he put in a Chest, and kept the Key of that always himself.

In a word, the natural and acquired perfections of his mind were wonderful; but his Vertues and true Piety were yet more extraordinary. He was such a Friend to Justice, that, though he loved his Unkle the Duke of *Somerset* much, yet when he was possessed of a belief of his designing to murder his Fellow-Councellors, he was alienated from him: and being then but fourteen, it was no wonder if that was too easily infused in him. His chief Favourite was *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, to whom he writ many Letters and Instructions when he sent him to be bred in *France*. In one of his Letters to him, he writ, That he must not think to live like an Ambassador, but like a private Gentleman, who was to be advanced as he should deserve it. He allowed him to keep but four Servants: he charged him to follow the company of Gentlemen, rather than of Ladies: that he should not be superfluous in his Apparel: that he should go to the Campagne, and observe well the Conduct of Armies, and the Fortification of strong Places: and let the King know always when he needed Money, and he would supply him. All these with many other directions the King writ with his own Hand: and at his return, to let him see he intended to raise him by degrees, he gave him a Pension only of 150 Pound. This *Fitz-Patrick* did afterwards fully answer the opinion this young King had of him. He was bred up with him in his Learning; and as it is said, had been his whipping Boy, who, according to the Rule of educating our Princes, was always to be whipt for the Kings faults. He was afterwards made by Queen *Elizabeth* Baron of Upper *Ossory* in *Ireland*, which was his Native Country.

King *Edward* was tender and compassionate in a high measure: so that he was much against the taking away the Lives of Hereticks; and therefore said to *Cranmer*, when he perswaded him to Sign the Warrant for the burning of *Joan* of *Kent*, that he was not willing to do it, because he thought that was to send her quick to Hell. He expressed great tenderness to the miseries of the Poor in his sickness, as hath been already

1553. shewn. He took particular care of the Sutes of all poor Persons; and gave Dr. *Cox* special charge to see that their Petitions were speedily answered, and used oft to consult with him how to get their matters set forward. He was an exact keeper of his word; and therefore, as appears by his Journal, was most careful to pay his Debts, and to keep his credit: knowing that to be the chief Nerve of Government; since a Prince that breaks his Faith, and loses his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrusts, and extream contempt.

He had above all things a great regard to Religion. He took Notes of such things as he heard in Sermons, which more specially concerned himself: and made his measures of all Men by their zeal in that matter. This made him so set on bringing over his Sister *Mary* to the same Perswasions with himself; that when he was pressed to give way to her having Mass, he said, That he would not only hazard the loss of the Emperors friendship, but of his Life, and all he had in the World, rather than consent to what he knew was a sin: and he cited some Passages of Scripture that obliged Kings to root out Idolatry; by which he said he was bound in Conscience not to consent to her Mass; since he believed it was Idolatry; and did argue the matter so learnedly with the Bishops, that they left him, being amazed at his knowledge in Divinity. So that *Cranmer* took *Check* by the Hand upon it, and said, He had reason all the days of his Life to rejoyce that God had honoured him to breed such a Scholar. All Men who saw and observed these qualities in him, looked on him as one raised by God for most extraordinary ends; and when he died, concluded that the sins of *England* must needs be very great, that had provoked God to take from them a Prince under whose Government they were like to have seen such blessed times. He was so affable and sweet natured, that all had free access to him at all times; by which he came to be most universally beloved, and all the high things that could be devised were said by the People to express their esteem of him. The Fable of the Phœnix pleased most; so they made his Mother one Phœnix, and him another, rising out of her Ashes. But graver Men compared him to *Josiah*; and long after his death I find both in Letters and Printed Books they commonly named him *Our Josias*, others called him *Edward* the Saint.

A Prince of such qualities; so much esteemed and loved, could not but be much lamented at his death; and this made those of the Reformation abhor the Duke of *Northumberland*, who they suspected had hastened him to such an untimely end: which contributed, as much as any thing, to the establishing of Queen *Mary* on the Throne; for the People reckoned none could be so unworthy to govern, as those who had poisoned so worthy a Prince, and so kind a Master. I find nothing of opening his Body for giving satisfaction about that which brought him to his end; though his lying unburied till the eighth of *August* makes it probable that he was opened.

But indeed the sins of *England*, did at this time call down from Heaven heavy Curses on the Land. They are sadly expressed in a Discourse that *Ridley* writ soon after, under the Title of the Lamentation of *England:* he says Lechery, Oppression, Pride, Covetousness, and a hatred

and

and ſcorn of Religion, were generally ſpread among all People: chiefly those of the higher Rank. *Cranmer* and he had been much diſliked: the former for delivering his Conſcience ſo freely on the Duke of *Somerſets* death; and both of them for oppoſing ſo much the rapine and ſpoil of the Goods of the Church, which was done without Law or Order. Nor could they engage any to take care of relieving the Poor, except only *Dobbs*, who was then Lord Major of *London*. Theſe ſins were openly preached againſt, by *Latimer*, *Lever*, *Bradford*, and *Knox*, who did it more ſeverely, and by others who did it plainly, though more ſoftly. One of the main cauſes *Ridley* gives of all theſe evils, was, that many of the Biſhops, and moſt of the Clergy, being all the while Papiſts in Heart, who had only complied to preſerve their Benefices, took no care of their Pariſhes, and were rather well pleaſed that things were ill managed. And of this that good Biſhop had been long very apprehenſive when he conſidered the ſins then prevailing, and the Judgments which they had reaſon to look for; as will appear by an excellent Letter, which he ſent about to his Clergy to ſet them on to ſuch Duties as ſo ſad a Proſpect required: It will be found in the *Collection*; and though it belongs to the former Year, yet I chooſe rather to bring it in on this occaſion. Theſe things having been fully laid open in the former parts of this Work, I ſhall not inſiſt on them here, having mentioned them only for this cauſe, that the Reader may from hence gather, what we may ſtill expect, if we continue guilty of the ſame or worſe ſins, after all that illumination and knowledge with which we have been ſo long bleſt in theſe Kingdoms.

1553.

Collection Number 58.

The END of the Firſt BOOK.



Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in St. Pauls Church yard.

BOOK II.

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF Queen MARY.

1553.

Upon the Death of King *Edward*, the Crown devolved, according to King *Henry*'s Will, and the Act of Parliament, made in the 35*th* Year of his Reign, on his Eldest Sister, the now Queen *Mary*. She was on her way to *London*, in obedience to the Letters that had been writ to her, to come and comfort her Brother in his Sickness; and was come within half a days Journey of the Court, when she received an Advertisement from the Earl of *Arundel*, that her Brother was dead; together with an account of what was done about the Succession. The Earl also informed her, that the King's Death was concealed, on design to entrap her before she knew of it; and therefore he advised her to retire. Upon this, she knowing that the Duke of *Northumberland* was much hated in *Norfolk*, for the great slaughter he had made of the Rebels, when he subdued them in the third Year of the last Reign; therefore chose to go that way to the Castle of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*: Which Place being near the Sea, she might, if her Designs should miscarry, have an opportunity from thence to fly over to the Emperor that was then in *Flanders*.

Q. *Mary* succeeds, but is in great danger.

And retires to *Suffolk*.

At *London*, it seems, the whole Business of setting up the Lady *Jane*, had been carried very secretly; since if Queen *Mary* had heard any

1553. hint of it, she had certainly kept out of the way, and not adventured to have come so near the Town. It was an unaccountable Error in the Party for the Lady *Jane*, that they had not, immediately after the Seal was put to the Letters Patents, or at furthest, presently after the King's Death, sent some to make sure of the King's Sisters; instead of which they thus lingred, hoping they would have come into their Toils, in an easier and less violent way. On the 8*th* of *July*, they writ to the English Ambassadors at *Brussels* the news of the King's Death, but said nothing of the Succession. On the 9*th* of *July* they perceived the King's Death was known; for Queen *Mary* writ to them, from *Kenning-Hall*, that she understood the King her Brother was dead; which how sorrowful it was to her, God only knew, to whose Will she did humbly submit her Will. The Provision of the Crown to her, after his Death, she said, was well known to them all; but she thought it strange, that he being three days dead, she had not been advertised of it by them. She knew what Consultations were against her, and what Engagements they had entred into; but was willing to take all their Doings in good part, and therefore did give Pardon for all that was past, to such as would accept of it, and required them to proclaim her Title to the Crown in *London*.

She writes to the Council.

Upon this Letter, they saw the death of the King could no longer be concealed; so the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, went to *Durham-House*, where the Lady *Jane* lay, to give her notice of her being to succeed to the Crown, in the room of the deceased King. She received the News with great sorrow for King *Edward*'s Death; which was not at all lessened, but rather encreased, by that other part of their Message, concerning her being to succeed him.

Who declare for the Lady *Jane*.

Lady *Jane*'s Character.

She was a Lady that seemed indeed born for a great Fortune; for as she was a beautiful and graceful Person, so she had great Parts, and greater Vertues. Her Tutor was Dr. *Elmer*, believed to be the same that was afterwards made Bishop of *London* by Queen *Elizabeth*. She had learned from him the Latin and Greek Tongues to great perfection; so that being of the same Age with the late King, she seemed superior to him in those Languages. And having acquired the helps of Knowledg, she spent her time much in the study of it. *Roger Ascham*, Tutor to the Lady *Elizabeth*, coming once to wait on her at her Father's House in *Leicestershire*, found her reading *Plato*'s Works in *Greek*; when all the rest of the Family were hunting in the Park: He asked her, How she could be absent from such pleasant Diversions? She answered, The Pastimes in the Park were but a shadow to the delight she had in reading *Plato's Phedon*, which then lay open before her; and added, That she esteemed it one of the greatest Blessings that God ever gave her, that she had sharp Parents, and a gentle School-master, which made her take delight in nothing so much, as in her Study. She read the Scriptures much, and had attained great knowledg in Divinity. But with all these Advantages of Birth and Parts, she was so humble, so gentle, and pious, that all People both admired and loved her, and none more than the late King. She had a Mind wonderfully raised above the World, and at the Age wherein others are, but imbibing the Notions of Philosophy, she had attained to the practice of the

highest

highest Precepts of it. She was neither lifted up with the hope of a Crown, nor cast down when she saw her Palace made afterwards her Prison; but carried her self, with an equal temper of Mind, in those great inequalities of Fortune, that so suddenly exalted and depressed her. All the Passion she expressed in it was, that which is of the noblest sort, and is the indication of tender and generous Natures, being much affected with the Troubles her Father and Husband fell in, on her account. 1553.

The mention of the Crown, when her Father, with her Father-in-Law, saluted her, Queen, did rather heighten her disorder upon the King's Death. She said, She knew, by the Laws of the Kingdom, and by natural Right, the Crown was to go to the King's Sisters; so that she was afraid of burdening her Conscience, by assuming that which belonged to them; and that she was unwilling to enrich her self by the spoils of others. But they told her, all that had been done was according to the Law, to which all the Judges and Counsellors had set their Hands. This joined with their Persuasions, and the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Fathers temper, than of her Philosophy in him, at length prevailed with her to submit to it: Of which her Father-in-Law did afterwards say in Council, She was rather, by enticement of the Counsellors, and force, made to accept of the Crown, then came to it by her own seeking and request.

Her unwillingness to accept of the Crown.

Upon this, order was given for proclaiming her Queen the next day. And an Answer was writ to Queen *Mary*, signed by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*; the Marquesses of *Winchester* and *Northampton*; the Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Huntington*, *Bedford*, and *Pembrook*; the Lords, *Cobham* and *Darcy*; Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *William Cecil*, Sir *John Cheek*, Sir *John Mason*, Sir *Edward North*, and Sir *Robert Bowes*, in all one and twenty; letting her know, 'That Queen *Jane* was now their Soveraign, according to the Ancient Laws of the Land, and the late King's Letters Patents, to whom they were now bound by their Allegiance. They 'told her, That the Marriage between her Father and Mother, was 'dissolved by the Ecclesiastical Courts, according to the Laws of God, 'and of the Land. That many noble Universities in Christendom had 'consented to it; That the Sentence had been confirmed in Parliaments, and she had been declared illegitimate, and uninheritable to the 'Crown. They therefore required her to give over her Pretences, and 'not to disturb the Government; and promised, that if she shewed 'her self Obedient, she should find them all ready to do her any Service which in Duty they could.

Council writes to Q. *Mary*.

The day following they proclaimed Queen *Jane*. The Proclamation will be found in the *Collection*. It sets forth, 'That the late King had, 'by his Letters Patents, limited the Crown, that it should not descend 'to his two Sisters, since they were both illegitimated by Sentences in 'the Spiritual Courts, and Acts of Parliament, and were only his Sisters by the Half-Blood, who (though it were granted they had been 'legitimate) are not inheritable by the Law of *England*. It was added, That there was also great cause to fear, that the King's Sisters 'might marry Strangers, and so change the Laws of the Kingdom, and

Lady *Jane* proclaimed Queen.
Collection. Number 1.

1553. 'subject it to the Tyranny of the Bishops of *Rome*, and other Foreign Laws. For these Reasons they were excluded from the Succession; and the Lady *Frances*, Dutchess of *Suffolk*, being next the 'Crown, it was provided, that if she had no Sons at the death of the 'King, the Crown should devolve immediately on her eldest Daughter '*Jane*, and after her, and her Issue, to her Sisters; since she was born within the Kingdom, and already married in it. Therefore she was proclaimed Queen, promising to be most benign and gracious to all her 'People, to maintain God's Holy Word, and the Laws of the Land, 'requiring all the Subjects to obey and acknowledg her. When this was proclaimed, great multitudes were gathered to hear it; but there were very few that shouted with the Acclamations ordinary on such Occasions. And whereas a Vintner's Boy did some-way express his scorn at that which was done, it was ordered, that he should be made an Example the next day, by being set on a Pillory, and having his Ears nail'd to it, and cut off from his Head; which was accordingly done; a Herauld in his Coat, reading to the multitude that was called together, by sound of Trumpet, the nature of his Offence.

Censures past upon it.

Upon this, all People were in great distraction; The Proclamation, opening the new Queen's Title, came to be variously descanted on. Some who thought the Crown descended by right of Blood, and that it could not be limited by Parliament, argued, that the King having his Power from God, it was only to descend in the natural way of Inheritance; therefore they thought the next Heir was to succeed. And whereas the King's two Sisters were both by several Sentences and Acts of Parliament, declared *Bastards*; and whether that was well judged, or not, they were to be reputed such as the Law declared them to be, so long as it stood in force; therefore they held that the Queen of *Scotland* was to succeed; who, though she pretended this upon Queen *Mary*'s Death, yet did not claim now, because by the Papal Law, the Sentence against Queen *Mary* was declared *Null*. Others argued, that though a Prince were named by an immediate appointment from Heaven, yet he might change the course of Succession, as *David* did, preferring *Solomon* before *Adonijah*: But this, it was said, did not belong to the King's of *England*, whose right to the Crown, with the extent of their Prerogative, did not come from any Divine Designation, but from a long Possession, and the Laws of the Land: and that therefore the King might by Law limit the Succession, as well as he and other Kings had in some Points limited the Prerogative, (which was clearly Sir *Thomas More*'s Opinion); and that therefore the Act of Parliament, for the Succession of the King's Sisters, was still strong in Law. It was also said, That if the King's Sisters were to be excluded for Bastardy, all *Charles Brandon*'s Issue were in the same predicament; since he was not lawfully married to the French Queen, his former Wife *Mortimer* being then alive, and his Marriage with her was never dissolved; (for though some English Writers say they were divorced, yet those who wrote for the Queen of *Scots* Title, in the next Reign denied it); But in this the difference was great between them; since the King's Sisters were declared Bastards in Law, whereas this against *Charles Brandon*'s Issue, was only a Surmise. Others objected, That if the Blood gave an Indefeasible Title, How came it that the L. *Jane*'s Mother did not Reign? It is true, *Maud* the

Empress, and *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, were satisfied that their Sons, *Henry* the Second, and *Henry* the Seventh, should reign in their Rights; but it had never been heard of, that a Mother had resigned to her Daughter, especially when she was yet under Age. But this was imputed to the Duke of *Suffolk's* weakness, and the Ambition of the Duke of *Northumberland.* That Objection concerning the Half-Blood, being a Rule of Common Law in the Families of Subjects, to cut off from Step-Mothers the Inclinations and Advantages of destroying their Husbands Children, was not thought applicable to the Crown: Nor was that of Ones being born out of the Kingdom, which was hinted at to exclude the Queen of *Scotland*, thought pertinent to this Case: since there was an Exception made in the Law for the King's Children, which was thought to extend to all their Issue. But all People agreed in this, that though by Act of Parliament, King *Henry* was empowred to provide or limit the Crown, by his Letters Patents; yet that was a Grant particularly to him, and did not descend to his Heirs: So that the Letters Patents made by King *Edward*, could have no force to settle the Crown, and much less when they did expresly contradict an Act of Parliament. The proceeding so severely against the Vintners Boy, was imputed to the violent temper of the Duke of *Northumberland.* And though when a Government is Firm, and Factions are weak, the making some publick Examples, may intimidate a Faction otherwise disheartned; yet Severities, in such a juncture as this, when the Council had neither support but the assistance of the People, seemed very unadvised, and all thought it was a great Error to punish him in that manner. 1553.

This made them reflect on the rest of *Northumberland's* Cruelties; His bringing the Duke of *Somerset*, with those Gentlemen that suffered with him, to their End, by a foul Conspiracy; but above all things, the Suspitions that lay on him, of being the Author of the late King's untimely Death, enraged the People so much against him, that without considering what they might suffer under Queen *Mary*, they generally inclined to set her up.

The Duke of *Northumberland* much hated.

The Lady *Jane* was proclaimed in many Towns near *London*, yet the People were generally running to Queen *Mary*: Many from *Norfolk* came to her, and a great Body of *Suffolk* Men gathered about her, who were all for the Reformation. They desired to know of her, whether she would alter the Religion set up in King *Edward's* Days; to whom she gave full Assurances, that she would never make any Innovation or Change, but be contented with the private Exercise of her own Religion. Upon this they were all possessed with such a belief of her sincerity, that it made them resolve to hazard their Lives and Estates in her Quarrel. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suffolk* raised Forces, and joined with her; so did the Sons of the Lord *Wharton* and *Mordant*; with many more.

Many declare for Q. *Mary.*

Upon this the Council resolved to gather Forces for the dispersing of theirs, and sent the Earl of *Huntington's* Brother to raise *Buckinghamshire*, and others to other parts, ordering them to meet the Forces that should come from *London*, at *New-Market*. It was at first proposed to send the Duke of *Suffolk* to command them; but the Lady *Jane* was so much concerned in her Father's preservation, that she urged, he might not be sent; and he being but a soft Man, was easily excused. So it

The Council orders Forces to be sent against her.

1553. it fell next on the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was now much distracted in his Mind. He was afraid, if he went away, the City might declare for Queen *Mary*; nor was he well assured of the Council, who seemed all to comply with him, rather out of fear, than good will. *Cecil* would not officiate as Secretary, as himself relates; the Judges would do nothing; and the Duke plainly saw, that if he had not (according to the custom of our Princes, on their first coming to the Crown) gone with the Lady *Jane*, and the Council, into the *Tower*, whereby he kept them as Prisoners, the Council were inclined to desert him. This divided him much in his Thoughts. The whole success of his Design depended on the dispersing of the Queen's Forces: And it was no less necessary to have a Man of courage continue still in the *Tower*. There was none there whom he could entirely trust, but the Duke of *Suffolk*, and he was so mean spirited, that he did not depend much on him. But the progress the Queen's Forces made, pressed him to go, and make head against her. So he laid all the heavy Charges he could on the Council, to look to Queen *Jane*, and to stand firmly to her Interests; and left *London* on the 14*th* of *July*, marching out with 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot. But as he rode through *Bishops-gate* street, and *Shoreditch*, though there were great Crouds looking on, none cried out to wish him success, which gave a sad indication how ill they were affected to him.

And write to the Emperor.

The Council writ to the Emperor by one *Shelley*, whom they sent to give notice of the Lady *Jane*'s Succession, complaining that the Lady *Mary* was making Stirs, and that his Ambassador had officiously medled in their Affairs; but that they had given Orders for reducing the Lady *Mary* to her Duty. They also desired the continuance of his Friendship, and that he would command his Resident to carry himself as became an Ambassador. Sir *Philip Hobbey* was continued Ambassador there; the others were ordered to stay and prosecute the Mediation of the Peace; but the Emperor would not receive those Letters; and in a few days there went over others from Queen *Mary*.

Ridley preaches for the L. *Jane*'s Title

Ridley was appointed to set out Queen *Jane*'s Title, in a Sermon at *Pauls*; and to warn the People of the Dangers they would be in, if Queen *Mary* should reign: which he did, and gave an account in his Sermon of what had passed between him and her, when he went and offered to preach to her. At the same time the Duke of *Northumberland*, at *Cambridg*, where himself was both Chancellor of the University, and Steward of the Town, made the Vice-Chancellor preach to the same purpose. But he held in more general terms, and managed it so, that there was no great Offence taken on either hand.

Q. *Mary*'s Party grows strong.

But now the Queen had made her Title be proclaimed at *Norwich*; and sent Letters all over *England*, requiring the Peers, and others of great Quality, to come to her assistance. Some Ships had been sent about, to lie on that Coast for intercepting her, if she should fly away; but those who commanded them were so dealt with, that instead of acting against her, they declared for her. Sir *Edward Hastings* having raised 4000 Men in *Buckinghamshire*, instead of joining with the Duke of *Northumberland*, went over with them into her Service. Many were also from all Places every day running to her, and in several Counties

of

of *England* she was proclaimed Queen. But none came in to the Duke of *Northumberland*, so he writ earnestly to the Lords at *London*, to send him more Supplies. 1553.

They understanding, from all the Corners of *England*, that the Tyde grew every-where strong for the Queen, entred into Consultations how to redeem their passed Faults, and to reconcile themselves to her. The Earl of *Arundel* hated *Northumberland* on many accounts. The Marquess of *Winchester* was famous for his dexterity in shifting sides, all ways to his own Advantage. To them joined the Earl of *Pembrook*, the more closely linked to the Interests of the Lady *Jane*, since his Son had married her Sister; which made him the more careful to disentangle himself in time. To those, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Sir *John Mason*, with the two Secretaries, came over. It was said, that the French and Spanish Ambassadors had desired an Audience in some Place in the City; and it was proposed to give it in the Earl of *Pembrooks* House; who being the least suspected, it was agreed to, by the Duke of *Suffolk*, that they should be suffered to go from the *Tower* thither. They also pretended, that since the Duke of *Northumberland* had writ so earnestly for new Forces, they must go and treat with my Lord Mayor and the City of *London* about it. But as soon as they were got out, the Earl of *Arundel* pressed them to declare for Queen *Mary*: And to perswade them to it, he laid open all the Cruelty of *Northumberland*, under whose Tyranny they must resolve to be enslaved, if they would not now shake it off. The other consenting readily to it, they sent for the Lord Mayor, with the Recorder, and the Aldermen; and having declared their Resolutions to them, they rode together into *Cheapside*, and there proclaimed Queen *Mary*, on the 19*th* of *July*: From thence they went to Saint *Pauls*, where *Te Deum* was sung. An Order was sent to the *Tower*, to require the Duke of *Suffolk* to deliver up that Place, and to acknowledg Queen *Mary*: and that the Lady *Jane* should lay down the Title of *Queen*. To this, as her Father submitted tamely, so she expressed no sort of Concern in losing that imaginary Glory, which now had for nine days been rather a Burden, than any Matter of Joy to her. They also sent Orders to the Duke of *Northumberland* to disband his Forces, and to carry himself as became an Obedient Subject to the Queen. And the Earl of *Arundel*, with the Lord *Paget*, were sent to give her an account of it, who continued still at *Framingham* in *Suffolk*.

And the Council turn to her.

And proclaimed her Queen.

The Duke of *Northumberland* had retired back to *Cambridg*, to stay for new Men from *London*; but hearing how Matters went there, before ever the Councils Orders came to him, he dismist his Forces, and went to the Market-place, and proclaimed the Queen, flinging up his own Hat for joy, and crying, *God save Queen Mary*. But the Earl of *Arundel* being sent by the Queen to apprehend him; it is said, That when he saw him, he fell abjectly at his Feet to beg his favour. This was like him, it being not more unusual for such Insolent Persons to be most basely sunk with their Misfortunes, than to be out of measure blown up with success. He was, on the 25*th* of *July*, sent to the *Tower*, with the Earl of *Warwick* his eldest Son, *Ambrose* and *Henry* two of his other Sons. Some other of his Friends were made Prisoners, among whom was Sir *Thomas Palmer*, the wicked Instrument of the

The Duke of *Northumberland* submits, and is taken.

With many more Prisoners who were sent to the *Tower* of *London*.

1553. the Duke of *Somerset*'s fall, who was become his most intimate Confident; and Dr. *Sands* the Vicechancellor of *Cambridg*.

Now did all People go to the Queen to implore her Mercy. She received them all very favourably, except the Marquess of *Northampton*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Lord *Robert Dudley*. The first of these had been a submissive fawner on the Duke of *Northumberland*; the second had incurred her displeasure by his Sermon, and she gladly laid hold on any colour to be more severe to him, that way might be made for bringing *Bonner* to *London* again; the third had followed his Father's Fortunes. On the 27th, the Lords Chief Justices, *Cholmley* and *Montague*, were sent to the *Tower*; and the day after, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *John Cheek*, went after them; the Lady *Jane* and her Husband being still detained in the *Tower*. Three days after an Order came to set the Duke of *Suffolk* at liberty, upon engagement to return to Prison when the Queen required it, for it was generally known that he had been driven on by *Dudley*; and as it was believed, that he had not been faulty out of Malice, so his great weakness made them little apprehensive of any Dangers from him; and therefore the Queen being willing to express a signal Act of Clemency at her first coming to the Crown, it was thought best to let it fall on him.

The Queen enters *London*. Now did the Queen come towards *London*, being met on the way by her Sister *Elizabeth*, with a thousand Horse, who had gathered about her, to shew their Zeal to maintain both their Titles, which in this late contest had been linked together. She made her entry to *London* on the third of *August*, with great solemnity and pomp. When she came to the *Tower*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been almost seven Years in it; *Gardiner*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, that had been five Years there; the Dutchess of *Somerset*, that had been kept there near two Years; and the Lord *Courtney*, (whom she made afterwards Earl of *Devonshire*) that was Son to the Marquess of *Exeter*, and had been kept there ever since his Father was Attainted, had their Liberty granted them. So now she was peaceably setled in the Throne, without any effusion of Blood; having broke through a Confederacy against her, which seemed to be so strong, that if he that was the Head of it, had not been universally odious to the Nation, it could not have been so easily dissipated. She was naturally pious and devout, even to superstition; had a generous disposition of Mind, but much corrupted by Melancholy, which was partly natural in her, but much increased by the cross Accidents of her Life, both before and after her Advancement; so that she was very peevish, and splenetick, towards the end of her Life. When the Differences became irreconcilable between

She had been in danger in her Father's Time. her Father and Mother, she followed her Mothers Interests, they being indeed her own; and for a great while could not be perswaded to submit to the King; who being impatient of contradiction from any, but especially from his own Child, was resolved to strike a terror in all his People, by putting her openly to death. Which her Mother coming to know, writ her a Letter of a very devout strain, which will be

* *Coll.* Numb. 2. found in the *Collections*. In which, 'She encouraged her to suffer 'chearfully, to trust to God, and keep her heart clean. She charged 'her, in all things, to obey the King's Commands, except in the Matters of Religion. She sent her two Latin Books, the one of the Life

'of

'of Christ, (which was perhaps the famous Book of *Thomas a Kempis*) 1553.
'and the other St. *Jerom*'s Letter. She bid her divert her self at the Virginals or Lute, but above all things to keep her self pure, and to enter 'into no treaty of Marriage, till these ill times should pass over; of 'which her Mother seemed to retain still good hopes. This Letter should have been in my former Volumn, if I had then seen it, but it is no improper Place to mention it here. At Court, many were afraid to move the King for her; both the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* look'd on, and were unwilling to hazard their own Interests to preserve her. But (as it was now printed, and both these appealed to) *Cranmer* was the only Person that would adventure on it. In his gentle way, he told the King, that she was young and indiscreet, and therefore it was no wonder if she obstinately adhered to that which her Mother, and all about her, had been infusing into her for many Years: but that it would appear strange if he should for this Cause so far forget he was a Father, as to proceed to Extremities with his own Child: that if she were separated from her Mother, and her People, in a little time there might be ground gained on her; but to take away her Life, would raise horror through all *Europe* against him. By these means he preserved her at that time.

And was preserv'd by *Cranmer*'s means.

After her Mother's Death, in *June* following, she changed her note; for besides the Declaration she then signed, which was inserted in the former part of this Work; she writ Letters of such submission, as shew how expert she was at dissembling. Three of these to her Father, and one to *Cromwell*, I have put in the *Collection*; 'in which she, 'with the most studied Expressions, declaring her sorrow for her past 'stubbornness, and disobedience to his most just and vertuous Laws, 'implores his Pardon, as lying prostrate at his Feet: and considering 'his great Learning and Knowledg, she puts her Soul in his Hand, re'solving that he should for ever thereafter direct her Conscience, from 'which she vows she would never vary. This she repeats in such tender words, that it shews she could command her self to say any thing that she thought fit for her ends. And when *Cromwell* writ to her, to know 'what her Opinion was about Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Re'liques; she assures him she had no Opinion at all, but such as she should 'receive from the King, who had her whole Heart in his keeping; and 'he should imprint upon it, in these and all other Matters, whatever 'his inestimable Vertue, high Wisdom, and excellent Learning, should 'think convenient for her. So perfectly had she learned that stile, that she knew was most acceptable to him. Having copied these from the Originals, I thought it not unfit to insert them, that it may appear how far those of that Religion can comply, when their Interest leads them to it.

She submitted to her Father.

Collect. Numb. 3, 4, 5, 6.

From that time this Princess had been in all Points most exactly compliant to every thing her Father did. And after his Death, she never pretended to be of any other Religion, than that which was established by him: So that all that she pleaded for, in her Brother's Reign, was only the continuance of that way of Worship, that was in use at her Father's Death. But now, being come to the Crown, that would not content her; yet when she thought where to fix, she was distracted between two different Schemes that were presented to her.

1553. On the one hand, *Gardiner* and all that Party, were for bringing Religion back to what it had been at King *Henry*'s Death; and afterward, by slow degrees, to raise it up to what it had been before his breach with the Papacy. On the other hand, the Queen, of her own Inclination, was much disposed to return immediately to the Union of the Catholick Church, as she called it: and it was necessary for her to do it, since it was only by the Papal Authority that her Illegitimation was removed. To this it was answered, that all these Acts and Sentences that had passed against her, might be annulled, without taking any notice of the Pope. *Gardiner* finding these things had not such weight with her as he desired, for she looked on him as a crafty temporizing Man, sent over to the Emperor, on whom she depended much, to assure him, that if he would perswade her to make him Chancellor, and to put Affairs into his Hands, he should order them so, that every thing she had a mind to, should be carried in time. But *Gardiner* understood she had sent for Cardinal *Pool*; so he writ to the Emperor, that he knew *his Zeal* for the Exaltation of the Popedom, would undo all; therefore he pressed him to write to the Queen for moderating her heat, and to stop the Cardinal's coming over. He said, that *Pool* stood Attainted by Law, so that his coming into *England* would allarm the Nation. He observed, that upon a double account they were averse to the Papacy: The one was, for the Church Lands, which they had generally bought from the Crown on very easie terms, and they would not easily part with them. The other was, The fear they had of Papal Dominion and Power, which had been now for about 25 Years set out to the People, as the most intollerable Tyranny that ever was. Therefore, he said, it was necessary to give them some time to wear out these Prejudices; and the precipitating of Councils might ruin all. He gave the Emperor also secret Assurances of serving him in all his Interests. All this *Gardiner* did the more warily, because he understood that Cardinal *Pool* hated him as a false and deceitful Man. Upon this the Emperor writ to the Queen several Letters with his own hand, which is so hardly legible, that it was not possible for me, or some others to whom I shewed them, to read them, so well as to copy them out: and one that was written by his Sister, the Queen of *Hungary*, and signed by him, is no better; but from many half Sentences, I find, that all was with a design to temper her, that she should not make too much hast, nor be too much led by Italian Counsels. Upon the return of this Message, the Seal, which had been taken from *Goodrick*, Bishop of *Ely*, and put for some days in the keeping of *Hare*, Master of the Rolls, was, on the 13*th* of *August*, given to *Gardiner*, who was declared Lord Chancellor of *England*, and the conduct of Affairs was chiefly put in his hands. So that now the measure of the Queen's Councils, was to do every thing slowly, and by such sure steps as might put them less in hazard.

The Designs for changing Religion.

Gardiner's Policy.

He is made Chancellor.

The first thing that was done, was, the bringing the Duke of *Northumberland* to his Trial. The old Duke of *Norfolk* was made Lord High Steward; the Queen thinking it fit to put the first Character of honour on him, who had suffered so much for being the Head of the Popish Party. And here a subtle thing was started, which had been kept a great Secret hitherto. It was said, the Duke of *Norfolk* had

The Duke of *Northumb.* and others Tried.

never,

never been truly attainted; and that the Act against him was not a true Act of Parliament; so that without any Pardon, or restitution in Blood, he was still Duke of *Norfolk*. This he had never mentioned all the last Reign, lest that should have procured an Act to confirm his Attainder. So he came now in upon his former Right, by which, all the Grants that had been given of his Estate, were to be declared void by Common Law. The Duke of *Northumberland*, with the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were brought to their Trials. The Duke desired two Points might be first answered by the Judges, in matter of Law. The one, Whether a Man acting by the Authority of the Great Seal, and the Order of the Privy Council, could become thereby guilty of Treason? The other was, Whether those who had been equally guilty with him, and by whose Direction and Commands he had acted, could sit his Judges? To these the Judges made answer, That the Great Seal of one that was not lawful Queen, could give no Authority, nor Indemnity, to those that acted on such a Warrant: and that any Peer that was not, by an Attainder upon Record, convicted of such accession to his Crime, might sit his Judg, and was not to be challenged upon a Surmise or Report. So these Points, by which only he could hope to have defended himself, being thus determined against him, he confessed he was guilty, and submitted to the Queen's Mercy. So did the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Duke's Son, the Earl of *Warwick*, who (it seems by this Trial) had a Writ for sitting in the House of Peers; they were all three found guilty. Judgment also passed next day, in a Jury of Commoners, against St. *John Gates*, and his Brother Sir *Humphrey*; Sir *Andrew Dudley*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, confessing their Indictments. But of all these it was resolved, that only the Duke of *Northumberlrnd*, and Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, should be made Examples: *Heath*, Bishop of *Worcester*, was employed to instruct the Duke, and to prepare him for his Death. Whether he had been always in heart what he then professed, or whether he only pretended it, hoping that it might procure him favour, is variously reported: but certain it is, that he said, he had been always a Catholick in his Heart; yet this could not save him. He was known to be a Man of that temper, so given, both to revenge and dissimulation, that his Enemies saw it was necessary to put him out of the way, lest if he had lived, he might have insinuated himself into the Queen's favour, and then turn'd the danger upon them. So the Earl of *Arundel*, now made Lord Steward of the Houshold, with others, easily obtained that his Head should be cut off, together with Sir *John Gates's*, and Sir *Thomas Palmers*.

1553.

And condemned.

At his Death he professes he had been always a Papist.

On the 22d of *August* he was carried to the Place of Execution. On the way, there was some expostulation between *Gates* and him; They, as is ordinary for Complices in ill Actions, laying the blame of their Miseries on one another: Yet they professed they did mutually forgive, and so died in Charity together. It is said, that he made a long Speech, accusing his former ill Life, and confessing his Treasons. But that part of it which concerned Religion, is only preseved. In it, he exhorted the People to stand to the Religion of their Ancestors, and to reject that of latter date, which had occasioned all the misery of the foregoing thirty Years; and desired, as they would prevent the like for the future,

1553. that they would drive out of the Nation these Trumpets of Sedition, the new Preachers; that for himself, what-ever he had otherwise pretended, he believed no other Religion than that of his fore-fathers; in which he appealed to his Ghostly Father, the Bishop of *Worcester* then present with him; but being blinded with Ambition, he had made wreck of his Conscience, by temporising, for which he professed himself sincerely penitent. So did he, and the other two, end their days. *Palmer* was little pittied, as being believed a treacherous Conspirator against his former Master, and Friend, the Duke of *Somerset*.

His Character

Thus died the ambitious Duke of *Northumberland*. He had been, in the former parts of his Life, a great Captain, and had the reputation of a wise Man: He was generally successful, and they that are so, are always esteemed wise. He was an extraordinary Man in a lower size, but had forgot himself much when he was raised higher, in which his Mind seemed more exalted than his Fortunes. But as he was transported by his Rage and Revenge out of measure, so he was as servile and mean in his Submissions. *Fox*, it seems, was informed, that he had hopes given him of his Life, if he should declare himself to be of the Popish Religion, even though his Head were laid on the Block: but which way soever he made that Declaration, either to get his Life by it, or that he had really been always what he now professed; it argued that he regarded Religion very little, either in his Life, or at his Death. But whether he did any thing to hasten the late King's Death, I do not find it was at all enquired after: Only those who considered how much Guilt disorders all People, and that they have a black Cloud over their Minds, which appears, either in the violence of Rage, or the abjectness of Fear, did find so great a change in his deportment, in these last Passages of his Life, from what was in the former parts of it, that they could not but think there was some extraordinary thing within him from whence it flowed.

King *Edwards* Funeral.

And for King *Edward*'s Death, those who had Affairs now in their Hands, were so little careful of his Memory, and indeed so glad of his Death, that it is no wonder they made little search about it. It is rather strange that they allowed him such Funeral Rites. For the Queen kept a solemn Exequie, with all the other Remembrances of the Dead, and Masses for him, used in the Roman Church, at the *Tower*, on the *8th* of *August*, the same day that he was buried at *Westminster*: the Lord Treasurer, (who was the Marquess of *Winchester*, still continued in that Trust) the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, and *Pembrook*, being the principal Mourners. *Day*, that was now to be restored to his See of *Chichester*, was appointed to preach the Funeral Sermon: In which he commended and excused the King, but loaded his Government severely; and extolled the Queen much, under whom he promised the People happy days. It was intended that all the Burial Rites should have been according to the old Forms that were before the Reformation. But *Cranmer* opposed this vigorously, and insisted upon it, That as the King himself had been a zealous promoter of that Reformation, so the English Service was then established by Law: upon this he stoutly hindred any other way of officiating, and himself performed all the Offices of the Burial; to which he joined the solemnity of a Communion. In these, it may be easily imagined, he did every thing with a very lively sorrow; since

since as he had loved the King beyond expression, so he could not but look upon his Funeral, as the Burial of the Reformation, and in particular as a step to his own. 1553.

On the 12*th* of *August*, the Queen made an open declaration in Council, that although her Conscience was staied in the Matters of Religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or strain others, otherwise than as God should put into their Hearts, a persuasion of that Truth she was in; and this she hoped should be done by the opening His Word to them, by godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers. Now all the deprived Bishops looked to be quickly placed in their Sees again. *Bonner* went to St. *Pauls* on the 13*th* of *August*, being *Sunday*, where *Bourn*, that was his Chaplain, preached before him. He spake honourably of *Bonner*, with sharp Reflections on the Proceedings against him in the Time of King *Edward*. This did much provoke the whole Audience, who as they hated *Bonner*, so could not hear any thing said that seemed to detract from that King. Hereupon there was a great Tumult in the Church; some called to pull him down, others flung Stones, and one threw a Dagger towards the Pulpit with that force, that it stuck fast in the timber of it; *Bourn*, by stooping, saved himself from that danger: and *Rogers*, and *Bradford*, two eminent Preachers, and of great credit with the People, stood up, and gently quieted the heat; and they, to deliver *Bourn* out of their hands, conveyed him from the Pulpit, to a House near the Church.

The Queen declares she will force no Man's Conscience.

A Tumult at *Pauls* Cross.

This was such an Accident as the Papists would have desired; for it gave them a colour to proceed more severely, and to prohibit Preaching, which was the first step they intended to make. There was a Message sent to the Lord Mayor, to give a strict charge, that every Citizen should take care of all that belonged to him, and see that they went to their own Parish Church, and kept the Peace; as also to acquaint them with what the Queen had declared in Council on the 13*th* of *August*. And on the 18*th*, there was published an Inhibition in the Queen's Name, to this effect; 'That she, considering the great Danger that had come to the Realm, by the Differences in Religion, did delare for her self, that she was of that Religion that she had professed from her Infancy, and that she would maintain it during her time, and be glad that all her Subjects would charitably receive it: Yet she did not intend to compel any of her Subjects to it, till publick Order should be taken in it by common Assent: requiring all, in the mean while, not to move Sedition or Unquietness, till such Order should be setled, and not to use the Names of *Papist*, or *Heretick*, but to live together in Love, and in the Fear of God: but if any made Assemblies of the People, she would take care they should be severely punished:' and she straitly charged them, that none should preach, or expound Scripture, or print any Books, or Plays, without her special License. And required her Subjects, that none of them should presume to punish any on pretence of the late Rebellion, but as they should be authorised by her: Yet she did not thereby restrain any from informing against such Offenders: She would be most sorry to have cause to execute the severity of the Law, but she was resolved not to suffer such Rebellious Doings to go unpunished, but hoped her Subjects would not drive her to the extream execution of the Laws.

An Inhibition of all preaching.

When

1553. When this was publiſhed, which was the firſt thing that was ſet out in her Name ſince ſhe had come to the Crown, it was much deſcanted on. The Profeſſion ſhe made of her Religion to be the ſame it had been from her Infancy, ſhewed it was not her Father's Religion, but entire Popery that ſhe intended to reſtore. It was alſo obſerved, that whereas before ſhe had ſaid plainly ſhe would compel none to be of it; now that was qualified with this, till publick Order ſhould be taken in it; which was, till they could ſo frame a Parliament, that it ſhould concur with the Queen's Deſign. The equal forbidding of Aſſemblies, or ill Names, on both ſides, was thought intended to be a Trap for the Reformed, that they ſhould be puniſhed if they offended, but the others were ſure to be rather encouraged. The reſtraint of preaching without Licenſe, was pretended to be copied from what had been done in King *Edward*'s Time: Yet then there was a Liberty left for a long time to all to Preach in their own Churches, only they might preach no where elſe without a Licenſe: And the power of Licenſing was alſo lodged at firſt with the Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, and at laſt with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, as well as with the King; whereas now, at one ſtroke, all the Pulpits of *England* that were in the hands of the Reformed, were brought under an Interdict; for they were ſure to obtain no Licenſes. But the cunningeſt part of theſe Inhibitions, was, the declaring that the Queen would proceed with rigour againſt all that were guilty of the late Rebellion, if they ſhould provoke her; many about *London* had ſome way or other expreſſed themſelves for it, and theſe were the hotteſt among the Reformed: So that here was a ſharp threatning hanging over them, if they ſhould expreſs any more Zeal about Religion.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

She requites the Service of the Men of *Suffolk* ill.

When this was put out, the Queen underſtanding, that in *Suffolk*, thoſe of that Profeſſion took a little more liberty than their Neighbours, preſuming on their great Merit, and the Queen's Promiſes to them; there was a ſpecial Letter ſent to the Biſhop of *Norwich*'s Vicar, himſelf being at *Bruſſels*, to ſee to the execution of theſe Injunctions, againſt any that ſhould preach without Licenſe. Upon this, ſome came from *Suffolk* to put the Queen in mind of her Promiſe. This was thought inſolent; and ſhe returned them no other anſwer, But that they being Members, thought to rule her that was their Head; but they ſhould learn, that the Members ought to obey the Head, and not to think to bear Rule over it. One of theſe had ſpoken of her Promiſe with more confidence than the reſt, his Name was *Dobbe*; ſo he was ordered to ſtand three days in the Pillory, as having ſaid that which tended to the defamation of the Queen. And from hence all ſaw what a ſevere Government they were to come under, in which the claiming of former Promiſes, that had been made by the Queen when ſhe needed their Aſſiſtance, was to be accounted a Crime. But there was yet a more unreaſonable Severity ſhewed to *Bradford* and *Rogers*, who had appeaſed the Tumult the *Sunday* before, and reſcued the Preacher from the Rage of the People. It was ſaid, that their appeaſing it ſo eaſily, ſhewed what Intereſt they had with the People, and was a preſumption that they had ſet it on; ſo without any further Proof, the one was put in the *Tower*, and the other confined to his Houſe.

But

But now the deprived Bishops, who were *Bonner* of *London*, *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, *Tonstall* of *Duresm*, *Heath* of *Worcester*, and *Day* of *Chichester*, were to be restored to their Sees. I have only seen the Commission for restoring *Bonner* and *Tonstall*; but the rest were no doubt in the same strain, with a little variation. The Commission for *Bonner* bearing date the 22th of *August*, was directed to some Civilians, setting forth, that he had petitioned the Queen to examine the Appeal he had made from the Delegates that had deprived him; and that therefore the Sentence against him being unjust and illegal, he desired it might be declared to be of no effect. Upon which, these did, without any great hesitation, return the Sentences void, and the Appeals good. So thus they were restored to their Sees. But because the Bishoprick of *Duresm* was by Act of Parliament dissolved, and the Regalities of it, which had bin given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, were now by his Attainder fallen into the Queen's hand, She granted *Tonstall* Letters Patents, erecting that Bishoprick again of new; making mention that some wicked Men, to enrich themselves by it, had procured it to be dissolved. 1553. The Popish Bishops restored.

On the 29th of *August* Commission was granted to *Gardiner* to give Licences under the Great Seal to such Grave, Learned and discreet Persons, as he should think meet and able to preach God's Word. All who were so licensed, were qualified to preach in any Cathedral or Parochial Church, to which he should think it convenient to send them. By this the Reformers were not only out of hope to obtain any Licences, but likewise saw a way laid down for sending such Men as *Gardiner* pleased into all their Pulpits, to infect their People. Upon this they considered what to do. If there had been only a particular Inderdiction of some private persons, the considerations of Peace and Order being of a more publick nature than the consequence of any one Man's open Preaching could be, they judged it was to be submitted to: but in such a case, when they saw this Interdiction was general, and on design to stop their mouths till their Enemies should seduce the People, they did not think they were bound in Conscience to give Obedience. Many of them therefore continued to preach openly; others, instead of Preaching in Churches, were contented to have only the Prayers and other Service there; but for instructing their People, had private Conferences with them. The Council hearing that their Orders had been disobeyed by some in *London*, two in *Coventry*, and one in *Amersham*, they were sent for, and put in Prison. And *Coverdale* Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Hooper* of *Glocester*, being cited to appear before the Council, they came and presented themselves on the 29th and 30th of *August*; and on the first of *September*, *Hooper* was sent to the Fleet, and *Coverdale* appointed to wait their pleasure. The Consultations among the Reformed Doctors.

At this time the Popish Party, growing now insolent over *England*, began to be as forward in making Changes, before the Laws warranted them, as these of the Reformation had been in King *Edward*'s time: so that in many places they set up Images, and the Latin Service, with the old Rites again. This was plainly against Law; but the Council had no mind to hinder it; but on the other hand encouraged it all they could. Upon which Judg *Hales*, who thought he might with the more assurance speak his mind, having appeared so steadily for the Queen, did at the Circuits in *Kent*, give a Charge to the Justices to see to the The barbarous usage of Judg *Hales*.

execu-

1553 execution of King *Edward's* Laws, which were ſtill in force and unrepealed. Upon this he was, without any regard to his former Zeal, put firſt into the Marſhalſea; from thence he was removed to the Counter, and after that to the Fleet: where the good old Man was ſo diſordered with the Cruelties that the Warden told him were contriving againſt all that would not change their Religion, that it turned his Brain, ſo that he endeavoured to have kill'd himſelf with a Penknife. He was after that, upon his Submiſſion, ſet at liberty; but never came to himſelf again: ſo he, not being well looked to, drowned himſelf. This, with the uſage of the *Suffolk*-Men, was much cenſured; and from thence it was ſaid, that no Merits or Services could ſecure any from the Cruelties of that Religion. And it appeared in another ſignal Inſtance, how the Actions of Men were not ſo much conſidered as their Religion. The Lord Chief Juſtice *Mountague*, who had very unwillingly drawn the Letters Patents for the Lady *Jane's* Succeſſion, was turned out of his Place, kept ſix weeks in Priſon, fined in a Thouſand pounds, and ſome Lands that had been given him by King *Edward*, were taken from him; tho he had ſent his Son with Twenty Men to declare for the Queen, and had a great Family of Seventeen Children, ſix Sons and eleven Daughters: whereas Judg *Bromley* that had concurred in framing the Letters Patents without any reluctancy, was made Lord Chief Juſtice: The true Reaſon was, *Bromley* was a Papiſt in his heart, and *Mountague* was for the Reformation.

Cranmer declared openly againſt the Maſs.

In many other places, where the People were Popiſhly affected, they drove away their Paſtors. At *Oxford*, *Peter Martyr* was ſo ill uſed, that he was forced to fly for his ſafety to *Lambeth*, where he could not look for any long protection, ſince *Cranmer* himſelf was every day in expectation of being ſent to Priſon. He kept himſelf quiet, and was contriving how to give ſome Publick and Noble Teſtimonies to the Doctrine that he had ſo long profeſſed, and indeed had bin the chief promoter of in this Church. But his quiet behaviour was laid hold on by his Enemies, and it was given out, that he was reſolved to comply with every thing the Queen had a mind to. So I find *Bonner* wrote to his Friend Mr. *Lechmore* on the 6th of *September*, in that Letter which is in the Collection. ‘He gives him notice that the day before he had bin reſtored to ‘his Biſhoprick, and *Ridley* repulſed; for which he is very witty. ‘*Ridley* had a Steward for two Manours of his, whoſe name was *Ship-*‘*ſide*, his Brother-in-law; upon which he plays as if he had bin Sheeps-‘head. He orders *Lechmore* to look to his Eſtate, and he ſhould take ‘care at the next Parliament that both the *Sheepſheads* and the Calves-‘heads ſhould be uſed as they deſerved. He adds that *Cranmer*, whom ‘in ſcorn he calls Mr. *Canterbury*, was become very humble, and ready ‘to ſubmit himſelf in all things; but that would not ſerve his turn: ‘and it was expected that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower that very ‘day. Theſe reports being brought to *Cranmer*, ſome adviſed him to fly beyond Seas: he ſaid he would not diſwade others from that courſe, now that they ſaw a Perſecution riſing; but conſidering the ſtation he was in, and the hand he had in all the Changes that were made, he thought it ſo indecent a thing for him to fly, that no entreaties ſhould ever perſwade him to it. So he by *Peter Martyr's* advice, drew up a Writing, that I have put in the *Collection* (in Latin, as it was at that time

Bonners Inſolence. Coll. Numb. 7.

Cranmer's Declaration. Coll. Numb. 8.

translated.) The ſubſtance of it was to this effect; 'That as the Devil 1553.
'had at all times ſet on his Inſtruments by Lies to defame the Servants of
'God, ſo he was now more than ordinarily buſie. For whereas King
'*Henry* had begun the correcting of the abuſes of the Maſs, which his
'Son had brought to a further perfection: and ſo the Lords Supper
'was reſtored to its firſt Inſtitution, and was celebrated according to
'the pattern of the Primitive Church; now, the Devil intending to
'bring the Maſs again into its room, as being his own invention, had
'ſtirred up ſome to give out that it had been ſet up in *Canterbury* by
'his the ſaid *Cranmer's* Order; and it was ſaid that he had undertaken
'to ſing Maſs to the Queens Majeſty, both at King *Edwards* Funeral,
'at *Paul's*, and other places: and though for theſe twenty years he
'had deſpiſed all ſuch vain and falſe reports, as were ſpread of him; yet
'now he thought it not fit to lye under ſuch miſrepreſentations. Therefore he proteſted to all the World, that the Maſs was not ſet up at
'*Canterbury* by his order; but that a fawning hypocritical Monk (this
'was *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*,) had done it without his knowledge; and for what he was ſaid to have undertaken to the Queen, her
'Majeſty knew well how falſe that was: offering if he might obtain
'her Leave for it, to maintain, that every thing in the Communion Service that was ſet out by their moſt innocent and good King *Edward*,
'was according to Chriſts Inſtitution, and the practice of the Apoſtles,
'and the ancient Church for many Ages: to which the Maſs was contrary, being full of errors and abuſes; and although *Peter Martyr* was
'by ſome called an ignorant Man, he with him or other four or five, ſuch
'as he ſhould chooſe, would be ready to defend not only their Book
'of Common Prayer, and the other Rites of their Service, but the
'whole Doctrine and Order of Religion, ſet forth by the late King, as
'more pure, and more agreeable to the Word of God, than any ſort of
'Religion that had been in *England* for a thouſand years before it: provided that all things ſhould be judged by the Scriptures, and that the
'Reaſonings on both ſides ſhould be faithfully written down.

Publiſhed without his knowledg.

This he had drawn, with a Reſolution to have made a publick uſe of it: but *Scory*, who had bin Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, coming to him, he ſhewed him the Paper, and bad him conſider of it. *Scory* indiſcreetly gave Copies of it; and one of theſe was publickly read in *Cheapſide*, on the fifth of *September*. So on the eighth of that month he was called before the *Star-Chamber* and asked whether he was the Author of that ſeditious Bill, that was given out in his name; and if ſo, whether he was ſorry for it. He anſwered, that the Bill was truly his; but he was very ſorry it had gone from him in ſuch a manner; for he had reſolved to have inlarged it in many things, and to have ordered it to be affixed to the doors of *Pauls*, and of the other Churches in *London*, with his hand and Seal to it. He was at that time, contrary to all mens expectation, diſmiſſed. *Gardiner* plainly ſaw he could not expect to ſucceed him, and that the Queen had deſigned that See for Cardinal *Pool*, ſo he reſolved to protect and preſerve *Cranmer* all he could. Some moved that he ſhould be only put from his Biſhoprick, and have a ſmall Penſion aſſigned him, with a charge to keep within a Confinement, and not to meddle with matters of Religion. He was generally beloved for the gentleneſs of his temper; ſo it was thought that proceeding ſe-

But owned by him before the Council.

1553 verely with him, might Alienate some from them, and embroil their affairs in the next Parliament. Others objected, that if he, who had been the chief promoter of Heresy, was used with such tenderness, it would encourage the rest to be more obstinate. And the Queen who had forgot the Services he did her in her Father's time, remembring rather that he had pronounced the Sentence of Divorce against her Mother, was easily induced to proceed severely. So on the thirteenth of *September* both he and *Latimer* were called before the Council; *Latimer* was that day committed; but *Cranmer* was respited till next day, and then he was sent to the *Tower*, both for matters of Treason against the Queen, and for dispersing of seditious Bills. *Tylor* of *Hadlee*, and several other Preachers, were also put in Prison; and upon an Information brought against *Horn* Dean of *Duresm*, he was sent for.

He and *Latimer* sent to the Tower.

The Forreigners, that were come over upon publick Faith and encouragement, were better used: for *Peter Martyr* was preserved from the rage of his enemies, and suffered to go beyond Sea. There was also an Order sent to *John a Lasco* and his Congregation to be gone; their Church being taken from them, and their Corporation dissolved. And an hundred seventy five of them went away in two Ships to *Denmark*, on the seventeenth of *September*, with all their Preachers; except two, who were left to look to those few, which stayed behind, and being engaged in Trade, resolved to live in *England*, and follow their Consciences in the matters of Religion in private, with the Assistance of those Teachers.. But *a Lasco*, after a long and hard passage, arriving at *Denmark*, was as ill received there, as if it had heen a popish Country, when they understood that he and his Company were of the *Helvetian* Confession: so that, though it was *December*, and a very severe Winter, they were required to be gone within two days, and could not obtain so much as liberty to leave their Wives or Children behind them, till they could provide a place for them. From thence they went, first to *Lubeck*, then to *Wismar*, and *Hamburgh*, where they found the disputes about the manner of Christs Presents in the Sacrament, had raised such violent animosities, that after much barbarous usage, they were banished out of all those Towns, and could find no place to settle in, till about the end of *March*, that they came to *Friseland*, where they were suffered to plant themselves.

The Forreigners sent out of *England*.

Many in *England*, seeing the Government was set on severe courses so early, did infer that this would soon grow up to an extream Persecution; so that above a thousand Persons fled beyond Seas: most of them went in the company, and as the Servants, of French Protestants, who having come over in King *Edwards* time, were now required, as the *Germans* had been, to return into their own Country. The Council understanding this, took care that no Englishman should escape out of their hands; and therefore sent an Order to the Ports, that none should be suffered to go over as Frenchmen, but those who brought Certificates from the French Embassador. Among those that had got over, some eminent Divines went; who, either having no Cures, or being turned out of their Benefices, were not under such ties to any Flock, so that they judged themselves disingaged and therefore did not, as Hirelings leave their Flock to the Persecution then imminent, but rather went to look after those who had now

Many English fly beyond Sea

left

left England. The chief of these that went at first were *Cox*, *Sanders*, *Grindal*, and *Horn*. *Cox* was without any good colour turned out, both of his Deanery of *Christ-Church*, and his Prebendary at *Westminster*. He was put into the Marshalsea, but on the 19th of *August* was discharged. *Sands* was turned out for his Sermon before the Duke of *Northumberland* at *Cambridge*: On what account *Grindal* was turned out, I know not; *Horn*, soon after he got beyond Sea, printed an Apology for his leaving his Country: he tells that he heard there was some Crimes against the State objected to him, which made him come up from *Duresm* to clear himself: It was said that three Letters had been written to him in the Queens name, requiring him to come up, and intimating that they were resolved to charge him with contempt, and other points of State. He protests that he had never received but one, which was given him on the Road; but seeing how he was like to be used, he withdrew out of *England*: upon which he takes occasion in that discourse to vindicate the Preachers in King *Edwards* time, against whom it was now objected, that they had neglected Fasting and Prayer, and had allowed the People all sorts of Liberty: This he said was so false, that the ruling Men in that time were much offended at the great freedom which the Preachers then took, so that many of them would hear no more Sermons; and he says for himself, that though *Tonstal* was now his great enemy, he had refused to accept of his Bishoprick, and was ill used, and threatned, for denying to take it. 1553.

All these things tended much to inflame the People. Therefore great care was taken, first, to oblige all those Noblemen who had assisted the Queen at her coming to the Crown; since a grateful acknowledgment of past Services is the greatest encouragement, both to the same Persons to renew them, & to others to undertake the like upon new occasions. The Earl of *Arundel* was made Lord Steward; Sir *Edward Hastings* was made Master of the Horse, and afterwards Lord *Hastings*; Sir *John Gage*, Lord Chamberlain; Sir *John Williams*, who had Proclaimed the Queen in *Oxford-shire*, was made Lord *Williams*; and Sir *Henry Jerningham*, that first gathered the Men of *Norfolk* about her, was made Captain of her Guard: but *Ratcliff* Earl of *Sussex* had done the most considerable Service of them all; for to him she had given the chief Command of her Army, and he had managed it with that Prudence, that others were thereby encouraged to come in to her Assistance; so an unusual Honour was contrived for him, that he might cover his head in her Presence: which passed under the Great Seal the second of *October*; he being the only Peer of *England* in whom this Honour was ever conferred, as far as I know. The like was granted to the Lord *Courcy* Baron of *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, whose Posterity enjoy it to this day: but I am not so well informed of that Family, as to know by which of our Kings it was first granted. The Queen having summoned a Parliament to the tenth of *October* was Crowned on the first of that month, by *Gardiner*, who with ten other Bishops, all in their Mitres, Coaps, and Crosiers, performed that Ceremony with great Solemnity. *Day* preaching the Coronation Sermon; who, it seems, was accounted the best Preacher among them; since he was ordered to Preach both at the late Kings Funeral, and now again at the Coronation.

The Queen rewards those who had served her.

The Queen is Crowned, and discharges all Taxes.

But *Gardiner* had prepared a Largess of an extraordinary nature for

1553. the Queen to distribute that day among her People, besides her general Pardon; he caused a Proclamation to be published, which did set forth, 'that whereas the good Subjects of *England* had always exhibited Aid 'to their Princes, when the good of the Publick, and Honour of the 'Realm required it; and though the Queen, since her coming to the 'Crown, found the Treasury was marvelously exhausted, by the evil 'Government of late years, especially since the Duke of *Northumberland* bare Rule; though she found her self charged with diverse great 'sums of her Father and Brothers Debts, which for her own Honour, 'and the Honour of the Realm, she determined to pay in times convenient and reasonable; yet having a special regard to the welfare of 'of her Subjects, and accounting their loving hearts and prosperity the 'chiefest Treasure which she desired, next to the Favour and Grace of 'God; therefore, since in her Brothers last Parliament, two Tenths, 'two Fifteenths, and a Subsidy both out of Lands and Goods, were 'given to him for paying his Debts; which were now due to her; 'she of her great Clemency did fully pardon and discharge these Subsidies; trusting her said good Subjects will have loving consideration 'thereof for their parts, whom she heartily requires, to bend themselves 'wholly to God, to serve him sincerely, and with continual Prayer, for 'the honour and advancement of the Queen, and the Common-'Wealth.'

A Parliament summoned.

And thus matters were prepared for the Parliament; which was opened the tenth of *October*. In the Writ of Summons, and all other Writs, the Queen retained still the Title of *Supream Head*. *Taylor* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and *Harley* Bishop of *Hereford* came thither, resolving to justifie their Doctrine. Most of the other reformed Bishops were now in Prison: for besides these formerly mentioned, on the fourth of *October* the Arch-Bishop of *York* was put in the Tower, no cause being given, but heinous Offences only named in general. When the Mass begun, it is said that those two Bishops withdrew, and were upon that never suffered to come to their Places again. But one *Beal* the Clerk of the Council in Queen *Elizabeths* time, reports this otherwise, and more probably; that Bishop *Taylor* took his place in his Robes, but refusing to give any reverence to the Mass, was violently thrust out of the House. He says nothing of *Harley*, so it is probable that he followed the other. The same Writer also informs us, that in many places of the Country, Men were chosen by Force and Threats; in other places those imployed by the Court, did by violence hinder the Commons from coming to chuse; in many places false Returns were made; and that some were violently turned out of the House of Commons: upon which reasons he concludes that it was no Parliament, since it was under a Force; and so might be annulled, as the Parliament held at *Coventry* in the 38th year of King *Henry* the 6th was, upon Evidence of the like Force, declared afterwards to be no Parliament. The Journals of the House of Lords in this Parliament are lost; so there is no light to be had of their proceedings, but from the imperfect Journals of the House of Commons.

Bishops violently thrust out for not worshiping the Mass.

Great disorder in Elections.

On the second day of the Session, one moved in the House of Commons for a review of King *Edwards* Laws. But that being a while argued, was at this time laid aside, and the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage was put in. Then followed a Debate upon Dr. *Nowell's* being returned

from

from *Loo* in *Cornwal*, whether he being a Prebendary of *Westminster* could sit in that House? and the Committee being appointed to search for Precedents, it was reported, that he being represented in the Convocation-House, could not be a Member of that House; so he was cast out. The Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was sent up to the Lords, who sent it down to the Commons to be reformed in two proviso's that were not according to former Precedents. How far this was contrary to the Rights of the Commons, who now say that the Lords cannot alter a Bill of Money, I am not able to determine. The only publick Bill that passed in this short Session was for a Declaration of Treasons and Felonies: by which it was ordained that nothing should be judged Treason, but what was within the Statute of Treasons in the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third; and nothing should be so judged Felony, that was not so before the 1st year of King *Henry* the eight, excepting from any benefit of this Act, all such as had been in Prison before the last of *September*; who were also excepted out of the Queens Pardon at her Coronation. Two private Bills also passed: the one for the restoring of the Wife of the late Marquess of *Exeter*, who had been Attainted in the 32 year of King *Henry*'s Reign; and the other for her Son *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*. And so the Parliament was Prorogued from the 21 to the 24 of *October*, that their might be a Session of Parliament consisting only of Acts of Mercy; though this Repeal of additional Treasons and Felonies, was not more than what had passed in the beginning of King *Edwards* Reign, without the clogg of so severe a proviso, by which many were cut off from the Favour designed by it. 1553.

An Act for moderating some severe Laws.

Some have thought, that since Treasons had been reduced by the second Act of *Edward* the 6th to the standard of the 25*th* of *Edward* the third, that therefore there was somewhat else designed by this Act, then barely the repealing some late severe Acts, which being done the 1st of *Edward* 6th, needed not be now repealed, if it imported no more. And since this Act as it is worded, mentions, or rather excepts, those Treasons that are declared and expressed in the 25th of *Edward* the 3d, they have inferred that the power of Parliaments declaring of Treasons *ex Post facto*, which was reserved by that Statute, is hereby taken away; and that nothing is now to be held Treason, but what is ennumerated in that Statute. Yet this is still liable to Debate; since the one may be thought to be declared and expressed in general words, as well as the other specialties are in more particular words; and is also still in force. So nothing seems comprehended within this Repeal, but the Acts passed in King *Edwards* Reign, declaring other Crimes to be Treason: some are added in the same Act, and others in that of the 3*d* and 4*th* of his Reign chap. 5. Nor is it likely that, if the Parliament had intended to have delivered the Subjects from the apprehensions of all Acts of Attainder, upon a Declaration of new Treasons, they would not have expressed it more plainly; since it must have been very grateful to the Nation, which had groaned heavily under Arbitrary Attainders of late years.

When the Parliament met again, the first Bill the Commons entred on, was that of Tonnage and Poundage, which they passed in two days. Then was the Bill about King *Henry's* Marriage with the Queens Mother sent down on the 26th by the Lords, and the Commons passed it no the 28th: so strangely was the stream turned, that a Divorce that had

The Mariage of Queen *Katherine* to King *Henry* Confirmed.

been

1553 been for seven years much desired by the Nation, was now repealed upon fewer days consultation. In the Preamble it was said, 'That truth how 'much soever obscured and born down, will in the end break out: and 'that therefore they declared that King *Henry* the 8*th*, being lawfully 'married to Queen *Katherine* by the consent of both their Parents, and 'the advice of the wisest Men in the Realm, and of the best and notablest 'Men for learning in Christendom, did continue that state twenty years 'in which God blessed them with her Majesty and other issue, and a 'course of great happiness; but then a very few malicious Persons did 'endeavour to break that happy agreement between them, and studied 'to possess the King, with a scruple in his Conscience about it: and to 'support that, caused the Seals of some Vniversities to be got against 'it, a few Persons being corrupted with money for that end. They had 'also by sinistrous ways, and secret threatnings procured the Seals of the 'Vniversities of this Kingdom, and finally *Thomas Cranmer* did most ungodlily, and against Law, judge the Divorce, upon his own unadvised understanding of the Scriptures, upon the Testimonies of the Vniversities, and some bare and most untrue conjectures; and that was afterwards confirmed by two Acts of Parliament, in which was contained the Illegitimacy of her Majesty: But that Marriage not being prohibited by the Law of God, and lawfully made, could not be so 'broken; since what God hath joyned together, no Man could put asunder: all which they considering, together with the many miseries 'that had fallen on the Kingdom since that time, which they did esteem 'Plagues sent from God for it; therefore they declare that Sentence 'given by *Cranmer* to be unlawful, and of no force from the begining: and do also repeal the Acts of Parliament that had confirmed 'it.

Which was much Censured.

By this Act, *Gardiner* had performed his Promise to the Queen, of getting her Illegitimation taken off, without any relation to the Popes Authority. But in the drawing of it, he shewed that he was past all shame: when he could frame such an Act, of a business which himself had so violently and servilely promoted. The falsehood of that pretence of corrupting Vniversities has been shewn in the former Volumn: but it was all they had now to say. The laying it all upon *Cranmer* was as high a pitch of malice and impudence, as could be devised: for as *Gardiner* had been setting it on, long before *Cranmer* was known to King *Henry*; so he had been joyned with him in the Commission, and had given his assent to the Sentence which *Cranmer* gave. Nor was the Divorce grounded meerly upon *Cranmers* understanding of the Scriptures, but upon the fullest and most studied Arguments, that had perhaps been in any Age brought together in one particular case: and both Houses of Convocation had condemned the Mariage before his sentence. But because in the right of his See he was *Legate to the Pope*, therefore, to make the Sentence stronger, it went only in his name, though he had but a small share in it, compared to what *Gardiner* had.

The Queens carries severely to the Lady *Elizabeth*.

By this Act, there was also a second Illegittimation brought on the Lady *Elizabeth*, to whom hitherto the Queen had been very kind, using her on all occasions with the tenderness of a Sister: but from this time forwards she handled her more severely. It was perhaps occasioned

by this Act, since before they stood both equally illegittimated; but now the Act that legitimated the Queen making her most certainly a Bastard in Law, the Queen might think it now too much to use her as she had done formerly. Others suggest a more secret reason of this distast. The new Earl of *Devonshire* was much in the Queens favour, so that it was thought she had some inclinations to marry him; but he, either not presuming so high, or really having an aversion to her, and an inclination to her Sister, who of that moderate share of beauty that was between them, had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his Addresses with more than ordinary concern to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and this did bring them both in trouble, as shall be afterwards shewn. 1553.

The Laws made by King *Edward* repealed.

The next Bill that was sent from the Lords to the Commons, was for the repealing King *Edward's* Laws about Religion. It was sent down on the 31*st* of *October*, and argued six days in the House of Commons: but in the end it was carried, and sent back to the Lords. The Preamble of it sets forth the great disorders that had fallen out in the Nation by the changes that had been made in Religion, from that which their Fore-fathers had left them by the Authority of the Catholick Church: thereupon all the Laws that had been made in King *Edwards* time about Religion were now repealed; and it was Enacted that, from the 20*th* of *December* next, there should be no other Form of Divine Service but what had been used in the last year King of *Henry* the 8*th*, leaving it free to all till that day, to use either the Books appointed by King *Edward*, or the old ones at their pleasure.

An Act against the affronting Priests.

Another Act was passed, which the Commons sent up to the Lords, against all those who by any overt Act should molest or disquiet any Preacher, because of his Office, or for any Sermon that he might have Preached; or should any way disturb them when they were in any part of the Divine Offices, that either had been in the last year of King *Henry*, or should be afterwards set forth by the Queen; or should break or abuse the holy Sacrament, or break Altars, Crucifixes, or Crosses, those that did any of these things should be presented to the Justices of Peace, and be by them put in Prison, where they should lye three Months, or till they were penitent for their Offences: and if any rescued them, they should be liable to the same punishment. But to this a Proviso was added by the Lords, that this Act should no way derogate from the Authority of the Ecclesiastical Laws and Courts, who might likewise proceed upon such Offences: and a Certificate from the Ordinaries, that such Offenders were punished by them, being brought to the Justices of Peace, they were to proceed no further: or if the Justices made a Certificate that they had punished them according to Law, the Ordinary might not punish them a second time. But the Commons were now so heated, that they sent up another Bill to the Lords against those who came not to Church, nor to Sacraments, after the old Service should be again set up: the inflicting of the Punishments in these cases being left to the Ecclesiastical Courts. This fell in the House of Lords, not so much from any opposition that was made, as that they were afraid of allarming the Nation too much, by many severe Laws at once.

An Act against unlawful Assemblies.

Another Law was made for securing the publick Peace against unlawful

1553. lawful and rebellious Assemblies: that if any to the number of twelve or above, should meet to alter any thing of Religion established by Law, and being required by any, having the Queens Authority, to disperse themselves, should continue after that an hour together, it should be Felony: or if that number met to break Hedges or Parks, to destroy Deer or Fish, &c. and did not disperse upon Proclamation, it should be Felony: or if any, by ringing of Bells, Drums, or firing of Beacons, gathered the People together, and did the things before mentioned, it was Felony: if the Wives or Servants of Persons so gathered, caried Meat, Money, or Weapons to them, it should be Felony: and if any above the number of two, and within twelve, should meet for these ends, they should suffer a years imprisonment; empowering the Sheriffs or Justices to gather the Country for the resistance of Persons so offending, with Penalties on all, between eighteen and sixty, that, being required to come out against them, should refuse to do it. When this Act was known, the People then saw clearly how they had been deceived by the former Act, that seemed so favourable, repealing all Acts of new Treasons and Felonies; since there was so soon after it an Act passed that renewed one of the severest Laws of the last Reign, in which so many things, that might flow from sudden heats, were made Felonies, and a great many new and severe Proviso's were added to it. The Queens discharge of the Subsidy was confirmed by another Act.

The Marquess of Northampton's 2d Marriage is annulled.

There followed two private Acts, which occasioned more Debate than the publick ones had done: The one was, the repeal of the Act that had confirmed the Marquess of *Northamptons* Marriage: It was much argued in the House of Commons, and on the 28*th* of *November* it was agreed to. It contains, that the Act of confirming the Divorce, and the second Marriage, was procured more upon untrue surmises and private respects, than for any publick good, and increase of vertue: and that it was an encouragement for sensual Persons, to practise by false allegations that they might be separated from their Wives, rather then a Precedent to induce People to live with their Wives in a godly sort: thereupon the Act was repealed, and declared void and of no effect. In this it seems, the Arguments that were against it in the House of Commons had so moderated the Stile of it, that it was not repealed as an Act sinful in it self, but it was only declared that in that particular case the Divorce was unlawfully made: for it is reasonable to believe that the Bishops had put in the first draught of the Bill, a simple repeal of it, and of all such Divorces, founded on the indissolubleness of the Marriage Bond.

And the Duke of Norfolks Attainder.

The other Act was about the Duke of *Norfolk*, for declaring his Attainder void. The Patentees that had purchased some parts of his Estate from the Crown, desired to be heard to plead against it. But the Session of the Parliament being near at an end, the Duke came down himself to the House of Commons on the 4*th* of *December*; and desired them earnestly to pass his Bill; and said, that the difference between him and the Patentees was referred to Arbiters, and if they could not agree it, he would refer it to the Queen. It was long argued after that, but in the end it was agreed to. It sets forth, that the Act, by which he was Attainted, had no special matter in it, but only Treasons in general, and a pretence that out of the Parliaments care for the King,

and his Son the Prince, it was neceſſary to attaint him: That the Reaſons they pretended, were, his uſing Coats of Arms, which he and his Anceſtors had and might lawfully uſe. It further ſays, That the King died the next night after the Commiſſion was given for paſſing the Bill; and that it did not appear, that the King had given his Aſſent to it: That the Commiſſion was not ſigned by the King's hand, but only by his Stamp; and that was put to the neather eud, and not to the upper part of the Bill, which ſhewed it was done in diſorder; and that it did not appear that theſe commiſſioned for it had given the *Royal Aſſent* to it. Upon which Conſiderations, that pretended Act is declared void and null by the common Laws of the Land. And it is further declared, That the Law was, and ever hath been, that the Royal Aſſent ſhould be given, either by the King being preſent, or in his abſence, by a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, ſigned with his hand, and publickly notified to the Lords and Commons. 1553.

The laſt Act of which I ſhall give an account, was the Confirmation of the Attainders that had been made. On the 3d of *November*, Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, and the Lady *Jane* his Wife, with two other Sons of the Duke of *Northumberland*, (which were all, except the Lord *Robert*, who was reſerved for greater Fortunes,) were brought to their Trial. Theſe all confeſſed their Endictments. Only *Cranmer* appealed to thoſe that judged him, how unwillingly he had conſented to the excluſion of the Queen; that he had not done it, till thoſe whoſe profeſſion it was to know the Law had ſigned it: upon which he ſubmitted himſelf to the Queen's Mercy. But they were all attainted of High-Treaſon, for levying War againſt the Queen, and conſpiring to ſet up another in her room. So theſe Judgments, with thoſe that had paſſed before, were now confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Cranmer and others attainted.

And now *Cranmer* was legally deveſted of his Arch-Biſhoprick; which was hereupon void in Law, ſince a Man that is attainted can have no right to any Church-Beneſice; his Life was alſo at the Queen's Mercy. But it being now deſigned to reſtore the Eccleſiaſtical Exemption and Dignity to what it had been anciently, it was reſolved, that he ſhould be ſtill eſteemed Archbiſhop, till he were ſolemnly degraded, according to the Canon Law. The Queen was alſo inclined to give him his Life at this time, reckoning, that thereby ſhe was acquitted of all the Obligations ſhe had to him; and was reſolved to have him proceeded againſt for Hereſy, that ſo it might appear ſhe did not act out of revenge, or on any perſonal account. So all that followed on this againſt *Cranmer*, was a Sequeſtration of all the Fruits of his Arch-Biſhoprick; himſelf was ſtill kept in Priſon: Nor were the other Priſoners proceeded againſt at this time. The Queen was deſirous to ſeem willing to pardon Injuries done againſt her ſelf, but was ſo heated in the Matters of Religion, that ſhe was always inexorable on that Head.

But the See of *Canterbury* is not declared void.

Having given this Account of Publick Tranſactions, I muſt relate next what were more ſecretly carried on, but breaking out at this time, occaſioned the ſudden Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Cardinal *Dandino*, that was then the Pope's Legate at the Emperor's Court, ſent over *Commendone* (afterwards a Cardinal) to bring him a certain Account of the Queen's Intentions concerning Religion; he gave him in charge, to endeavour to ſpeak with her in private, and to perſuade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apoſtolick See. This

The Queen treats about a Reconciliation with *Rome*.

1553. was to be managed with great secrecy, for they did not know whom to trust in so important a Negotiation: It seems, they neither confided in *Gardiner*, nor in any of the other Bishops. *Commendone*, being thus instructed, went to *Newport*, where he gave himself out to be the Nephew of a Merchant, that was lately dead at *London*; and hired two Servants to whom he was unknown, and so he came over unsuspected to *London*. There he was so much a Stranger, that he did not know to whom he should address himself. By accident he met with one *Lee*, a Servant of the Queen's, that had fled beyond Sea during the former Reign, and had been then known to him; so he trusted him with the Secret of his Business in *England*. He procured him a secret Audience of the Queen, in which she freely owned to him her Resolution of reconciling her Kingdom to the See of *Rome*, and so of bringing all things back to the state in which they had been before the Breach made by her Father: but she said, It was absolutely necessary to manage that Design with great Prudence and Secresy, lest in that Confusion of Affairs, the discovery of it might much disturb her Government, and obstruct her Design. She writ by him to the Pope, giving him assurance of her filial Obedience, and so sent *Commendone* to *Rome*. She also writ by him to Cardinal *Pool*, and ordered *Commendone* to move the Pope, that he might be sent over with a Legatine Power. Yet he that writ that Cardinal's Life insinuates, that the Queen had another design in desiring that *Pool* might be sent over; for she ask'd him, Whether the Pope might not dispence with the Cardinal to marry, since he was only in Deacon's Orders? Before *Commendone* left *England*, he saw the Duke of *Northumberland* executed, and soon after he made all the haste that was possible to carry those acceptable Tidings to *Rome*; and by his dexterity in this Negotiation, he laid the foundation of those great Fortunes, to which he was afterwards advanced. There was no small Joy in the Consistory, when the Pope and the Cardinals understood, that a Kingdom, from which they had drawn so much Wealth in former times, was now to become again tributary to them. So there was a publick rejoicing for three days, in which the Pope said Mass himself, and distributed his ordinary Largess of Indulgences, of which he was the more bountiful, because he hoped they should come in credit again, and be purchased at the Rates at which they had been formerly sold. Yet in the Consistory, *Commendone* did not positively say he was sent by the Queen, that being only communicated to the Pope: all he told the Cardinals, was, That he understood from very good hands, that the Queen was very well disposed to that See, and that she desired, that a Legate might be sent over with full Powers. Many of the Cardinals thought this was too bare a Message; and that it was below the Papal Dignity, to send a Legate, till the Pope was earnestly desired to do it, by an express Message, and an Embassy sent by the Queen. But it was said, that *Commendone* had said nothing but by the Queen's express Orders, who was yet in so unsettled a condition, that till she held a Session of Parliament, it might much endanger her to appear openly in such a Matter: They were to remember, how *England* had been lost by too much stiffness formerly; and they were to imitate the Shepherd in the Parable, who left his ninety nine Sheep, to seek the one that was strayed. So it was granted, that *Pool* should go Legate, with a full Power. But *Gardiner* coming to know

know this, ſent to the Emperor to ſtop his Journey; aſſuring him, 1553.
that things were going well on,and that his coming over would ſpoil all.
At this time the Emperor began to think of marrying his Son *Philip* to the Queen, who, tho ſhe was above nine years elder than he, yet being but thirty ſeven years old, was not out of hopes of having Children. The Emperor ſaw, that if *England* were united to the Spaniſh Crown, it would raiſe that Monarchy to a great height, they ſhould have all the Trade of the World in their hands, and ſo encloſe *France*, that it ſeemed as probable a ſtep to the Univerſal Monarchy, as that he had lately loſt in *Germany*. When this Match was firſt propoſed, I do not know; but I have read ſome parts of a Letter concerning it, (for it is not all legible) which was written by the Queen of *Hungary*, and ſigned by the Emperor, in the beginning of *November*; this, tho it was not the firſt Propoſition, yet ſeems to have followed ſoon after it. The Queen entertained the Motion eaſily, not truſting to the Affections of her People, nor thinking it poſſible to have the Papal Authority ſet up, nor the Church-Lands reſtored, without a forreign Force to aſſiſt her. It is ſaid, and I have ſhewn ſome ground to believe, that ſhe had ſome Inclinations to Cardinal *Pool*; and that the Emperor, fearing that might be an hindrance to his Deſign, therefore the Cardinal's coming over was ſtopp'd, till the Queen was married to his Son *Philip*. But of this I find no certain footſteps. On the contrary, *Gardiner*, whoſe eye was chiefly upon the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, would rather have promoted *Pool's* pretenſions to the Queen; ſince her marrying a Subject, and not a Stranger, would have made the Government much eaſier, and more acceptable to the People; and it would have been the beſt thing he could do for himſelf, if he could have perſuaded her to marry him, who alone was like to ſtand between him and that Dignity.

But ſtopp'd in his Journey by the Emperor.

The true Account of it, is: The Emperor preſſed her, firſt to ſettle the State,and conſummate her Marriage; and that would more eaſily make way for what was to follow: For *Gardiner* had aſſured him,the bringing in of the Papal Power, and making up the Marriage,both at once,would be things of ſuch ill digeſtion, that it would not be eaſy to carry them together; and therefore it was neceſſary to let a conſiderable Interval go between. This being reſolved on, it was apparent the Marriage ought to go firſt, as that which would give them more ſtrength to conclude the other. And this was the true reaſon of ſtopping Cardinal *Pool* at * *Dilling*; which the Emperor at firſt did by his own Authority, but afterwards got the Queen to ſend one to him to the ſame purpoſe. She ſent *Goldwell* (afterwards Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*) to him, with the two Acts that were paſſed, for the juſtifying of her Mother's Marriage, and for bringing all things back to the State in which they were at her Father's Death. Thereby ſhe let him ſee, that ſhe was going forward in the Buſineſs for which he was ſent; but withal ſhe told him, That the Commons, in paſſing thoſe Acts, had expreſſed great averſion to the taking of the Supremacy from the Crown, or the reſtoring of the Pope's Power; and that they were much allarm'd, to hear he was coming over Legate; and it prejudiced her Affairs, that the Meſſage ſhe had ſent by *Commendone*, had been publiſhed in the Conſiſtory. Therefore ſhe deſired him to keep out of *England*, till he were further

* A Town on the *Danube*.

The Queen ſent one to him.

 adver-

1553. advertised. But to let him see how much she depended on his Counsels, she desired he would send her a List of such Persons as should be made Bishops; for many were now to be turned out. To this (besides the Answer which he might have writ to her self, that I have not seen,) he writ a copious Answer, in a tedious Paper of Instructions, which he gave to *Goldwell*; the Conclusion of which, summing up his whole Mind fully enough, I thought sufficient to put into the *Collection*, for the Instructions are extream long, and very full of words to little purpose. They seem to be of his own hand-writing, but of that I am not well assured, having seen nothing else of his hand, except his Subscription.

Collections, Numb. 9.

The Advice he sent to the Queen.

The substance of it was this: 'He rejoyced much at the two 'Acts that were passed, but yet he censures them both, because 'he observed some Defects in them: In the Act for confirming 'her Mother's Marriage, he found fault that there was no mention made of the Pope's Bulls, by the authority of which only it 'could be a lawful Marriage. In the other, he did not like it, that the 'Worship of God, and the Sacraments, were to be as they were in the 'end of her Father's Reign; for then the People were yet in a State of 'Schism, and Schismaticks have no right to the Sacraments; the Pope's 'Interdict still lay on the Nation, and till that were taken off, none 'could without Sin either administer or receive them. He told her, 'that *Commendone* had said nothing in her Name to the Consistory, but 'had spoken to them only on the Reports which, he said, he had heard 'of her from good hands; and it was necessary to say somewhat, in order to the sending a Legate: That many in the Consistory had opposed the sending of him, because there was no express Desire sent about 'it; but it was carried, that he should come over with very full Graces, and Power to reconcile the Kingdom on very easy Terms. He 'also told her, he was afraid, that when the Pope and Cardinals should 'hear that he was stopp'd, they would repent their Benignity, and 'take this as an Affront, and recall him and his Powers, and send another, that would not be so tender of the Nation, or bring with him 'such full Powers: That to prevent this, he had sent one to the Pope 'and Cardinals, to mitigate their displeasure, by letting them know, he 'was only stopp'd for a little while, till the Act of Atttainder that 'stood against him was repealed; and to make a shew of going forward, 'he had sent his Houshold-Stuff to *Flanders*, but would stay where he 'was, till he had further Orders. He said, he knew this flowed chiefly 'from the Emperor, who was for using such Political Courses, as himself had followed in the Business of the *Interim*, and was earnest to 'have the State setled, before she meddled with Religion; he had 'spoke with his Confessor about it, and had convinced him of the Impiety of such Courses, and sent him to work on him. He also told 'the Queen, he was afraid carnal Policy might govern her too much, 'and that she might thereby fall from her simplicity in Christ, in which 'she had hitherto lived. He encouraged her therefore to put on a 'Spirit of Wisdom and Courage, and to trust in God, who had preserved her so long, and had setled her on the Throne in so unlook'd 'for a manner. He desired, she would shew as much Courage in rejecting the Supremacy, as her Father had done in acquiring it. He 'confessed, he knew none in either House of Parliament fit to propose 'that

'that matter: the Spiritualty had all complied so far, had written and 1553.
'declared for it so much, that it could not flow from them decently;
'and the Temporalty being possessed of the Church Lands, would not
'willingly move it: therefore he thought it best for her self to go to
'the Parliament, having before-hand acquainted some few both of the
'Spiritualty and Temporalty with her Design; and that she should tell
'both Houses, she was touched in her Conscience, that she and her
'People were in a Schism from the Catholick-Church and the Aposto-
'lick See; and that therefore she had desired a Legate to come over to
'Treat about it; and should thereupon propose that the Attainder
'might be taken off from him, that he might be capable to come on that
'Message. And he protested, that he had never acted against the King,
'or Kingdom, but only with design to reduce them to the Unity of
'the Church; neither before nor after the Attainder: and whereas
'some might apprehend a thraldom from the Papacy, she might give
'them assurance that they should see all things so well secured, that
'there should no danger come to the Nation from it; and he assured
'them that he, for his part, should take as much care of that, as any of
'all the Temporalty could desire. What Recomendations he sent, for
'the Sees that were to be declared vacant, I do notknow.

But *Gardiners* methods are preferred to him.

When this Dispatch of his was brought into *England*, *Gardiner*, by the assistance of the Emperor, convinced the Queen that his method was unpracticable, and that the Marriage must be first dispatched: and now *Gardiner* and he did declare open Enmity to one another. *Gardiner* thought him a weak man, that might have some speculative knowledge of abstracted *Ideas*, but understood not the World, nor the genious of the English Nation. *Pool*, on the other hand, thought him a false Man, that made Conscience of nothing, and was better at Intrigues and Dissimulation, than the Government of the Church. But the Emperor saw *Gardiner* had so prudently managed this Parliament, that he concluded his measures were rather to be followed than the Cardinals.

The House of Commons displeased with the Marriage with *Spain*.

In the House of Commons it was given out that it was necessary to gain the Queen to the Interest of the Nation, and to turn her from forreign Councils and Aid, by being easy to her in the matter of Religion, and therefore they were ready both to repeal the Divorce, and King *Edwards* Laws. But when they saw the design of the Marriage, and uniting with *Rome*, was still carried on, they were all much allarm'd: so they sent their Speaker, and twenty of their House with him, with an earnest and humble Address to her, not to marry a Stranger. This had so inflamed the House, that the Court saw more could not be expected from them, unless they were satisfied in that point. So on the 6th of *December* the Parliament was dissolved. Upon that *Gardiner* sent to the Emperor, to let him know that the Marriage was like to meet with such opposition, that unless extraordinary Conditions were offered, which all should see were much to the advantage of the English Crown, it could not be carried without a general Rebellion. He also assured him, that if great sums of money were not sent over to gratifie the chief Nobility and leading men in the Country, both for obliging them to his Interest, and enabling them to carry Elections for the next Parliament, the opposition would be such, that the Queen must lay down all thoughts of marrying his Son. Upon this, the Emperor and his Son resolved to

The Parliament is dissolved.

offer

1553 offer what Conditions the English would demand; for *Philip* reckoned, if he once had the Crown on his Head, it would be easie for him, with the assistance which his other Dominions might give him, to make all these signifie little. And for Money the Emperor borrowed twelve hundred thousand Crowns, (which in English Money was four hundred thousand pounds, for the Crown was then a Noble) and promised to send it over to be distributed as *Gardiner* and his Embassadors should think fit: but made his Son bind himself to repay him that sum, when he had once attained the Crown of *England*. And this the Emperour made so little a secret, that when, a year after, some Towns in *Germany*, that had lent a part of this money, desired to be repaid; he answered them, that he had lent his Son 1200000 Crowns to marry him to the Queen of *England*, and had yet received of him only 300000 Crowns, but he had good security for the rest, and the Merchants were bound to pay him 100000 lib. Sterling, and therefore he demanded a little more time of them. All this was printed soon after at *Strasburgh* by the English there, in a Book which they sent over to *England*; in which, both the Address made by the Commons in Parliament, and this Answer of the Emperour's to the Towns, is mentioned. And that whole Discourse, (which is in the form of an Address to the Queen, the Nobility and the Commons,) is written with such gravity and simplicity of Stile, that as it is by much the best I have seen of this time: so in these publick Transactions, there is no reason to think it untrue. For the things which it relates are credible of themselves; and though the sum there mentioned was very great, yet he that considers that *England* was to be bought with it, will not think it an extraordinary price. In that Discourse, it is further said, that as *Gardiner* corrupted many by Bribes, so in the Court of *Chancery*, Common Justice was denied to all but those who came into these Designs,

1200000 Crowns sent into *England* to procure the consent of the Nation to the Marriage.

Having thus given an account of what was done in the Parliament, I shall next shew how the Convocation proceeded. *Bonner* being to preside in it, as being the first Bishop of the Province of *Canterbury*, appointed *John Harpsfield* his Chaplain to preach: who took his Text out of the twentieth of the *Acts* (verse 20) *Feed the Flock*. He run out in his bidding Prayers, most profusely on the Queens Praises, comparing her to *Deborah* and *Esther*, with all the servilest flatteries he could invent: next he bid them pray for the Lady *Elizabeth*: but when he came to mention the Clergy, he enlarged in the praises of *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tonstal*, *Heath*, and *Day*, so grosly, that it seems the strains of flattering Church-men at that time were very course: and he run out so copiously in them, as if he had been to deliver a Panegyrick and not to bid the Beads. In his Sermon he inveighed against the late Preachers, for not observing Fasts, nor keeping Lent, and for their Marriages which he severely condemned,

The Proceedings of the Convocation.

Weston Dean of *Westminster* was presented Prolocutor by the lower House, and approved of by *Bonner*. Whether any of the Bishops that had been made in King *Edwards* time sat among them, I do not know. But in the lower House there was great opposition made. There had been care taken that there should be none returned to the Convocation, but such as would comply in all points. But yet there came six Non-compliers, who being Deans or Arch-Deacons, had a right to sit

Disputes concerning the Sacrament

in.

in the Convocation. These were *Philpot* Archdeacon of *Winchester*, 1553.
Philips Dean of *Rochester*, *Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, *Cheyney* Arch-deacon of *Hereford*, *Ailmer* Arch-deacon of *Stow*, and *Young* Chanter of St. *Davids*. *Weston* the Prolocuter proposed to them, on the 18*th* of *October*, that there had been a Catechism printed in the last year of King *Edwards* Reign in the name of that Synod, and as he understood it was done without their consents, which was a pestiferous Book, and full of Heresies; There was likewise a very abominable Book of Common Prayer set out; it was therefore the Queens pleasure that they should prepare such Laws about Religion, as she would ratifie with her Parliament. So he proposed that they should begin with condemning those Books, particularly the Articles in them contrary to the Sacrament of the Altar: and he gave out two questions about it: Whether in the Sacrament, upon the Sanctification of the Bread and Wine, all their substance did not vanish, being changed into the Body and Blood of Christ? and, Whether the natural Body of Christ was not corporally present in the Eucharist, either by the Transubstantiation of the Elements into his Body and Blood, or by the Conjunction of Concomitance, as some expressed it? The House was adjourned till the 20*th*, on which day every Man was appointed to give in his Answer to these Questions. All answered and subscribed in the affirmative, except the six before mentioned. *Philpot* said, whereas it was given out that the Catechism was was not approved by the Convocation, though it was printed in their name; it was a mistake: for the Convocation had authorised a number of Persons to set forth Ecclesiastical Laws, to whom they had committed their Synodal Authority; So that they might well set out such Books in the name of the Convocation. He also said, that it was against all order, to move Men to subscribe in such points, before they were examined: and since the number of these on the one side, was so unequal to those on the other side; he desired that Dr. *Ridley*, Mr. *Rogers*, and two or three more, might be allowed to come to the Convocation. This seemed very reasonable. So the lower House proposed it to the Bishops. They answered, that these persons being Prisoners, they could not bring them: but they should move the Council about it. A Message also was sent from some great Lords, that they intended to hear the Disputation; so the House adjourned till the 23*d*.

There was then a great appearance of Noblemen and others. The Prolocutor began with a Protestation, that by this Dispute they did not intend to call the Truth in doubt, to which they had all subscribed; but they did it only to satisfie the objections of those few who refused to concur wtih them. But it was denied to let any Prisoners or others assist them, for it was said, that that being a Dispute among those of the Convocation, none but Members were to be heard in it. *Haddon*, and *Ailmer*, foreseeing they should be run down with clamour and noise, refused to dispute: *Young* went away: *Cheyney* being next spoke to, did propose his Objections: that St. *Paul* calls the Sacrament *Bread* after the Consecration: that *Origen* said, it went into the Excrement: and *Theodoret* said, the Bread and Wine did not in the Sacrament depart from their former *Substance*, *Form*, and *Shape*. *Moreman* was called on to answer him: He said, that St. *Paul* calling it Bread, was to be understood thus, *the Sacrament or Form of Bread*. To *Origens* Authority

1553 ty he answered nothing; but to *Theodoret* he said, the word they render *Substance* stood in a more general signification, and so might signifie *accidental Substance*. Upon this, *Ailmer*, who had resolved not to Dispute, could not contain himself, but said the *Greek* Word, οὐσία, could not be so understood, for the following words of *Form* and *Shape* belonged to the Accidents, but that only belonged to the Substance of the Elements. Upon this there followed a Contest about the signification of that word. Then *Philpot* struck in, and said, the occasion of *Theodorets* writing, plainly shewed, that was a vain Cavil; for the Dispute was with the *Eutychians*, whether the Body and humane Nature of Christ had yet an Existence distinct from the Divine Nature? The *Eutychians* said, it was swallowed up by his Godhead; and argued from some expressions used concerning the Sacrament, as if the presence of Christ in it had swallowed up the Elements: against which, *Theodoret*, according to the Orthodox Doctrine, argued to prove that there was in Christ a humane Nature, not swallowed up; and said, that as in the Sacrament, notwithstanding the union of Christ with the Elements, they did not depart from their *Substance, Form, and Shape*; So the humane Nature of Christ, was not absorbed by its Union to the Godhead. So it plainly appeared, this word *Substance* stood for the Nature of the Elements. *Moreman* being straitned in answering this, *Philpot* said, if he had not an Answer ready, he would desire him to think on one again their next Meeting; upon this the Prolocutor checked him, as if he were bragging too soon. He insisted on his Argument, but was commanded to be silent. *Haddon* upon that proposed another Argument, from these Words of our Saviour, *The Poor you have always with you, but Me you have not always*: That therefore his Body was not in the Sacrament. To this the Prolocutor answered, that Christ was not to be always with us so as to receive our Alms; which is all that was intended by that place: But *Haddon* brought a copious Citation out of St. *Austin*, applying that very Place to prove that Christ's natural Presence was no more on Earth, after his Ascension into Heaven. To this Dr. *Watson* opposed another place of St. *Austin*, and some dispute was about those Places: After that, *Haddon* read more Authorities of Fathers, asserting that Christ was in Heaven and not on Earth; the Words of the Institution did plainly express it; both because the Sacrament was to be in *remembrance of Christ, and because it was to continue until his coming again*. But to this they said, he was not on Earth in a bodily manner; and they endeavoured to take away the Force of the Argument from the Words, *until his coming again*, by some other Acceptions of the Word [*until.*] But *Haddon* asked them, whether they thought Christ did eat his own natural Body, when he instituted and took the Sacrament? they said he did. Upon that he answered, that that was so absurd, that he thought it needless to argue more with those who could yield it, and so he sate down. *Philpot* argued, that Christ could not receive his own Body in the Sacrament, since it was given for the Remission of Sins, of which he was not capable, having no Sin; *Weston* answered, he might receive it, as well as he Baptized: But *Philpot* answered, he was baptized, as he said himself, to be an example to others. So ended this days Dispute.

On the 25 *Philpot*, who was ordered to begin that Day, had prepared

pared a long Diſcourſe in *Latin:* But *Weſton* interrupted him, and ſaid, He muſt make no Speech, he was only to propoſe his Arguments, and that in *Engliſh*; though it had been before ordered that the Diſpute ſhould be in *Latin*, Then *Philpot* went to explain what ſort of Preſence he would diſpute againſt, and what he allowed. Here *Weſton* again interrupted him, and bid him form his Argument. Upon that he fell down on his Knees, and begged of the Lords, and Privy Counſellors that were preſent, That he might have leave to ſpeak his Mind: Which they granted him; ſo, he ſaid, For their Sacrifice of the Maſs, he would prove that it was no Sacrament at all, and that Chriſt was no way preſent in it; which if he ſhould not do, before the Queen and her Council, againſt any ſix that would maintain the contrary, he ſhould be willing to be burnt before the Court Gates. Upon this there was great out-crying, that he was mad, and talkt idely; and *Weſton* threatned to ſend him to Priſon. But this noiſe being laid, and he claiming the priviledg of the Houſe for the freedom of Speech, was required to go on to an Argument. Then he proved that Chriſt was in Heaven; for himſelf ſaid, *I leave the World, and go to my Father:* And to prove there was no ambiguity in theſe words, he obſerved, that his Diſciples ſaid upon this, *Now thou ſpeakeſt plainly, without any Parable.* It was anſwered, by Dr. *Chedſey*, That thoſe words were only meant of his viſible Aſcenſion, but did not exclude his inviſible preſence; and he cited ſome words of *Chryſoſtom's*, That Chriſt took his Fleſh with him, and alſo left his Fleſh behind him. *Weſton*, and the reſt ſaid, That Authority was unanſwerable; and for a while would not hear his Anſwer. But *Philpot* ſhewed him, that *Chryſoſtom's* words muſt be underſtood in a large ſenſe, as Believers are ſaid to be Fleſh of his Fleſh; for that Father applies that alſo to Baptiſm, from theſe words, *As many as are baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt*; ſo the Fleſh that Chriſt left on Earth, according to him, is not the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament. Upon this, *Pye*, Dean of *Chicheſter*, whiſpered ſomewhat to the Prolocutor; who thereupon ſaid to *Philpot*, That he had diſputed enough. He anſwered, That he had a dozen of Arguments, and they were enjoining him ſilence, before he had got through one of them. They threatned to ſend him to Priſon if he ſpoke more. He ſaid, That was far from the promiſe they had made of hearing them fully; and from what was preached laſt *Sunday* at *Pauls*, That all things ſhould be anſwered in this Diſputation. But *Pye* ſaid, He ſhould be anſwered another vvay. *Philpot* replyed, There vvas a Company of them now got together, vvho had heretofore diſſembled vvith God and the World; and vvere now met to ſuppreſs God's Truth, and to ſet forth falſe Devices, vvhich they vvere not able to maintain. After this *Ailmer* ſtood up, and brought many Authorities out of Greek Authors, to prove that ὑσία in *Theodoret*, could only be underſtood of the *ſubſtance* of Bread and Wine: and *Moreman* deſired a days time to conſider of them. Then *Pern*, though he had ſubſcribed vvith the reſt, brought ſome Arguments againſt Tranſubſtantiation; for which the Prolocutor chid him, ſince he had before ſubſcribed. *Ailmer* anſwered, That it vvas againſt the freedom of the Houſe, for any to be ſo chid for delivering his Conſcience. It was now become late, ſo they adjourned to the 27*th*.

1553.

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1553. Then they again disputed about *Theodorets* words, where *Haddon* shewed that he said the Symboles retained the same *Substance* that they had before. After that *Cheyney* fell to argue about those words; he acknowledged a real Presence, but denied Transubstantiation, and pressed *Theodoret*'s Authority so close, that *Watson* said he was a *Nestorian*; and if *Theodoret*, who was but one, was of their side, there was above a hundred Fathers against them. Upon this *Cheyney* quoted *Irenæus*, who had said, that our flesh was *nourished* by the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, He also cited *Hesychius*, who said, that in the Church of *Jerusalem*, the Symboles that were not consumed in the Communion, were burnt afterwards; he desired to know whether the Ashes were the Body of Christ, or what it was that was burnt. To all this *Harpsfield* made a long Answer concerning Gods Omnipotence, and the weakness of mens understandings, that could not comprehend Divine Mysteries. But *Cheyney* still asked what it was that was burnt? *Harpsfield* replied, it was either the Substance of Bread, or the Body of Christ; and afterwards said it was a Miracle: At that *Cheyney* smiled, and said then he could say no more. *Weston* asked, whether there was not enough said in answer to these mens Objections? Many of the Clergy cried out, *Yes*, *Yes*: But the multitude with repeated cries said, *No*, *No*: *Weston* said, he spake to those of the House, and not to the rude Multitude. Then he asked those Divines, whether they would now for three days answer the Arguments that should be put to them? *Haddon*, *Cheyney* and *Ailmer*, said they would not: But *Philpot* offered to do it. *Weston* said, he was a mad man, and fitter to be sent to *Bedlam*. *Philpot* said, he that had carried himself with so much Passion, and so little Indifferency, deserved a Room there much better. *Weston* neglecting him turned to the Assembly, and said, they might see what sort of men these were, whom they had now answered three days; but tho they had promised it, and the Order of Disputation did require it, that they should answer in their turn three days, they now declined it. Upon that, *Ailmer* stood up and answered, that they had made no such Promise, nor undertaken any such Disputation; but being required to give their Reasons, why they would not subscribe with the rest, they had done it, but had received no Answer to them, and therefore would enter into no further Disputation before such Judges, who had already determined and subscribed those Questions. So the House was adjourned to the 30*th*. and then *Philpot* appeared to answer, but desired first leave to prosecute his former Argument, and urged that since Christ as man is like us in all things without sin, therefore as we are restrained to one place at a time, so is Christ but in one place, and that is *Heaven*; for St. *Peter* says, *the Heavens must contain him till the Restitution of all things*. To this it was answered, that Christ being God, his Omnipotence was above our understanding: and that to shut him in one place, was to put him in Prison. *Philpot* said, he was not speaking of his Divine Nature, but that as he was man he was like us: And for their saying that Christ was not to be imprisoned in Heaven, he left to all men to judge whether that was a good answer or not. Much discourse following upon this, the Prolocutor commanded him to come no more into the House. He answered, he thought himself happy to be out of their Company. Others suggesting to the Prolocutor, that it would be

said

said the meeting was not free, if men were put out of the House for speaking their minds: He said to him he might come, so he were decently Habited, and did not speak but when he commanded him. To this he answered, that he had rather be absent altogether. *Weston* concluded all, by saying, you have the *Word*, but we have the *Sword*: Truly pointing out wherein the strength of both Causes lay.

This was the Issue of that Disputation, which was soon after Printed in *English*: and in *Latin* by *Volcrandus Polanus*, and is inserted at large in *Fox's Acts and Monuments*. What account the other side gave of it, I do not find. But upon all such occasions, the prevailing party, when the inequality was so disproportioned, used to carry things with so much noise and disorder, that it was no wonder the Reformers had no mind to engage in this Dispute. And those who reflected on the way of proceeding in King *Edwards* time, could not but confess things had been managed with much more Candor and Equality. For in this very Point, there had been, as was formerly shewn, Disputes for a Year together, before there was any Determination made: so that all men were free at that time to deliver their Opinions without any fear, and then the Disputes were in the Universities, where, as there were a great Silence, and Collection of Books, so the Auditors were more capable of being instructed by them: But here the Point was first determined, and then disputed: And this was in the midst of the disorder of the Town, where the Privy Council gave all possible encouragement to the prevailing Party. Censures past upon it.

The last thing I find done this year, was, the restoring *Veisey* to be Bishop of *Exeter*, which was done on the 28*th* of *December*. In his Warrant for it under the great Seal, it is said, that he, for some just troubles both in Body and Mind, had resign'd his Bishoprick to King *Edward*, to which the Queen now restored him. And thus ended this year. Forreign Affairs did not so much concern Religion, as they had done in the former Reign, which as it made me give some account of them then, so it causes me now not to prosecute them so fully.

1554.

In the beginning of the next year, the Emperour sent over the Count of *Egmont* and some other Ambassadours to make the Proposition and Treaty of Marriage, betwixt his Son and the Queen. In the managing of this Treaty, *Gardiner* had the chief hand: for he was now the Oracle at the Council-board: He had thirty years Experience in Affairs, a great Knowledge of the Courts of Christendome, and of the State of *England*, and had great Sagacity, with a marvelous Cunning, which was not always regulated by the Rules of Candor and Honesty. He in drawing the Articles of the Marriage had a double design: the one was, to have them so framed that they might easily pass in Parliament; And the other was, to exclude the *Spaniards* from having any share in the Government of *England*, which he intended to hold in his own hands. So the Terms on which it was agreed were these. Ambassadours sent from the Emperour for the marriage. The Articles agreed.

The Queen should have the whole Government of *England*, with the giving of Offices and Benefices, in her own hands: so that tho *Philip* was to be called King, and his Name was to be on the Coin, and the Seals, and in Writts, yet her hand was to give force to every thing without his. *Spaniards* should not be admitted into the Government,

 nor

1553. nor to any Offices at Court. The Laws should not be altered, nor the Pleadings put into any other Tongue. The Queen should not be made to go out of *England*, but upon her own desire. The Children born in the Marriage should not go out of *England*, but by the consent of the Nobility. If the Queen out-lived the Prince, She should have 60000 *l.* a year out of his Estate, 40000 out of *Spain*, and 20000 of it out of the *Netherlands*. If the Queen had Sons by him, they should succeed, both to her own Crowns, and the *Netherlands*, and *Burgundy*: And if the Arch-duke *Charles*, *Philip's* only Son died, they should succeed to all Her and His Dominions: If she had only Daughters, they should succeed to her Crowns, and the *Netherlands*, if they married by their Brothers consent: or otherwise, they should have such Portions, as was ordinarily given to those of their Rank: But if the Queen had no Issue, the King was not to pretend to any part of the Government after her death; but the Crown was to descend according to the Laws of *England* to her Heirs. There was to be a perpetual League betwixt *England* and *Spain*; but this was not to be in prejudice of their League with *France*, which was still to continue in force.

These were the Conditions agreed on, and afterwards confirmed in Parliament; by which it appears the *Spaniards* were resolved to have the Marriage on any Terms; reckoning that if Prince *Philip* were once in *England*, he could easily enlarge his Authority, which was hereby so much restrained.

The Match generally disliked.

It was now apparent, the Queen was to Marry the Prince of *Spain*; which gave an universal discontent to the whole Nation. All that loved the Reformation saw, that not only their Religion would be changed, but a Spanish Government and Inquisition would be set up in its stead. Those who considered the Civil Liberties of the Kingdom, without great regard to Religion, concluded that *England* would become a Province to *Spain*; and they saw how they governed the *Netherlands*, and heard how they ruled *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*: but above all, they heard the most Inhumane things that ever any Age produced, had been Acted by them in their new conquest in the *West-Indies*.

It was said, what might they expect, but to lye at the mercy of such Tyrannical Masters, who would not be long kept within the Limits, that were now prescribed? All the great conditions now talked of, were but the guilding the Pill, but its operation would be fatal, if they once swallowed it down. These things had Iufluence on many;

Plots to oppose it.

But the chief Conspirators were the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wiat*, and Sir *Peter Carew*: The one was to raise the Mid-land Counties, the other to raise *Cornwal*, and *Wiat* was to raise *Kent*: Hoping by rising in such remote places, so to distract the Government, that they should be able to engage the Commons, who were now as much distasted with the Queen, as they had been formerly fond of her.

Are discovered.

But as *Carew* was carrying on his Design in the West, it came to be discovered; and one that he had trusted much in it, was taken: upon that *Carew* fled over into *France*. *Wiat* was in *Kent* when he heard this; but had not yet laid his Business as he intended. Therefore fearing to be undone by the Discovery that was made, he gathered some Men about him, and on the 25th of *January*, went to *Maidston*.

Wiat breaks out.

There he made Proclamation, that he intended nothing, but to pre-

ſerve the Liberty of the Nation, and keep it from coming under the Yoke of Strangers; which, he ſaid, all the Council, one or two excepted, were againſt: and aſſured the People, that all the Nobility, and chief Men of *England*, would concur with them. He ſaid nothing of Religion, but in private aſſured thoſe that were for the Reformation, that he would declare for them. One *Roper* came and declared him and his Company Traitors; but he took him, with ſome Gentlemen that were gathering to oppoſe him. From thence he went to *Rocheſter*, and writ to the Sheriff of *Kent*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance againſt the Strangers, for there were already, as he ſaid, an hundred Armed *Spaniards* landed at *Dover*. The Sheriff ſent him word, That if he, and thoſe with him, had any Suits, they were to make them to the Queen on their knees, but not with Swords in their hands; and required them to diſperſe, under pain of Treaſon. *Wiat* kept his Men in good order, ſo that they did no hurt, but only took all the Arms they could find. 1554.

At the ſame time, one *Iſley* and *Knevet* gathered People together about *Tunbridg*, and went to join with *Wiat*. The Queen ſent down a Herald to him with a Pardon, if he would diſperſe his Company in 24 hours; but *Wiat* made him deliver his Meſſage at the end of *Rocheſter* Bridg, and ſo ſent him away. The High Sheriff gathered together as many as he could, and ſhewed them how they were abuſed by Lyes; there was no *Spaniards* landed at all: and thoſe that were to come, were to be their Friends and Confederates againſt their Enemies. Thoſe that he brought together, went to *Graveſend* to meet the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Hen. Jerningham*, who were come thither with 600 Men from *London*; and they hearing that *Knevet* was in his way to *Rocheſter*, went, and intercepted, and routed him; ſixty of his Men were killed, the reſt ſaved themſelves in the Woods.

The News of this diſheartned *Wiat* much; who was ſeen to weep, and called for a Coat, which he ſtuffed with Angels, deſigning to have eſcaped. But the Duke of *Norfolk* marching to *Rocheſter* with 200 Horſe, and 600 Foot, commanded by one *Bret*; they were wrought on, by a pretended Deſertor, *Harper*, who ſeemed to come over from *Wiat*: he perſuaded the *Londoners*, that it was only the preſervation of the Nation from the *Spaniards* that they deſigned; and it was certain none would ſuffer under that Yoke more than they. This had ſuch an effect on them, that they all cried out, *We are all Engliſh Men*; and went over to *Wiat*. So the Duke of *Norfolk* was forced to march back. And now *Kent* was all open to *Wiat*, who thereupon ſent one to the Duke of *Suffolk*, preſſing him to make haſte and raiſe his Country: but the Bearer was intercepted. Upon that, the Earl of *Huntington* was ſent down with ſome Horſe to ſeize on him. The Duke was at all times a mean-ſpirited Man, but it never appeared more than now: For after a faint endeavour to raiſe the Country, he gave it over, and concealed himſelf in a privat Houſe; but was betrayed by him to whom he had truſted himſelf, into the hands of the Earl of *Huntington*, and ſo was brought to the *Tower*.

The Londoners revolt.

Wiat's Party increaſing, they turned towards *London*. As they came to *Debtford*, Sir *Edward Haſtings*, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, came to them, in the Queen's Name, to ask what vvould content them? *Wiat* deſired

1554. desired that he might have the Command of the Tower; that the Queen might stay under his Guard; and that the Council might be changed.

Wiat's Demands.

Upon these extravagant Propositions, there passed high words, and the Privy Counsellors returned to the Queen. After this she went into *Guild-hall*, and there gave an account of her Message to *Wiat*, and his Answer. And for her Marriage, she said, she did nothing in it but by advice of her Council, and spoke very tenderly of the love she bore to her People, and to that City. On the 31, *Wiat* was become 4000 strong, and came near *Southwark*. On the 2d of *February* he fell into *Southwark*. Some of his Company had a mind to have broken into *Winchester-House*, and rob'd it; but he threatned to hang any that should do it. He was put in hope, that upon his coming to *Southwark*, *London* would have declared for him; but in that he was deceived. The Bridg was fortified, so that he found it was not possible to force it. Here he held a Council of War with his Officers; some were for turning back into *Kent*, to disperse a Body of Men that the Lord *Abergaveny* had gathered together: but he said, That was a small Game. The strength of their Party was in *London*, and therefore it was necessary for him to be there as soon as he could: for though they could not open the Bridg to him, yet he was assured, if he were on the other side, many would come out to him. Some were for crossing over to *Essex*, where they heard the People were well-affected to them; but they had not Boats enough, so he marched to get over at *Kingston*-Bridg.

He came to Southwark.

He crossed the Thames at Kingston.

On the 4th they came to *Kingston*, where the Queen had ordered the Bridg to be cut; but his Men repairing it, he crossed the River that Night; and though he lost much time, by the mending of one of his Carriages that broke by the way, he was at *Hide-Park* by nine of the Clock next Morning, it being *Ash-wednesday*.

But is defeated.

The Earl of *Pembroke* had gathered a good Body of Men to have fallen on him, for his Men were now in great disorder; but they look'd on, to let him cast himself into their hands. He did not march by *Holborn*, as some advised, but came down to *Charing-cross*. There the Lord *Clinton* fell in between the several Bodies of his Men, and dispersed them so, that he had not 500 left about him: But with those that remained, he passed through the *Strand*, and *Fleetstreet*, to *Ludgate*, where he stopped, in hope to have found the Gates opened to him. That hope failing, he returned back; and being now out of all heart, was taken at *Temple-Bar* by a Herald. All this while the Queen shewed great courage, she would not stir out of *Whitehall*, nor go by Water to the *Tower*, as some advised her, but went with her Women and Priests to her Devotions.

And taken.

This was a Rebellion, both raised and dispersed, in as strange a manner as could have been imagined. *Wiat* was a popular and stout Man, but had not a Head for such an Undertaking, otherwise the Government was so feeble, that it had not been a difficult thing to have driven the Queen to great straits. It was not at all raised upon pretence of Religion; which, according to the printed Account set out by the Queen's Order, was not so much as once named. And yet some of our own Writers say, That *Poinet*, the late Bishop of *Winchester*, was in it. But this is certainly false, for so many Prisoners being taken, it is not to be imagined but this would have been found out, and published,

Poinet was not in that Rebellion.

 lished,

lished, to make that Religion more odious: and we cannot think but Gardiner would have taken care that he should have been attainted in the following Parliament. 1554.

Christophorson soon after writ a Book against Rebellion, in which he studies to fasten this Rising on the Preachers, of the New Religion, as he calls it; and gives some presumptions,that amount to no more, but little flourishes of his Wit, but never names this, which had been a decisive proof. So that it is but a groundless Fiction, made by those who have either been the Authors, or at least have laid down the Principles of all the Rebellions in the Christian World, and yet would cast that blame on others, and exempt themselves from it; as if they were the surest Friends of Princes, while they design to enslave them to a Forreign Power, and will neither allow them to Reign, nor to Live, but at the mercy of the Head of that Principality, to which all other Powers must bend; or break, if they meet with an Age that is so credulous and superstitious, as to receive their Dictates.

This raw, and soon-broken Rebellion, was as lucky to *Gardiner*, and those who set on the Marriage, as if they had projected it; for now,the People were much disheartned,and their own Designs as much fortified: since, as some Fevers are Critical, and cast out those Latent Distempers, which no Medicines could effectually purge away; and yet if they were not removed, must in the end corrupt the whole Mass of Blood; so in a weak Government, to which the People are ill-affected, ill-digested, Rebellions raise the Prince higher, and add as much Spirit to his Friends, as they take from the Faction against him,and give a Handle to do some things, for which otherwise it were not easy, either to find Colours or Instruments.

The L. *Jane* and her Husband executed.

One effect of this was, the proceeding severely against the Lady *Jane*, and her Husband, the Lord *Guilford*, who both suffered on the 12*th* of *Feburary*. The Lady *Jane* was not much disordered at it; for she knew, upon the first Jealousie, she must be the Sacrifice; and therefore had now lived six months in the continual meditations of Death. *Fecknam*, afterwards Abbot of *Westminster*, was sent to her by the Queen, three days before, to prepare her to Die. He had a long conversation with her: But she answered him with that calmness of Mind, and clearness of Reason, that it was an astonishing thing to hear so young a Person, of her Sex and Quality, look ou Death, so near her, with so little disorder, and talk so sensibly, both of Faith, and Holiness, of the Sacrament, the Scriptures, and the Authority of the Church. *Fecknam* left her, seeing he could work nothing on her: But procured, as is said, the continuance of her Life three days longer, and waited on her on the Scaffold. She writ to her Father to moderate his Grief for her Death,(which must needs have been great,since his Folly had occasioned it). She expressed her sense of her Sin, in assuming the Royal Dignity, though he knew how unwillingly she was drawn to it; and that in her Royal Estate, her enforced Honour had never defiled her innocent Heart. She rejoiced at her approaching End,since nothing could be to her more welcome, than to be delivered from that Valley of Misery, into that Heavenly Throne, to which she was to be advanced, where she prayed that they might meet at last.

Her preparation for Death.

There

1554. There was one *Harding*, that had been her Father's Chaplain, and that was a zealous Preacher in King *Edward*'s Days; before whose Death, he had animated the People much to prepare for Persecution, and never to depart from the Truth of the Gospel; but he had now fallen away himself. To him she writ a Letter full of severe expostulations, and threatnings, for his Apostacy; but it had no effect on him. It is of an extraordinary strain, full of Life in the Thoughts, and of Zeal, if there is not too much, in the expressions. The Night before her Execution, she sent her *Greek Testament*, which she had always used, to her Sister; with a Letter in the same Language, in which, in most pathetick Expressions, she sets out the value that she had of it, and recommended the study and practice of it earnestly to her. She had also composed a very devout Prayer for her Retirements; and thus had she spent the last moments of her Life. She expressed great tenderness, when she saw her Husband led out first; but soon overcame it, when she considered how closely she was to follow him. He had desired to take leave of her before he died, but she declined it, since it would be rather an encrease of Grief, than any addition of Comfort to them. She said, she hoped they would shortly meet, and be united in a happier State; and with a setled Countenance, she saw them bring back the beheaded Body to the Chappel, where it was to be buried. When she was brought to the Scaffold, which was raised for her within the *Tower*, to prevent the compassion, which her dying more publickly might have raised; she confessed, she had sinned in taking the Queen's Honour, when it was given her; she acknowledged the Act was unlawful, as was also her consenting to it; but, she said, it was neither procured nor desired by her. She declared, that she died a true Christian, and hoped to be saved only by the Mercy of God in the Blood of Christ. She acknowledged that she had too much neglected the Word of God, and had loved her self and the World too much, for which that punishment had come justly to her from God: but she blessed him that had made it a means to lead her to Repentance. Then, having desired the Peoples Prayers, she kneeled down, and repeated the 51 *Psalm*: Then she undressed her self, and stretched out her Head on the Block, and cried out, *Lord, into thy hands I recommend my Spirit*; and so her Head was cut off.

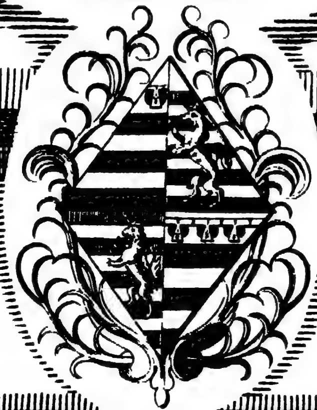
All People lamented her sad and untimely end, which was not easily consented to, even by the Queen her self. Her Death had a most violent operation on Judg *Morgan*, that had pronounced the Sentence: soon after he fell mad, and in all his ravings, still called to take away the Lady *Jane* from him. Indeed the blame of her Death was generally cast on her Father, rather than on the Queen, since the Rivalry of a Crown is a point of such niceness, that even those who bemoaned her Death most, could not but excuse the Queen, who seemed to be driven to it, rather from Considerations of state, then any Resentment of her own. On the 17 of *February*, was the Duke of *Suffolk* tried by his Peers, and condemned: He suffered on the 21. He would have died more pitied for his Weakness, if his Practices had not brought his Daughter to her end. Next, *Wiat* was brought to his Trial; where in most abject words he beg'd his Life, and offered to promote the Queen's Marriage, if they would spare him; but for all that he was

Her Father's Execution.

EFFIGIES IANÆ GRAIÆ HENRICI VIII PRONEPTIS EX SORORE

R. White sculp

Nata 1537. cc Guildfordiæ Dudley Conjugata 1553. Maij



Regina Declaritur 1553 Iul: 10. Capite Plectitur 155¾. Feb: 12.

Printed for Richd. Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church yard.

Beheaded. *Bret* was Hanged in Chains at *Rochester*. In all fifty eight vvere Executed in ſeveral places, vvhoſe Attainders vvere confirmed by an Act of the following Parliament, 600 of the Rabble vvere appointed to come before the Queen vvith Halters about their Necks, and to beg their Lives, vvhich ſhe granted them; aud ſo vvas this Storm diſſipated; only the Effuſion of Blood after it, vvas thought too liberal, and this Exceſs of Puniſhment vvas generally caſt on *Gardiner*, and made him become very hateful to the Nation; vvhich has been always much moved at a Repetition of ſuch ſad Spectacles. 1554.

The Lady *Elizabeth* unjuſtly ſuſpected for Plotting.

The Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, came to be ſuſpected of the Plot, as if the riſing in the Weſt had been ſet on by the Earl, with deſign, if it had ſucceeded, to have married the Lady *Elizabeth*, and put her in the Queen's Room. *Wiat* did at his death clear them of any occaſion to his Confederacies. Yet the Queen who was much alienated from her Siſter upon old Scores, was not unwilling to find a pretence for uſing her ill; ſo ſhe was made a Priſoner. And the Earl of *Devonſhire* had, upon the account formerly mentioned, offended the Queen, who thought her kindneſs ill requited, when ſhe ſaw he neglected her, and preferred her Siſter; ſo he was again put into Priſon. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was alſo charged with that ſame Guilt, and broughr to his Trial, which laſted Ten hours; But was acquitted by the Jury: Upon which they were caſt into Priſon, and ſeverely Fined, ſome in 2000 *l.* and ſome in a 1000 Marks. This was fatal to his Brother Sir *John*, who was caſt by the Jury, upon the ſame Evidence that his Brother had been acquitted: But he proteſted his innocence to the laſt. Sir *John Cheek* had got beyond Sea, finding he was alſo ſuſpected and ſought after; and both Sir *Peter Carew*, and he, hoping that *Philip* would be glad, at his firſt admiſſion to the Crown of *England*, to ſhew Acts of Favour, went into *Flanders*; where, upon aſſurances given of Pardon and Mercy, they rendered themſelves. But upon their coming into *England*, they were both put into the Tower. *Carew* made his eſcape, and was afterwards employed by Queen *Elizabeth* in her Affairs in *Ireland*. *Cheek* was at this time diſcharged, but upon ſome new Offence, he was again taken in *Flanders*, in *May* 1556. and was prevailed upon to renounce his Religion, and then he was ſet at liberty; but was ſo ſadly affected at the unworthineſs of that Action, that it was believed to have caſt him into a Languiſhing, of which he ſoon after died.

Many ſevere proceedings.

The Impoſture of the Spirit in the Wall.

There was a baſe Impoſture ſet up at this time, of one that ſeemed to ſpeak from a Wall with a ſtrange ſort of voice. Many ſeditious things were uttered by that voice, which was judged of variouſly. Some called it the *Spirit of the Wall*. Some ſaid it was an Angel that ſpake: And many marvellous things were reported of it; But the matter being narrowly enquired into, it was found to be one *Elizabeth Crofts*, a Girle, who from a private hole in the Wall, with the help of a Whiſtle, had uttered thoſe words. She was made to doe Pennance openly at *Pauls* for it: But by the account then Printed of it, I do not find any Complices were found; except one *Drake*, to whom no particular Character is added. So it ſeems it was a Trick laid Betwixt theſe two; for what purpoſe I cannot find. Sure enough in thoſe Times, it was not laid to the charge of the Preachers of the Reformation. Which I the rather take notice of, becauſe of the Malignity of one of our Hiſtorians, who has laid this to the charge

1554. of the *Zuinglian Gospellers*, tho all the proof he offers for casting it on them, is in these words; *For I cannot consider this but as a Plot of theirs*; And sets it up in opposition to the notorious Imposture of the *Maid of Kent*, mentioned in the former Volume, and sayes, *Let not the Papists be more charged with that*, *since these were now as faulty.*

The two instructions to the Bishops. Col. Number 10.

The Nation being now settled, the Queen did next give Instructions to the Bishops to proceed to visit the Clergy, according to some Articles which she sent them, which will be found in the *Collections*. In those, after a long and invidious Preamble of the disorders that had been in the time of King *Edward*, she commanded them, to execute all such Ecclesiastical Laws as had been in force in her Father's Reign: That the Bishops should in their Courts proceed no more in the Queen's Name: That the Oath of Supremacy should be no more Exacted of any of the Clergy: That none suspect of Heresie should be admitted to Orders: That they should endeavour to repress Heresie, and punish Hereticks: That they should suppress all naughty Books, and Ballads: That they should remove all married Clergy men, and separate them from their Wives; but for those that renounced their Wives, they might put them into some other Cure, or reserve a Pension out of their Benefice for them: That no religious Man who had professed Chastity, should be suffered to live with his Wife: That care should be taken of vacant Churches: That till they were provided, the people should go to the Neighbouring Churches: That all the Ceremonies, Holy-days, and Fasts, used in King *Henry's* time, should be again observed: That those who were ordained by the new Book in King *Edwards* time, not being ordained in very deed, The Bishop, if they were otherwise sufficient, should supply what was wanting before, and so admit them to Minister: That the Bishops should set forth an uniform Doctrine of Homilies; and compel the people to come to Church, and hear Divine Service: That they should carefully look to all School-masters and Teachers of Children: And that the Bishops should take care to set forth the Premises, with all kind of Vertue, godly Living, and good Example; and endeavour to keep down all sort of Vice.

Proceedings against the Bishops that adhered to the Reformation.

These were Sign'd on the 4 of *March*, and Printed, and sent over the Kingdom. But to make the Married Bishops Examples of the severity of their proceedings; the Queen gave a special Commission to *Gardiner*, *Tonstall*, *Bonner*, *Parsew* Bishop of St. *Asaph*, *Day*, and *Kitchin* of *Landaffe*, making mention, that with great grief of heart 'she had heard, that the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of St. *Davids*, '*Chester* and *Bristol*, had broken their Vows, and defiled their Funct-'ion, by contracting Marriage; therefore those, or any three of them, 'are empowered to call them before them; and if the Premises be found 'to be true, to deprive, and turn them out of their Bishopricks. This

Col. Number 11. 12.

I have put into the Collection, with another Comission to the same 'Persons, to call the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Glocester* and *Hereford*, before 'them; in whose Patents it was provided that they should hold their 'Bishopricks so long as they behaved themselves well: and since they, 'by preaching Erroneous Doctrine, and by inordinate Life and Conver-'sation, as she credibly understood, had carried themselves contrary to 'the Laws of God, and the Practice of the universal Church, these or 'any two of them, should proceed against them, either according to 'Ecclesiastical Canons, or the Laws of the Land, and declare their Bisho-

pricks void, as they vvere indeed already void: Thus vvere Seven 1554.
Bishops all at a dash turned out. It was much censured, that there having been Laws made, allowing Marriage to the Clergy, the Queen should by her own Authority, upon the repealing these Laws, turn out Bishops for things that had been so well warranted by Law: for the Repeal was only an Annulling of the Law for the Future, but did not void it from the beginning: so that, however it might have justified proceedings against them for the Future, if they had lived with their Wives; yet it could not warrant the punishing them for what was past: And even the severest Popes, or their Legates, who had pressed the Cœlibate most, had always before they proceeded to deprive any Priests for Marriage, left it to their choice, whether they would quit their Wives, or their Benefices: but had never summarily turned them out for being married: And for the other Bishops, it was an unheard of way of procedure, for the Queen before any process was made, to empower Delegates to declare their Sees void, as they were indeed already void. This was to give Sentence before hearing. And all this was done by vertue of the Queens Supremacy; for tho she thought that, a sinful and Schismatical Power, yet she was easily perswaded to use it against the Reformed Clergy, and to turn them out of their Benefices upon such unjust and Illegal pretences. So that now the proceedings against *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, in which were the greatest Stretches made that had been in the last Reign, were far outdone by those new Delegates. For the Archbishop of *York*, tho he was now turned out, yet he was still kept Prisoner; till King *Philip*, among the Acts of Grace he did at his coming over, procured his Liberty. But his See was not filled till *February* next; for then *Heath* had his *Conge d'elire.* On or before the 18*th* of *March* this Year, were those other Sees declared Vacant. For that day did the *Conge d'elire* go out to the Deans and Chapters of St. *Davids*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Chester*, *Glocester*, and *Bristol:* for *Morgan*, *White*, *Parfew*, *Coates*, *Brookes* and *Holyman.* *Goodrick* of *Ely* died in *April* this Year. He seems to have complied with the time, as he had done often before: for he was not at all cast into any trouble, which it cannot be imagined he could have escaped, since he had put the great Seal to the Patents for the Lady *Jane*, if he had not Redeemed it by a ready consenting to the changes that were to be made. He was a busie secular spirited Man, and had given himself up wholly to Factions and Intrigues of State: so that, tho his opinion had always leaned to the Reformation, it is no wonder if a man so tempered would prefer the keeping of his Bishoprick before the Discharge of his Conscience. *Thirleby* of *Norwich* was Translated to *Ely*, and *Hopton* was made Bishop of *Norwich.* But *Scory*, that had been Bishop of *Chichester*, tho upon *Day*'s being restored, he was turned out of his Bishoprick, did comply meerly: He came before *Bonner*, and Renounced his Wife, and did Penance for it, and had his Absolution under his Seal, the 14*th* of *July* this Year: which is in the Collection. But it Number 13.
seems this was out of fear; for he soon after fled out of *England*, and lived beyond Sea untill Queen *Elizabeth*'s days: and then he came over; But it was judged indecent to restore him to his former See, where it is likely this Scandal he had given, was known; and so he was made Bishop of *Hereford.* The Bishop of *Bath* and *Wales*, *Barlow*, was also

1554 made to Resign, as appears by the *Conge d'elire* for *Bourn* to succeed him, dated the 19th of *March*. Therein it is said that the See wss Vacant by the Resignation of the former Bishop; tho in the Election, that was made on the 28th of *March*, it is said the See was vacant by the Removal or Deprivation of their former Bishop. But I incline to believe it truer, that he did resign; since he is not mentioned in the Commissions formerly spoken of. But that was not all; for at this time a Book was set out in his Name, whether written by him, or Forged and laid on his Name, I cannot judge: in which he retracts his former errours, and speaks of *Luther* and *Oecolampadius*, and many others, with whom he says he had familiarly conversed: with great bitterness. He also accuses the Gospellers in *England*, of Gluttony, Hypocrisie, Pride, and ill Nature: And indeed it is one of the most Virulent Invectives against the Reformation, that was written at that time: But it is not likely, if he had turned so heartily as the Strain of that Book runs, that he would have been quite thrown out; especially, since he had never Married; so I rather look on it as a Forgerie cast on his Name, to disgrace the Reformation. He fled beyond Sea, where he lived till the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s *Reign*; and then it seems there was some offence taken at his former behaviour; for he was not restored to *Bath* and *Wales*, but put into *Chichester*, that was a much meaner Bishoprick. Thus I have given a clear account, and free of all Partiality or Reservation, of the changes made in the most of the Sees in *England*. The two Arch-Bishops, *Cranmer* and *Holgate*; the Bishops, *Ridley*, *Poinet*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, *Taylor*, *Harvey*, *Bird*, *Bush*, *Hooper*, *Ferrar*, and *Barlow*, were all removed; *Rochester* was void, and *Griffins* was put into it this *April*. *Goddrick* dying now, *Thirleby* succeeded him; and *Sampson* of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* dying soon after, *Bayn* succeeded him. So here were sixteen new Bishops brought in, which made no small change in the Church.

The Mass every where set up.

When this done, the Bishops went about the executing of the Queen's Injunctions. The New Service was every-where cast out, and the Old Ceremonies and Service were again set up. In this Business, none was so hot as *Bonner*; for the Act that repealed King *Edward*'s Laws, being agreed to by the Commons, to whom the Lords had sent it; he, without staying for the Royal Assent, did that very Night set up the Old Worship at *Pauls*, on St. *Katherines* day; and it being the custom, that on some Holy Days, the Quire went up to the Steeple to sing the Anthems, that fell to be on that Night; which was an antick way of beginning a form of Worship, to which the People had been long disused: And the next Day, being St. *Andrew*'s, he did officiate himself, and had a solemn Procession.

The most eminent Preachers in *London*, were either put in Prison, or under Confinement; and as all their Mouths had been stopt, by the prohibiting of Sermons, unless a License were obtained; so they were now to be fallen on for their Marriages. *Parker* estimates it, that there were now about 16000 Clergy-Men in *England*: and of these, 12000 were turned out upon this account; some, he says, were deprived without Conviction, upon common Fame; some were never cited to appear, and yet turned out: Many that were in Prison, were cited, and turned out for not appearing; though it was not in their Power:

Some were induced to submit, and quit their Wives for their Livings: They were all summarily deprived. Nor was this all; but after they were deprived, they were also forced to leave their Wives; which piece of severity was grounded on the Vow, that (as was pretended) they had made: though the falshood of this Charge was formerly demonstrated. 1554.

To justify this severity of Procedure, many were set to write against the Marriage of the Clergy. *Smith*, of whom I made mention in the former Book, that had then so humbly recanted and submitted, did now appear very boldly, and reprinted his Book, with many Additions. But the most studied Work was set out by *Martin*, a Doctor of the Laws. It was certainly, for most part *Gardiner*'s Work, and I have seen the Proof Sheets of a great part of it, dasht and altered in many places, by *Gardiner*'s hand. This *Martin* had made his Court to *Cranmer* in former times. He had studied the Law at *Bourges*, where *Francis Balduin*, one of the celebrated Lawyers of that time, had publickly noted him for his lewdness, as being not only over-run himself with the French Pox; but as being a Corrupter of all the University, which *Balduin* certified in a Letter to one in *England*, that took care to print it. Books against the marriage of the Clergy.

It was also printed, that *Bonner* had many Bastards: and himself was believed to be the Bastard of one *Savage*, a Priest in *Leicestershire*, that had been Bastard to Sir *John Savage* of *Cheshire*. Which Priest, by *Elizabeth Frodsham*, the Wife of one *Edmond Bonner*, had this *Edmond* now Bishop of *London*; and it seems his Mother did not soon give over those her lewd Courses, for *Wymsly*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, was another of her Bastards. That Kennel of the uncleanness of the Priests and Religious Houses, was again, on this occasion, racked, and exposed, with too much indecency: for the married Priests, being openly accused, for the impurity and sensuality of their Lives, thought it was a just piece of self-defence, to turn these Imputations back on those who pretended to Chastity, and yet led most irregular Lives, under that appearance of greater strictness.

This was the state in which things were, when the New Parliament met on the 2*d* of *April*. *Gardiner* had before-hand prepared the Commons, by giving the most considerable of them Pensions; some had 200, and some a 100 *l.* a Year, for giving their Voices to the Marriage. The first Act that passed, seemed of an odd nature, and has a great Secret under it. The Speaker of the House of Commons brought in a Bill, declaring, That whereas the Queen had of right succeeded to the Crown; but, because all the Laws of *England* had been made by Kings, and declared the Prerogatives to be in the King's Person; from thence some might pretend that the Queen had no right to them; it was therefore declared to have been the Law, that these Prerogatives did belong to the Crown, whether it were in the hands of Male or Female: and whatsoever the Law did limit and appoint for the King, was of right also due to the Queen, who is declared to have as much Authority as any other her Progenitors. A New Parliament. The Regal Power asserted to be in a Queen, as well as a King.

Many in the House of Commons wondered what was the intention of such a Law; and as People were at this time full of jealousie, one *Skinner*, a Member of the House, (who in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time took Orders, The Secret Reasons for that Act.

1554. Orders, and was made Dean of *Duresm*) said, he could not imagine why such a frivolous Law was desired, since the thing was without dispute: and that, that which was pretended, of satisfying the People, was too slight: he was affraid there was a trick in these words, That the Queen had as great Authority as any of her Progenitors; on which perhaps it might be afterwards said, She had the same Power that *William* the Conqueror exercised, in seizing the Lands of the *English*, and giving them to Strangers; which also *Edward* the First did upon the conquest of *Wales*. He did not know what relation this might have to the intended Marriage, therefore he warned the House to look well to it; so a Committee being appointed to correct it, such words were added, as brought the Queen's Prerogative under the same Limitations, as well as it exalted it to the height of her Progenitors. But one *Fleetwood*, afterwards Recorder of *London*, told the Earl of *Leicester* the secret of this, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, who writ down his Discourse, and from thence I have copied it. There was one that had been *Cromwell*'s Servant, and much employed by him in the suppression of Monasteries: he was a Man of great Notions, but very busy and factious; so having been a great stickler for the Lady *Jane*, he was put in the *Fleet*, upon the Queen's first coming to the Crown: yet within a month he was discharged; but upon the last Rising, was again put up, and indicted of High Treason: He had great Friends, and made application to one of the Emperor's Ambassadors, that was then the Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and by his means he obtained his Liberty. Being brought to him, he shewed him a new Plat-form of Government, which he had contrived for the Queen. She was to declare her self a Conqueror; or that she having succeeded to the Crown by Common Law, was not at all to be limited by the Statute Laws, since those were only restrictions upon the Kings, but not on the Queens of *England*; and that therefore all those Limitations of the Prerogative, were only binding in the Persons of Kings, but she was free from them: Upon this, he shewed how she might establish Religion, set up the Monasteries, raise her Friends, and ruin her Enemies, and Rule according to her Pleasure. The Ambassador carried this to the Queen, and seemed much pleased with it, but desired her to read it carefully, and keep it as a great Secret.

E. M. SS. D. Gal. Petyt.

As she read it, she disliked it, and judged it contrary to the Oath she had made at her Coronation: and thereupon sent for *Gardiner*, and charged him, as he would answer before the Judgment-Seat of God, at the general Day of the Holy Doom, that he would consider the Book carefully, and bring her his Opinion of it next day, which fell to be *Maundy Thursday*. So, as the Qneen came from her *Maundy*, he waited on her into her Closet, and said these words; *My good and most gracious Lady, I intend not to pray your Highness, with any humble Petitions, to name the Devisers of this new invented Plat-form: but here, I say, That it is pity that so noble and vertuous a Lady, should be endangered with the pernicious Devices of such lewd and subtil Sycophants; for the Book is naught, and most horrible to be thought on.* Upon this the Queen thanked him, and threw the Book into the Fire; and charged the Ambassador, that neither he, nor any of his Company, should receive more such Projects from any of her People. This made *Gardiner*

ner apprehended, that if the *Spaniards* began so soon to put such Notions into the Queen's Head, they might afterwards, when she was in their Hands, make somewhat of them; and therefore, to prevent such Designs for the future, he drew the Act; in which, though he seemed to do it as an Advantage to the Queen, for the putting of her Title beyond dispute; yet he really intended nothing by it, but that she should be restrained by all those Laws, that the former Kings of *England* had consented to: And because King *Henry* the Seventh, though his best right to the Crown flowed from his Marriage to the Heir of the House of *York*, had yet taken the Government wholly into his own hands; he, fearing lest the *Spaniards* should pretend to such a Power by the Authority, which Marriage gives the Husband over the Wife, got the Articles of the Marriage to be ratified in Parliament; by which they not only confirmed those agreed on, but made a more full explanation of that part of them, which declared the entire Government of the Kingdom to belong only to the Queen. 1554.



To this the *Spaniards* gave too great an occasion, by publishing King *Philip's* Pedigree, whom they derived from *John of Gaunt*. They said, this was only done to conciliate the favour of the Nation, by representing him not a stranger, but a Native: But this gave great offence; concerning which I have seen a little Book that vvas then printed; It was there said, That King *Henry* the Seventh came in, pretending only to marry the Heir of the House of *York*: But he was no sooner on the Throne, than he declared his own Title, and kept it his whole Life. So it vvas said, the *Spaniard* vvould call himself Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, and upon that Pretension, would easily wrest the Power out of the Queen's hands, who seemed to mind nothing but her Devotions. This made *Gardiner* look the better to the securing of the Liberties of the Crown and Nation; so that it must be acknowledged, that the preserving of *England* out of the hands of the *Spaniards* at that time, seems to be almost vvholly owing to him.

Great Jealousies of the Spanish Power.

In this Parliament, the Marquess of *Northampton* vvas restored in Blood. And the Act for restoring the Bishoprick of *Duresm* not having gone through the last Parliament vvhen it vvas dissolved, vvas now brought in again. The Town of *Newcastle* opposed it much, vvhen it came down to the Commons. But the Bishop of *Duresm* came to them on the 18*th* of *April*, and gave them a long account of all his Troubles, from the Duke of *Northumberland*, and desired that they would dispatch his Bill. There vvere many Proviso's put into it, for some that vvere concerned in *Gateside*; but it vvas carried in the House, That, instead of these Proviso's, they should send a Desire to him, recommending those Persons to his Favour: So upon a Division, there vvere 120 against it, and 201 for it. After this, came the Bill confirming the Attainders of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and fifty eight more, vvho vvere attainted for the late Rebellion. The Lords put in a Proviso, excepting Entailed Lands out of their Forfeitures; but the Commons rejected the Proviso; and passed the Bill. Then did the Commons send up a Bill for reviving the Statutes made against *Lollardy*: vvhich being read twice by the Lords, vvas laid aside. The Commons intended next to have revived the Statute of the Six Articles: but it did not agree vvith the Design at Court, to take any notice of King

The Bishoprick of *Duresm* restored.

Henry's

1554. Henry's Acts; so this was let fall. Then they brought in another Bill to extirpate Erroneous Opinions and Books; but that was at the third reading laid aside. After that they passed a particular Bill against *Lollardy* in some Points, as the eating of flesh in Lent; but that also being sent up to the Lords, was at the third reading laid aside, by the major part of the House; so forward were the Commons to please the Queen, or such Operation had the Spanish Gold on them, that they contrived four Bills in one Session, for the prosecution of those they called Hereticks. But to give some content on the other hand, they passed a Bill, that neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any other, should have any Power to Convene, or trouble any, for possessing Abbey Lands: This was sent up to the Lords, but laid aside at that time, assurance being given, that the Owners of those Lands should be fully secured. The Reason of laying it aside, was, that since By Law the Bishop of *Rome* had no Authority at all in *England*, it was needless to pass an Act against his Power in that particular, for that seemed to assert his Power in other things: and since they were resolved to reconcile the Nation to him, it was said, that it would be indecent to pass an Act that should call him only Bishop of *Rome*, which was the Compellation given him during the Schism; and it was preposterous to begin with a Limitation of his Power, before they had acknowledged his Authority: So this was laid aside, and the Parliament ended on the 25*th* of *May*.

But the Matters of the Convocation are next to be related. Those of the Reformation complained every-where, that the Disputes of the last Convocation had not been fairly carried; that the most eminent Men of their Persuasion were detained in Prison, and not admitted to it: that only a few of them, that had a right to be in the House, were admitted to speak, and that these were much interrupted. So that it was now resolved to adjourn the Convocation for some time, and to send the Prolocutor with some of their number to *Oxford*, that the Disputations might be, in the presence of that whole University. And since *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were esteemed the most Learned Men of that Persuasion, they were, by a Warrant from the Queen, removed from the *Tower* of *London*, to the Prisons at *Oxford*. And though *Latimer* was never accounted very Learned, and was then about eighty Years of Age, yet he having been a celebrated Preacher, who had done the Reformation no less Service by his Labours in the Pulpit, than others had done by their abler Pens; he was also sent thither to bear his share in the Debates.

Some sent to *Oxford* to dispute with Reformed Bishops.

Those who were sent from the Convocation, came to *Oxford* on the 13*th* of *April*, being *Friday*. They sent for those Bishops on *Saturday*, and assigned them *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday*, every one of them his day, for the defending of their Doctrine: but ordered them to be kept apart. And that all Books and Notes should be taken from them. Three Questions were to be disputed.

1. *Whether the natural Body of Christ was really in the Sacrament?*

2. *Whether any other Substance did remain, but the Body and Blood of Christ?*

3. *Whether in the Mass there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the Dead and Living?*

When

When *Cranmer* was first brought before them, the Prolocutor made an Exhortation to him, to return to the Unity of the Church. To which he answered, with such gravity and modesty, that many were observed to weep: He said, He was as much for Unity as any, but it must be an Unity in Christ; and according to the Truth. The Articles being shewed him, he asked, Whether by the Body of Christ they meant an *Organical Body*: They answering, It was the Body that was born of the Virgin: Then, he said, he would maintain the *Negative* of these Questions. 1554.

Cranmer Disputes.

On the 16*th*, when the Dispute with *Cranmer* was to begin, *Weston*, that was Prolocutor, made a stumble in the beginning of his Speech; for, he said, *Ye are this day assembled to confound the detestable Heresie of the Verity of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament.* This Mistake set the whole Assembly a laughing; but he recovered himself, and went on: he said, It was not lawful to call these things in doubt, since Christ had so expresly affirmed them, that to doubt of them, vvas to deny the Truth and Power of God. Then *Chedsey* urged *Cranmer* with the words, *This is my Body*: To vvhich he answered, That the Sacrament vvas effectually Christ's Body, as broken on the Cross; that is, His Passion effectually applyed. For the explanation of this, he offered a large Paper containing his Opinion: of which I need say nothing, since it is a short abstract of what he writ on that Head formerly; and of that a full account was given in the former Book. There followed a long Debate about these words. *Oglethorp*, *Weston*, and others, urged him much, that Christ making his Testament, must be supposed to speak Truth, and plain Truth; and they run out largely on that. *Cranmer* answered, That figurative Speeches are true; and when the Figures are clearly understood, they are then plain likewise. Many of *Chrysostom*'s high Expressions about the Sacrament were also cited; vvhich *Cranmer* said, vvere to be understood of the Spiritual Presence received by Faith. Upon this much time was spent, the Prolocutor carrying himself very undecently towards him, calling him, an *unlearned*, *unskilful*, and *impudent Man*: There were also many in the Assembly that often hissed him down, so that he could not be heard at all; which he seemed to take no notice of, but went on as often as the noise ceased. Then they cited *Tertullian*'s words, *The Flesh is fed by the Body and Blood of Christ, that so the Soul may be nourished by God.* But he turned this against them, and said, hereby it was plain, the Body as well as the Soul received Food in the Sacrament; therefore the Substance of Bread and Wine must remain, since the Body could not be fed by that Spiritual Presence of the Body of Christ. *Tresham* put this Argument to him, Christ said, as he lived by the Father, so they that eat his Flesh should live by him; but he is by his Substance united to his Father, therefore Christians must be united to his Substance: To this *Cranmer* answered, That the Similitude did not import an equality, but a likeness of some sort; Christ is essentially united to his Father; but Believers are united to him by Grace; and that in Baptism, as well as in the Eucharist. Then they talked long of some words of *Hilary*'s, *Ambrose*'s, and *Justin*'s. Then they charged him, as having mistranslated some of the Passages of the Fathers in his Book; from which he vindicated himself, saying, that he had all his Life, in all manner of things, hated falshood.

1554. After the Dispute had lasted from the Morning till two of the Clock, it was broke up: and there was no small Triumph, as if *Cranmer* had been confounded in the Opinion of all the Hearers, which they had expressed by their Laughter and Hissing. There were Notaries that took every thing that was said; from whose Books *Fox* did afterwards print the account of it, that is in his great Volume.

And *Ridley*. The next day *Ridley* was brought out; and *Smith*, who was spoke of in the former Book, was now very zealous to redeem the prejudice which that compliance was like to be to him in his Preferment: So he undertook to dispute this day. *Ridley* began with a Protestation, declaring, That whereas he had been formerly of another mind from what he was then to maintain, he had changed upon no worldly consideration, but meerly for love of the Truth, which he had gathered out of the Word of God, and the Holy Fathers; but because it was God's Cause he was then to maintain, he protested that he might have leave afterwards to add, or to change, as upon better consideration he should see cause for it. He also desired he might have leave to speak his mind without interruption; which though it was promised him, yet he was often stopt, as he went on explaining his Doctrine. He argued against the Corporal Presence, as being contrary to the Scriptures that spoke of Christ's leaving the World; as being against the Article of his sitting at the right hand of God; and against the nature of the Sacrament, which is a Remembrance; he shewed, that by it the Wicked receive Christ no less than the Godly; that it is against nature to swallow down a living Man; that this Doctrine introduced many extraordinary Miracles, without any necessity; and must have given advantage to the Hereticks, who denied Christ had a real Body, or a true humane Nature; and that it was contrary to the Doctrine of the Fathers: He acknowledged that it was truly the Communion of his Body, that is, of Christ's Death, and of the Heavenly Life given by him: and did, in a strong nervous Discourse, as any I ever saw on that Subject, gather together the chief Arguments for his Opinion.

Smith argued, That notwithstanding Christ's being at the right Hand of God, he was seen on Earth: *Ridley* said, he did not deny but he might come and appear on Earth, but that was for a moment, to convince some, and comfort others, as St. *Paul*, and St. *Stephen*; though, he said, it might be they saw him in Heaven; but he could not be, at the same time, both in Heaven and on Earth. They returned oft to *Chrysostom*'s words, and pressed him with some of *Bernard's*: but as he answered the Sayings of the former, that they were Rhetorical and Figurative; so he excepted against the judgment of the latter, as living in an Age when their Opinion was generally received. The Dispute held till *Weston* grew weary, and stopt all; saying, *You see the obstinate, vain-glorious, crafty, and inconstant mind of this Man; but you see also the force of Truth cannot be shaken; therefore cry out with me, Truth has the Victory.* This being ecchoed again by the Audience, they went away with great Triumph; and now they reckoned the hardest part of their Work was over, since *Latimer* only remained.

Latimer

Latimer being next day brought forth, told them, He had not used *Latin* much these twenty Years, and was not able to Dispute, but he would declare his Faith, and then they might do as they pleased. He declared, That he thought the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament to be only Spiritual, since it is that by which we obtain Eternal Life, which flows only from Christ's abiding in us by Faith; therefore it is not a bare naked sign: but for the Corporal Presence, he looked on it as the Root of all the other Errors in their Church: He enlarged much against the Sacrifice of the Mass: And lamented that they had changed the Communion into a private Mass; that they had taken the Cup away from the People; and instead of Service in a known Tongue, were bringing the Nation to a Worship that they did not understand. He perceived they laughed at him; but he told them, they were to consider his great Age, and to think what they might be when they came to it. They pressed him much to answer their Arguments: He said, his Memory was gone, but his Faith was grounded on the Word of God; he was fully convinced by the Book which Dr. *Cranmer* had written on that Subject. 1554. And *Latimer*

In this whole Disputation, as *Ridley* wrote of it, there was great disorder, perpetual Shoutings, Tauntings, and Reproaches; so that it looked liker a Stage, than a School of Divines; and the Noise and Confusions, with which he had been much offended when he was in the *Sorbone*, were modest, compared to this. Censures past upon it.

On *April* 28, they were again brought to St. *Maries*; where *Weston* told them, They were over-come in the Disputation, therefore he required them to subscribe with the rest. *Cranmer* objected against their way of Disputing; he said, they would not hear any one argue against their Errors, or defend the Truth; that often-times four or five of them were speaking at once, so that it was impossible for any to hear, or to answer all these: In conclusion, he refused to subscribe. *Ridley* and *Latimer* made the same Answers. So they were all judged Hereticks, and the Fautors of Heresy. Then they were asked, Whether they intended to turn? They answered, That they would not turn: so they were judged Obstinate Hereticks, and declared to be no more Members of the Church.

Upon which *Cramer* answered; 'From this your Judgment and Sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be 'present with him in Heaven, for whose Presence on the Altar I am 'thus condemned.

Ridley answered; 'Although I be not of your Company, yet I 'doubt not but my Name is written in another Place, whither this 'Sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of Nature 'have come.

Latimer answered; I thank God most heartily that he hath prolong-'ed my Life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God with this 'kind of Death.

To them *Weston* answered; If you go to Heaven with this Faith, 'then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded.

After this, there was a solemn Procession in *Oxford*, the Host being carried by *Weston* the Prolocutor; who had been (as himself said in this Disputation) six Years in Prison in King *Edward's* Time. This

1554. gave him now great repute, though he was known to be a constant Drunkard. *Ridley* wrote to him, desiring to see what the Notaries had written, and that he might have leave to add in any part, as had been promised him; but he had no Answer. On the 23d of *April*, the Commissioners, sent from the Convocation, returned to *London*. *Cranmer* sent a Petition sealed, by *Weston*, to be delivered to the Council; in which he earnestly begged their favour with the Queen, that he might be pardoned for his Treason, since they knew how unwillingly he consented to the Patents for excluding her. He also complained of the disorder in the Disputes lately had; saying, that he was not heard, nor suffered to propose his Arguments; but all was shufled up in a day, though he had Matter on that Subject for twenty days work; that it look'd like a Design to shut up all things in haste, and make a Triumph, and so to condemn them of Heresy: He left it to their Wisdom to consider, if this was an indifferent way of handling such a Matter. *Weston* carried this Petition half way, and then opening it, and finding what it contained, he sent it back, and said, he would deliver no such Petition. *Cranmer* was so kept, that though *Ridley* and *Latimer* could send to one another, yet it was not easy for them to send to him, without giving Mony to their Keepers. In one of *Ridley*'s Letters to *Cranmer*, he said, he heard they intended to carry down *Rogers*, *Crome*, and *Bradford*, to *Cambridg*, and to make such a Triumph there, as he had lately made of them at *Oxford*: He trusted, the day of their deliverance out of all their Miseries, and of their entrance into perpetual Rest, and perpetual Joy and Felicity, drew nigh: He prayed God to strengthen them with the mighty Spirit of his Grace: He desired *Cranmer* to pray for him, as he also did for *Cranmer*. As for the Letters which these and the other Prisoners writ in their Imprisonment, *Fox* gathered the Originals from all People that had them: and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, the Founder of *Emanuel* College, procured them from him, and put them into the Library of that College, where I saw them: but they are all printed by *Fox*, so that the Reader, who desires to see them, may find them in his *Acts and Monuments*. Of them all, *Ridley* writ with the greatest connexion and force, both in the Matter, aud in the way of Expression.

The Prisoners in *London* set out in writing their Reasons against disputing by word of mouth.

This being now over, there was great boasting among all the Popish Party, as if the Champions of the Reformation had been foiled. The Prisoners in *London* hearing they intended to insult over them, as they had done over those at *Oxford*, set out a Paper, to which the late Bishops of *Exeter*, St. *Davids*, and *Glocester*, with *Taylor*, *Philpot*, *Bradford*, *Crome*, *Sanders*, *Rogers*, and *Lawrence*, set their Hands, on the 8th of *May*.

The substance of it was; 'That they, being Prisoners, neither as 'Rebels, Traitors, nor Transgressors of any Law, but meerly for their 'Conscience to God and his Truth, hearing it was intended to carry 'them to *Cambridg* to dispute, declared they would not dispute, but 'in Writing, except it were before the Queen and her Council, or be-'fore either of the Houses of Parliament: and that for these Rea-'sons.

1. 'It was clear, that the Determinations of the Universities were 'already made; they were their open Enemies, and had already con-

'demned

'condemned their Cause before they had heard it; which was contrary 1554.
'both to the Word of God, and the Determinations they had made in
'King *Edward's* Time.

2. 'They saw the Prelats and Clergy were seeking neither to find out 'the Truth, nor to do them good, otherwise they would have heard 'them, when they might have declared their Consciences without ha-'zard; but that they sought only their destruction, and their own 'glory.

3. 'They saw that those who were to be the Judges of these Di-'sputes, were their inveterate Enemies; and by what passed in the 'Convocation House last Year, and lately at *Oxford*, they saw how 'they must expect to be used.

4. 'They had been kept long Prisoners, some nine or ten months, 'without Books, or Papers, or convenient places of study.

5. 'They knew they should not be heard to speak their minds fully, 'but should be stopt, as their Judges pleased.

6. 'They could not have the nomination of their Notaries, who 'would be so chosen, that they would write and publish what their 'Enemies had a mind to. Therefore they would not engage in publick 'Disputes, except by Writing: but they would give a Summary of 'their Faith, for which they would be ready to offer up their Lives to 'the Halter, or the Fire, as God should appoint.

'They declared, That they believed the Scriptures to be the true 'Word of God, and the Judg of all Controversies in the Matters of 'Religion; and that the Church is to be obeyed, as long as she follows 'this Word. That they believed the Apostles Creed; and those Creeds 'set out by the Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalce-'don*, and by the first and fourth Councils of *Toledo*; and the Sym-'boles of *Athanasius*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, and *Damasus*. That they be-'lieved Justication by Faith; which Faith was not only an Opinion, 'but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost, which did illu-'minate the Mind, and suppled the Heart to submit it self unfeignedly 'to God. That they acknowledged an Inherent Righteousness, yet 'Justification, and the Pardon of Sins, they believed came only by 'Christ's Righteousness imputed to them. They thought the Worship 'of God ought to be in a Tongue understood by the People; that 'Christ only, and not the Saints, were to be prayed to; that immedi-'ately after Death, the Souls pass either to the State of the Blessed, or 'of the Damned, without any Purgatory between; that Baptism and 'the Lord's Supper are the Sacraments of Christ, which ought to be 'administred according to his Institution: and therefore they condem-'ned the denying the Chalice, Transubstantiation, the Adoration, or 'the Sacrifice of the Mass; and asserted the lawfulness of Marriage to 'every Rank of Men. These things they declared they were ready 'to defend, as they often had before offered: and concluded, charging 'all People to enter into no Rebellion against the Queen, but to obey 'her in all Points, except where her Commands were contrary to the 'Law of God.

In the end of this Month, the Lady *Elizabeth* was taken out of the *Tower*, and put into the Custody of the Lord *Williams*; who waited on her to *Woodstock*, and treated her with great civility, and all the

respect

1554. respect due to her Quality: but this not being so acceptable to those who governed, she was put under the Charge of Sir *Hen. Benefield*, by whom she was more roughly handled.

Prince *Philip* Lands.

On the 20*th* of *July*, Prince *Philip* landed at *Southampton*. When he set foot to Land first, he presently drew his Sword, and carried it a good way naked in his Hand. Whether this was one of the Forms of his Country, I know not: but it was interpreted as an Omen, that he intended to Rule *England* with the Sword: though others said, it shewed, he intended to draw his Sword in defence of the Nation. The Mayor of *Southampton* brought him the Keys of the Town, an expression of Duty always paid to our Princes; he took them from him, and gave them back without speaking a word, or expressing by any sign that he was pleased with it. His stiffness amazed the English, who use to be treated by their Kings with great sweetness on such occasions: and so much gravity in so young a Man was not understood, but was look'd on as a sign of vast pride and morosenese. The Queen met him at *Winchester*; where, on the 25*th* of *July*, *Gardiner* married them in the Cathedral, the King being then in the 27*th*, and the Queen in the 38*th* Year of her Age. They were presented from the Emperor by his Ambassador, with a resignation of his Titular Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples*, which were Pledges of that total resignation that followed not long after.

And is married to the Queen.

So on the 27*th* of *July* they were proclaimed by their new Titles; '*Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Jerusalem*, and *Ireland*; Princes of *Spain* and *Sicily*, Defendors of the 'Faith; Arch-Dukes of *Austria*; Dukes of *Milan*, *Burgundy*, and '*Brabant*; Counts of *Habspurg*, *Flanders*, and *Tirol*: *Spain* having always delighted in a long enumeration of pompous Titles.

It was observed, how happy Marriages had been to the *Austrian* Family; who, from no extraordinary Beginnings, had now, in eighty Years time, been raised by two Marriages; first, with the Heir of *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, and then with the Heir of *Spain*, to be the greatest Family in Christendom: and the Collateral Family, by the Marriage of the Heir of *Bohem* and *Hungary*, was now the greatest in the Empire. And surely if Issue had followed this Marriage, the most extraordinary success possible would have seemed to be entailed on them. But there was no great appearance of that; for as the Queen was now far advanced in Years, so she was in no good state of Health; a long course of Discontent, had corrupted both the health of her Body, and the temper of her Mind: Nor did the Matter alter much by her Marriage, except for the worse. The King's wonderful Gravity and Silence, gained nothing upon the English; but his Magnificence and Bounty was very acceptable. He brought after him a vast Mass of Wealth; seven and twenty Chests of Bullion, every Chest being a Yard and some Inches long; which were drawn in twenty Carts to the *Tower*; after which came ninety nine Horse, and two Carts, loaded with coined Gold and Silver. This great Wealth was perhaps the Sum that was formerly mentioned, which was to be distributed among the English; for it is not improbable, that though he empowred his Ambassadors, and *Gardiner*, to promise great Sums to such as should promote his Marriage, yet that he would not part with so much Mony till

He brings a great Treasure with him to *England*.

it was made sure; and therefore he ordered this Treasure to be brought after him; (I mention it here, yet it came not into *England* till *October* and *January* following.) He made his entry into *London* with great state. 1554.

At his first setling in *England*, he obtained of the Queen, that many Prisoners should be set at Liberty; among whom the chief were, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and ten Knights, with many other Persons of Quality. These, I suppose, had been committed, either for *Wiat*'s Rebellion, or the Business of the Lady *Jane*; for I do not believe, any were discharged that were imprisoned on the account of Religion. As for this Arch-Bishop, though he went along in the Reformation, yet I find nothing that gives any great Character of him. I never saw any Letter of his, nor do I remember to have seen any honourable mention made of him any where; so that he seems to have been a soft and weak Man; and except those little Fragments of his Opinions in some Points about the Mass, (which are in the *Collection*) I know no remains of his Pen. It seems he did at this time comply in Matters of Religion, for without that, it is not probable that either *Philip* would have moved for him, or that the Queen would have been easily entreated.

Act of Favour done by him.

The Intercessions that *Philip* made for the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonshire*, did gain him the Hearts of the Nation, more than any thing else that he ever did. *Gardiner* was much set against them, and studied to bear down the declaration that *Wiat* had made of their Innocency all that he could; but it was made so openly on the Scaffold, that it was not possible to suppress it. Before, in his Examinations, *Wiat* had accused them, hoping to have saved himself by so base an Action; but he redeemed it all he could at his Death. This had broken *Gardiner*'s Design, who thought all they did about Religion, was but half work, unless the Lady *Elizabeth* were destroyed. For he knew, that though she complied in many things, yet her Education had been wholly under the Reformed: and which was more to him, who judged all People by their Interest, he reckoned that Interest must make her declare against the Papacy, (since otherwise she was a Bastard) if ever she should out-live her Sister.

He preserves the Lady *Elizabeth.*

Philip opposed this, at first, upon a generous Account, to recommend himself, by obtaining such Acts of Favour to be done by the Queen. But afterwards, when the hopes of Issue failed him by his Marriage, he preserved her, out of Interest of State: for if she had been put out of the way, the Queen of *Scotland* (that was to be married to the *Dolphin*) was to succeed; which would have made too great an Accession to the French Crown: and besides, as it afterwards appeared, he was not without hopes of persuading her to marry himself, if her Sister should die without Issue. For the Earl of *Devonshire*, he more easily obtained his freedom, though not till some months had passed. That Earl being set at liberty, finding he was to lie under perpetual Distrusts, and that he might be, perhaps upon the first Disorder, again put into the *Tower*, to which his Stars seemed to condemn him, resolved to go beyond Sea; but died within a Year after, as some say, of Poison.

1554 All this I have laid together, (though it fell not out all at once) that I might give a full account of all the Acts of Grace that Philip did in England; But for the rest of his Behaviour, it was no way acceptable to the People, for as he engaged the Nation in all his Interests, so that henceforth, during this Reign, England had no share in the Consultations of Europe, but was blindly led by him, which proved fatal to them in the conclusion, by the ignominious loss of Calais; So his temper and way of deportment seemed most ridiculous, and extravagantly formal, to the English Genius, which naturally loves the mean, between the excessive jollity and talkativeness of the French, and the sullen staiedness of the Spaniard; rather enclining more to the briskness of the one, than the superciliousness of the other: And indeed his Carriage was such here, that the acting him and his Spaniards, was one of the great Diversions of Queen Elizabeth's Court. The Hall of the Court was almost continually shut all his Time, and none could have access, unless it were first demanded, with as much formality as Ambassadors use in asking Audience: So that most of the Nobility left the Court, few staying but the Officers of the Houshold.

He was little beloved by the English.

Gardiner magnifies him much in a Sermon.

Gardiner had now the Government put entirely in his Hands; And he, to make his Court the better with the new King, preached at St. Paul's the 30th of September, where, after he had inveighed long against the Preachers in King Edward's Time, which was the common Subject of all their Sermons, he run out much in commendation of the King; affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate, as any Prince that ever was in England; and if he did not prove so, he was content that all his Hearers should esteem him an impudent Lyar. The State of the Court continued in this posture till the next Parliament.

But great Discontents did now appear every-where. The severe Executions after the last rising, the Marriage with Spain, and the overturning of Religion, concurred to alienate the Nation from the Government. This appeared no where more confidently than in Norfolk, where the People, reflecting on their Services, thought they might have the more leave to speak.

There were some malicious Rumours spread, that the Queen was with Child before the King came over. This was so much resented at Court, that the Queen writ a Letter to the Justices there, (which is in the Collection) to enquire into those false Reports, and to look to all that spread false News in the County. The Earl of Sussex, upon this, examined a great many, but could make nothing out of it. It flowed from the officiousness of Hopton, the new Bishop of Norwich; who thought to express his Zeal to the Queen, whose Chaplain he had long been, by sending up the Tales of the Country to the Council Table; not considering how much it was below the Dignity of the Government, to look after all vain Reports.

Coll. Numb. 14.

Bonner's Carriage in his Visitation.

This Summer the Bishops went their Visitations, to see every thing executed according to the Queen's Injunctions. Bonner went his with the rest. He had ordered his Chaplains to draw a Book of Homilies, with an Exposition of the Christian Religion. He says, in his Preface to it, that he and his Chaplains had compiled it; but it is likely he had only the Name of it, and that his Chaplains composed it. Yet the greatest, and indeed, the best part of it was made to their hands, for

it was taken out of *the Institution of a Christian Man*, set out by King *Henry*; only varied in those Points, in which it differed from what they were now about to set up: So that concerning the Pope's Power, since it was not yet established, he says nothing, for, or against it. 1554.

The Articles upon which he made his Visitation, will be found in the *Collection*, and by these we may judg of all the other Visitations over *England*. 'In the Preface, he protests he had not made his Articles out of any secret grudg or displeasure to any; but meerly for the 'discharge of his Conscience towards God and the World. The Articles were; Whether the Clergy did so behave themselves in Living, 'Teaching, and Doing, that in the judgment of indifferent Men, they 'seemed to seek the Honour of God, of the Church, and of the King 'and Queen? Whether they had been Married, or were taken for 'Married? and whether they were Divorced, and did no more come 'at their Wives? or whether they did defend their Marriages? Whether they did reside, keep Hospitality, provide a Curat in their absence? And whether they did devoutly celebrate the Service, and use 'Processions? Whether they were suspect of Heresy? Whether they 'did haunt Ale-houses and Taverns, Bowling-Allies, or suspect Houses? 'Whether they favoured, or kept company with any suspect of Heresy? 'Whether any Priest lived in the Parish, that absented himself from 'Church? Whether these kept any privat Conventicles? Whether 'any of the Clergy was Vicious, blasphemed God or his Saints, or was 'guilty of Simony? Whether they exhorted the People to Peace and 'Obedience? Whether they admited any to the Sacrament, that was 'suspect of Heresy, or was of an ill Conversation, an Oppressor, or 'Evil-Doer? Whether they admitted any to preach that were not 'licensed, or refused such as were? Whether they did officiate in 'English? Whether they did use the Sacraments aright? Whether 'they visited the Sick, and administred the Sacraments to them? 'Whether they did marry any, without asking the Banes three *Sundays*? 'Whether they observed the Fasts and Holy-Days? Whether they went 'in their Habits and Tonsures? Whether those that were ordained 'schismatically, did officiate without being admitted by the Ordinary? 'Whether they set Leases, for many Years, of their Benefices? Whether 'they followed Merchandise or Usury? Whether they carried Swords 'or Daggers, in Times or Places not convenient? Whether they did 'once every quarter expound to the People in the Vulgar Tongue, 'the Apostles Creed, Ten Commandments; the Two Commandments 'of Christ for loving God and our Neighbour, the Seven Works of 'Mercy, Seven deadly Sins, Seven principal Vertues, and the Seven 'Sacraments? These were the most considerable Heads on which he visited.

Coll. Numb. 15.

One thing is remarkable, that it appears, both by these, and the Queen's Injunctions, that they did not pretend to re-ordain those that had been ordained by the New Book in King *Edward*'s Time; but to reconcile them, and add those things that were wanting; which were, the Anointing, and giving the Priestly Vestments, with other Rites of the Roman Pontifical. In this Point of re-ordaining such as were ordained in Heresy or Schism, the Church of *Rome* has not gone by any

No Reordination of those ordained in King *Edward*'s Time.

1554 steady Rule: For though they account the Greek-Church to be guilty, both of Heresy and Schism, they receive their Priests without a New Ordination. Yet after the time of the Contests between Pope *Nicolaus* and *Photius*, and much more after the outragious heats at *Rome*, between *Sergius* and *Formosus*, in which the dead Bodies of the former Popes were raised and dragged about the Streets by their Successors, they annulled the Ordinations, which they pretended were made irregularly.

Afterwards again, upon the great Schism between the Popes of *Rome* and *Avignon*, they did neither annul nor renew the Orders that had been given: But now, in *England*, though they only supplied at this time the Defects, which they said were in their former Ordination: yet afterwards, when they proceeded to burn them that were in Orders, they went upon the old Maxim; That Orders given in Schism were not valid; so they did not esteem *Hooper* nor *Ridley* Bishops, and therefore only degraded them from Priesthood; though they had been ordained by their own Forms, saving only the Oath to the Pope; but for those who were ordained by the new Book, they did not at all degrade them, supposing now they had no true Orders by it.

Bonner, in his Visitation, took great care to see all things were every where done according to the old Rules, which was the main thing intended; other Points being put in for form. When he came to *Hadham*, he prevented the Doctor, who did not expect him so soon by two hours, so that there was no ringing of Bells, which put him in no small disorder: And that was much encreased, when he went into the Church, and found neither the Sacrament hanging up, nor a Rood set up: thereupon he fell a railing, swearing most intemperately, calling the Priest an Heretick, a Knave, with many other such goodly words. The Priest said, all these things should be amended speedily; and knowing that a good Dinner was the best way to temper Bishop *Bonner*, he desired him to go and dine at his House: but *Bonner* took it so ill, that *Hadham*, which was one of his own Churches, was an ill Example to those about it, that he lost all patience; and reaching at Dr. *Bricket* (that was the Parson's Name) to beat him, he misguided the stroke, which fell on Sir *Thomas Josselin*'s Ear with great force. *Fecknam*, then Dean of *Pauls* in Dr. *May*'s room, studied to appease *Josselin*, and said to him, That the Bishop's being so long in the *Marshalsea*, had so disordered him, that in his Passion he knew not what he did; but when he came to himself, he would be sorry for what he had done. *Josselin* answered, he thought, now that he was taken out of the *Marshalsea*, he should be carried to *Bedlam*. But *Bonner* continued in his Fury; and though he had purposed to stay at his House there some days, and had ordered Provisions to be made; yet he would needs be gone, though it disordered the rest of his Visitation, for he came to every place sooner than he intended, or had given notice.

Bonner's rage.

The Carvers, and makers of Statues, had now a quick Trade, for Roods and other Images, which were to be provided for all Places. *Bonner* had observed, that in most Churches the Walls were painted with places of Scripture; and in many places there were Passages written, that either favoured the Marriage of the Clergy, or were against the Corporal Presence, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the multiplicity

multiplicity of the Ceremonies of the Church: So he did, at his return, send out Episcopal Letters, on the 24*th* of *October*, to raze all those Paintings. Upon this it was generally said, That the Scriptures must be dasht out to make way for the Images, since they were so contrary one to another, that they could not decently stand together. There were many ludicrous things every where done in derision of the old Forms, and of the Images: Many Poems were printed, with other ridiculous Representations of the Latin Service, and the Pageantry of their Worship. But none occasioned more laughter, than what fell out at *Pauls* the *Easter* before; the custom being to lay the Sacrament into the Sepulchre, at the Even Song on *Good-Friday*, and to take it out by break of day on *Easter* Morning: At the time of the taking of it out, the Quire sung these words, *Surrexit, non est hic, He is risen, he is not here:* But then the Priest looking for the Host, found it was not there indeed, for one had stollen it out; which put them all in no small disorder, but another was presently brought in its stead. Upon this a Ballad followed, that their God was stollen and lost, but a new one was made in his room. This Railery was so salt, that it provoked the Clergy much. They offered large Rewards to discover him that had stollen the Host, or had made the Ballad, but could not come to the knowledg of it. But they resolved, e're long, to turn that mirth and pleasantness of the Hereticks, into severe mourning.

1554.

The Sacrament stollen.

And thus Matters went on to the 11*th* of *November*, when the third Parliament was summoned. In the Writ of Summons, the Title of *Supream Head of the Church* was left out, though it was still by Law united to the other Royal Titles: And therefore this was urged, in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, as a good reason for annulling that Parliament, since it was not called by a lawful Writ. Now was Cardinal *Pool* allowed to come into *England*. The Emperor had this Summer brought him to *Flanders*, where, to make a-mends for the rudeness of stopping him on his way, he desired him to mediate a Peace between *France* and him; but that had no effect. It soon appeared, that all things were so well prepared by *Gardiner*'s Policy, and the Spanish Gold, that it would be an easy Matter to carry every thing in this Session. The Lord *Paget*, and the Lord *Hastings*, were sent from the King and Queen to bring the Cardinal over. At the opening of the Parliament, it was an unusual sight, to see both King and Queen ride in state, and come into it with two Swords of State, and two Caps of Maintenance carried before them: The Swords were carried, one by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the other by the Earl of *Westmoreland*; and the Caps, by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*. The first Bill put into the Lords House, was the Repeal of the Attainder of Cardinal *Pool:* it began on the 17*th*, and was sent down to the Commons on the 19*th*, who read it three times in one day, and sent it up. This Bill being to be passed before he could come into *England*, it was questioned, in the House of Commons, Whether the Bill could be passed without making a Session, which would necessitate a Prorogation? It was resolved it might be done; so on the 22*d* the King and Queen came, and passed it. It set forth, that the only reason of his Attainder, was, because he would not consent to the unlawful Separation and Divorce between King *Henry*, and his most godly, vertuous, and lawful Wife,

A New Parliament.

The Attainder of Cardinal Pool repealed.

1554. Queen *Katherine*: Therefore they considering the true and sincere Conscience of the Cardinal in that Point, and his other many godly Vertues and Qualities, did repeal that Act.

He comes to London.

On the 24*th* he came to *London*, but without the Solemnities of a Legates Entry, because the Pope's Authority was not yet set up by Law. What Cardinal *Pools* Instructions were, I do not know; nor is it fully understood, by Learned Men, what was the Power of a Legat *a Latere* in those Days. But I found, in the King's Paper Office, the Original Bull of Cardinal *Beaton*'s Legatine Power in *Scotland*, which it seems was intercepted by some of the King's Ships, in the passage by Sea thither; or was sent up to *London* by those who killed him, and possessed themselves of his Castle and Goods. And I having mentioned this Bull to those Learned Men, by whose direction I have governed my self in this Work, I did, by their advice, give it a room in the *Collection*, though it be large; since, no doubt, Cardinal *Pool*'s Bull was in the same form. In it the Reader will clearly perceive what Authority was lodged in the Legats, to overthrow and dispense with almost all the Rules and Canons of the Church; only some peculiar things, (which were more conspicuously scandalous) were still reserved to the Apostolick See it self; whose singular Priviledg it has been always esteemed to dispense with the best things, and allow of the worst; so the Pretenders to those Graces, payed proportionably for them; this Authority was too Sacred to be trusted, even to a Legat, it being the Prerogative of the Popes themselves, to be the most eminent Transgressors of all Canons and Constitutions.

Col. Number 17.

The Cardinal first declared what his Designs and Powers were to the King and Queen; and then on the 27*th* a Message was sent to the Parliament to come and hear him deliver his Legation; which they doing, he made them a long Speech, inviting them to a Reconciliation with the Apostolick See, from whence he was sent by the common Pastor of Christendom, to reduce them, who had long strayed from the Inclosure of the Church. This made some emotion in the Queen, which she fondly thought was a Child quickned in her Belly: this redoubled the Joy, some not sparing to say, that as *John Baptist* leaped in his Mothers Belly at the Salutation of the Virgin, so here a happy Omen followed on this Salutation from Christ's Vicar. In this, her Women, seeing that she firmly believed her self with Child, flattered her so far, that they fully persuaded her of it. Notice was given of it to the Council, who that night writ a Letter to *Bonner* about it, ordering a *Te Deum* to be sung at St. *Pauls*, and the other Churches of *London*, and that Collects should be constantly used for bringing this to a happy perfection. All that night, and next day, there was great joy about the Court and City.

And makes a Speech to the Parliament.

The Queen is believed to be with Child.

On the 29*th*, the Speaker reported to the Commons the substance of the Cardinal's Speech; and a Message coming from the Lords for a Conference of some of their House, with the Lord Chancellor, four Earls, four Bishops, and four Lords, to prepare a Supplication for their being reconciled to the See of *Rome*; it was consented to: and the Petition being agreed on at the Committee, was reported, and approved of by both Houses. It contained an Address to the King and Queen.

'That



Printed for Rich:d Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in S.t Pauls Church yard.

'That whereas they had been guilty of a most horrible Defection 1554.
'and Schism from the Apostolick See, they did now sincerely repent of
'it; and in sign of their Repentance, were ready to repeal all the
'Laws made in prejudice of that See: therefore since the King and
'Queen had been no way defiled by their Schism, they pray them to
'be Intercessors with the Legat to grant them Absolution, and to re-
'ceive them again into the Bosom of the Church.

The Parliaments Petition to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*.

So this being presented by both Houses on their Knees, to the King and Queen, they made their Intercession with the Cardinal, who thereupon delivered himself in a long Speech.

The Cardinal makes a long Speech.

'He thanked the Parliament for repealing the Act against him, and 'making him a Member of the Nation, from which he was by that Act 'cut off: In recompence of which, he was now to reconcile them to 'the Body of the Church. He told them, The Apostolick See cherished '*Britain* most tenderly, as the first Nation that had publickly received 'the Christian Faith. The *Saxons* vvere also afterwards converted by 'the means of that See; and some of their King's had been so devoted 'to it, that *Offa*, and others, had gone to visit the Thresholds of the 'Apostles. That *Adrian* the fourth, an English Pope, had given *Ire-land* to the Crown of *England*: and that many mutual Marks of reci-'procal kindness had passed between that common Father of Christen-'dom, and our Kings, their most beloved Sons: but none more emi-'nent than the bestowing on the late King, the Title of *Defender of the Faith*. He told them, That in the Unity with that See, consisted 'the happiness and strength of all Churches: that since the *Greeks* had 'separated from them, they had been abandoned by God, and vvere 'now under the Yoke of *Mahometans*. That the Distractions of *Ger-many* did further demonstrate this; but most of all, the Confusions 'themselves had felt, ever since they had broken that Bond of Perfe-'ction. That it vvas the Ambition and Craft of some, who for their 'privat Ends began it, to vvhich the rest did too submissively comply; 'and that the Apostolick See might have proceeded against them for it, 'by the assistance of other Princes; but had stayed looking for that Day, 'and for the Hand of Heaven. He run out much on the commendation 'of the Queen, aud said, God had signally preserved her, to procure this 'great Blessing to the Church. At last he enjoined them for Penance, 'to repeal the Laws they had made; and so, in the Pope's Name, he 'granted them a full Absolution, vvhich they received on their Knees; 'and he also absolved the vvhole Realm from all Censures.

And grants them Absolution.

The rest of the day vvas spent vvith great solemnity and triumph; all that had been done, vvas published next *Sunday* at *Pauls*. There vvas a Committee appointed, by both Houses, to prepare the Statute of Repeal, which vvas not finished before the 25*th* of *December*; and then, the Bishop of *London* only protesting against it, because of a *Proviso* put in for the Lands which the Lord *Wentworth* had out of his Bishoprick, it vvas agreed to, and sent to the Commons. They made more hast vvith it, for they sent it back the 4*th* of *January*, with a desire that twenty Lines in it, vvhich concerned the See of *London*, and the Lord *Wentworth*, might be put out, and two new *Proviso's* added. One of their *Proviso's* vvas not liked by the Lords, who drew a new one; to vvhich the Viscount *Montacute*, and the Bishops of

London

1554. *London* and *Coventry*, dissented. The twenty Lines of the Lord *Wentworth's Proviso* vvere not put out; but the Lord Chancellor took a Knife, and cut them out of the Parchment, and said, Now I do truly the Office of a *Chancellor*; the word being ignorantly derived by some from *Cancelling*. It is not mentioned in the *Journal*, that this vvas done by the Order of the House; but that must be supposed, otherwise it cannot be thought the Parliament vvould have consented to so unlimited a Power in the Lord Chancellor, as to raze or cut out *Proviso's* at his pleasure.

The Act of Repealing all Laws against that See.

'By the Act is set forth, their former Schism from the See of *Rome*, 'and their Reconciliation to it now; upon vvhich, all Acts passed 'since the 20*th* of *Henry* the Eighth, against that See, were specially 'enumerated and repealed: There it is said, that for the removing of 'all Grudges that might arise, they desired that the following Articles 'might, through the Cardinal's Intercession, be established by the 'Pope's Authority.

1. 'That all Bishopricks, Cathedrals, or Colleges, now established, 'might be confirmed for ever.

2. 'That Marriages, made within such degrees as are not contrary 'to the Law of God, but only to the Laws of the Church, might be 'confirmed, and the Issue by them declared legitimate.

3. 'That all Institutions into Benefices might be confirmed.

4. 'That all Judicial Processes might be also confirmed.

A *Proviso* for Church-Lands.

And finally, 'That all the Settlements of the Lands, of any Bishopricks, Monasteries, or other Religious Houses, might continue as 'they were, without any trouble by the Ecclesiastical Censures or 'Laws.

A Petition from the Convocation about it.

'And to make this pass the better, a Petition was procured from the 'Convocation of *Canterbury*, setting forth, That whereas they, being 'the Defenders and Guardians of the Church, ought to endeavour, 'with all their strength, to recover those Goods to the Church, which 'in the Time of the late Schism had been alienated; yet having considered well of it, they saw how difficult, and indeed impossible, that 'would prove, and how much it would endanger the publick Peace 'of the Realm, and the Unity of the Church; therefore they preferring the publick Welfare, and the Salvation of Souls, to their own 'privat Interests, did humbly pray the King and Queen to intercede 'with the Legat, that according to the Powers given him by the Pope, 'he would settle and confirm all that had been done in the alienation of 'the Church and Abbey Lands, to which they, for their Interests, did 'consent: and they added an humble Desire, That those things which 'concerned the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Liberty, might be re-'establish'd, that so they might be able to discharge the Pastoral Cure 'committed to them. Upon this, the Cardinal granted a full Confirmation of those things: ending it, with a heavy charge on those who 'had the Goods of the Church in their hands, that they would consider the Judgments of God that fell on *Belshazar*, for his prophane 'using the Holy Vessels, though they had not been taken away by 'himself, but by his Father. And he most, earnestly exhorted them, 'that at least they would take care, that out of the Tithes of Parsonages, or Vicarages, those who served the Cures, might be sufficiently

'maintain'd

'maintain'd and encouraged. This was confirmed in Parliament, 'where also it was declared, That all Suits about these Lands, were 'only to be in the Queen's Courts, aud not in the Ecclesiastical Courts: 'and if any should, upon the pretence of any Ecclesiastical Authority, 'disturb the Subjects in their possession, they were to fall into a Pre-'munire. It was also declared, that the Title of *Supream Head*, never 'of right belonged to the Crown; yet all Writings, wherein it was 'used, were still to continue in force; but that hereafter, all Writings 'should be of force, in which, either since the Queen's coming to the 'Crown, or afterwards, that Title should be, or had been omitted. 'It was also declared, that Bulls from *Rome* might be executed; that all 'Exemptions that had belonged to Religious Houses, and had been 'continued by the Grants given of them, were repealed, and these 'Places were made subject to the Episcopal Jurisdiction, excepting only 'the Privileges of the two Universities, the Churches of *Westminster* 'and *Windsor*, and the *Tower* of *London*. But for encouraging any to 'bestow what they pleased on the Church, the Statutes of *Mortmain* 'were repealed for twenty Years to come; provided always, that no-'thing in this Act should be contrary to any of the Rights of the 'Crown, or the Ancient Laws of *England*: but that all things should 'be brought to the State they were in at the 20*th* Year of her Father's 'Reign, and to continue in that condition. 1554.

For understanding this Act more perfectly, I shall next set down the Heads of the Address which the Lower House of Convocation made to the Upper; for most of the Branches of this Act had their first rise from it; I have put it in the *Collection*, having found it among Arch-Bishop *Parker*'s Papers. 'In it they petitioned the Lords of the Upper House of 'Convocation, to take care, that by their consent to the settlement of 'the Church Lands, nothing might be done in prejudice of any just 'Title they had in Law to them: as also, it being said, in the Grant of 'Chantries to King *Edward*, that Schools and Hospitals were to be 'erected in several parts of the Kingdom; they desired that some regard 'might be had to that: Likewise, that the Statutes of *Mortmain* might 'be repealed: and whereas Tithes had been at all times appointed for the 'Ecclesiastical Ministry, therefore they prayed that all Impropriations 'might be dissolved, and the Tithes be restored to the Church. They 'also proposed 27 Articles of things meet to be considered for the Re-'formation of the Church. Namely, That all who had preached any 'Heretical Doctrine, should be made openly to recant it: that *Cran-'mer*'s Book of the Sacrament, the late Service Books, with all Hereti-'cal Books, should be burnt; and all that had them, should be requi-'red to bring them in; otherwise they should be esteemed the favourers 'of Heresy: That great care should be had of the Books that were 'either printed or sold. That the Statutes made against *Lollards*, might 'be revived, and the Church restored to its former Jurisdiction. That all 'Statutes for Pluralities, and Non-residence, might be repealed, that so 'Beneficed Men might attend on their Cures: That Simoniacal Pactions 'might be punished; not only in the Clergy that made them, but in the 'Patrons, and in those that mediated in them; that the Liberties of the 'Church might be restored according to the *Magna Charta*; and the 'Clergy be delivered from the heavy Burdens of First-Fruits, Tenths,

An Address made by the Inferiour Clergy: Coll. Numb. 16.

'and

1554. 'and Subsidies: That there might be a clear explanation made of all 'the Articles of the *Premunire*; and that none should be brought under it, till there were first a Prohibition issued out by the Queen in 'that Particular; and that disobedience to it, should only bring them 'within that Guilt: That all Exemptions should be taken away; all 'Usury be forbid; all Clergy Men obliged to go in their Habits. The 'last was, That all who had spoiled Churches without any Warrant, 'might be obliged to make restitution.

The Laws against Hereticks revived.

The next Act that was brought in, was for the reviving the Statutes made by *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Henry* the Fifth, against Hereticks; of which an account was given in the first Book of the former Part. The Act began in the House of Commons; who, as was observed in the former Parliament, were much set on Severities. It was brought in on the *12th* of *December*, and sent up to the Lords on the *15th*, who passed it on the 18th of that month. The Commons put in also another Bill, for voiding all Leases made by married Priests. It was much argued among them; and the first Draught being rejected, a new one was drawn, and sent up to the Lords, on the *19th* of *December*: but they finding it would shake a great part of the Rights of the Church Lands, that were made by Married Priests, or Bishops, laid it aside. Thus did the servile and corrupted House of Commons run so fast, that the Bishops themselves were forced to moderate their Heats. They all understood how much the Queen was set upon having the Church raised as high as could be, and saw there was nothing so effectual to recommend any to her Favour, as to move high in these Matters: And though their Motions were thought too violent, and rejected, yet their Affections were thereby discovered; so that they knew they should be looked on as Men deeply engaged in these Interests.

An Act declaring Treasons.

After this, the Bill of Treasons was brought in. This was also argued for some days in the House of Commons, but at last agreed to. By it, any who denied the King's Right to the Title of the Crown, with the Queen's, or endeavoured to put him from it, together with them that did several other Offences, were to forfeit all their Goods, and to be imprisoned during Life; and Clergy Men were to be deprived by their Ordinaries: In these cases, the second Offence was to be Treason. But if any should compass the King's Death, and utter it by any overt Deed, during his Marriage to the Queen, the first Offence of this kind should be Treason. It was also enacted, that the Parliament having petitioned the King, that if the Queen died with any Issue, he would take on him the Government of them, till they came of Age; to which he had assented; therefore, if the Queen died before her Children came to be of Age, the Government of the Kingdom should be in the King's Hands; if it were a Son, till he were eighteen; or if a Daughter, till she was fifteen Years of Age: And in all that time, the conspiring his Death was to be Treason. The Witnesses were to be brought before the Parties; and none was to be tried for any words, but within six months after they were spoken.

Another against seditious words.

Another Act passed, upon a Report made of some Heretical Preachers, who had, as was informed, prayed in their Conventicles, that God would turn the Queen's Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, or

else

• else shorten her days, and take her quickly out of the way: All there- 1554.
fore that so prayed for taking away the Queen's Life, were to be judged Traitors; but if they shewed themselves penitent for such Prayers, they were not to be condemned of Treason, but put to any Corporal Punishment, other than Death, at the Judges Discretion. This was passed in great haste, for it was thrice read in the House of Lords, and passed on the 16*th* of *January*, in which the Parliament was Dissolved.

There was another Act past, against those that spread Lying Reports of any Noblemen, Judges, or great Officers; that such as spread them, should be imprisoned till they brought their Authors, according to former Acts. If any spread such Reports of the King and Queen, they were to be set on a Pillory, and pay 100 *l.* or have their Ears cut off, and be three months Prisoners: and they were to pay 100 Merks, and suffer one months Imprisonment, though they had Authors for them, if they reported them maliciously: But if their Reports tended to the stirring of any Insurrection, they were to lose their right Hands; and upon a second Offence to suffer Imprisonment during their Lives; but they were to be proceeded against within three months after the words so spoken.

All the Bills being ended, the Parliament was dissolved on the 16*th* of *January*, to *Gardiner*'s no small joy. He had now performed all that he had undertaken to the Queen, or the Emperor: Upon which he had the Reputation that he was formerly in, of a great Statesman, and a dextrous manager of Affairs, much confirmed and raised; since he had brought about, in so small a time, so great a change, where the Interests of those who consented to it, seemed to lead them another way. To those who had apprehended the Tyranny of *Rome*, he had said, That as our former Kings had always kept it under in a great measure; so there was less danger of that now, since they saw that all Princes had agreed to preserve their own Rights entire, against the Pope's Pretensions. He shewed them, that therefore all the Old Laws against Provisions from *Rome*, were still kept in force. And so upon Cardinal *Pool*'s being called over, there was a Commission sent him, under the Great Seal, bearing date the 10*th* of *November*, authorising him to exercise his Legatine Power in *England*. By this he shewed them that no Legat should ever come into *England* to execute any Power, till his Faculties were seen and approved by the Queen. Others thought this was but a vain Imagination; for if the Papacy were once fully established, and People again brought under the old Superstition, of esteeming the Popes Christ's Vicars, and the infallible Heads of the Church, it would not be possible to retain the People in their Obedience, since all the assistance that the Princes of Christendom of this time had from their Subjects in their Wars with the Popes, flowed chiefly from this, that they generally did no more submit implicitly to their Priests. But if once that blind Obedience were restored, it would be easy for the Priests, by their privat dealings in Confession, to overturn Governments as they pleased.

Gardiner is in great esteem.

But that which stuck most, was, That the Church Lands were, by the Cannon Law, so indissolubly annexed to the Church, that they could not be separated from it. To this it was answered, that they

Great fear about the Church-Lands.

1554. should secure it by a Law at *Rome*, and should confirm all the Alienations that had been made, both by consent of the Clergy, and by the Pope's Authority committed to the Legat. Yet even that did not satisfy many who found some Laws in the Canon, so strict, that the Pope himself could not dispence with them: If the Legate did it, the Pope might refuse to confirm it, and then it was nothing: and what one Pope did, another often recalled. So it was said, that this Confirmation was but an Artifice, to make it pass the more easily. Besides, all observed, that in the Cardinal's Confirmation of those Lands, there was a charge given to all, to be afraid of the Judgments of God that fell on *Belshazar* for using the Holy Vessels; which was, to pardon the thing, and yet to call it a Sacrilege, for which they might look for the Vengeance of God. So that the Cardinal did at the same time both bind and loose; and it was plain, both by that Clause, and the Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain*, that it was designed to possess People with the Opinion of the Sin of retaining Church-Lands. It was thought this Confirmation, was rather an Indemnity and Permission to keep them, than a declaring the Possessors had any lawful Title to them: So that when Men were near Death, and could no longer enjoy those Lands themselves, it was not to be doubted, but the Terrors of Sacrilege, and the Punishments due to it, with the hope of that relief and comfort that Soul-Masses might bring them in Purgatory, would prevail with many of them, to make at least great, if not entire, Restitutions.

This Point being carried by those who did not understand what future danger their Estates were in, but considered the present Confirmation, and the other Advantages which they were to have for consenting to this Act; all the rest passed with no opposition. The Act about the proceeding against Hereticks, passed more easily than any thing that had been proposed: So it seems the opposition that was made to other Acts, came not from any that favoured the Reformation, otherwise this would have found some resistance. But now it was the only way to the Queen's Favour, and to Preferment, to run down that which was called *Heresy*.

Consultations about the way of dealing with Hereticks.

After the Dissolution of the Parliament, the first thing taken into consideration was, what way to proceed against the Hereticks. Cardinal *Pool* had been suspected to favour the Protestants, but seemed now to be much alienated from them: and therefore when *Tremellius*, who had declared himself a Protestant, came to him at *Brussels*, he would not see him, though he was his God-father. He came over into *England*, much changed from that freedom of Conversation he had formerly practised: he was in reserves to all People, spoke little, and had put on an *Italian* Temper, as well as behaviour: he brought over two *Italians*, *Priuli* and *Ormaneto*, who were his only Confidents. He was a Man of a generous and good disposition; but knew how jealous the Court of *Rome* would be of him, if he seemed to favour Hereticks; therefore he expressed great detestation of them. Nor did he converse much with any that had been of that Party, but the late Secretary *Cecil*, who, though he lived for the most part privatly at his House near *Stamford*, where he afterwards built a most sumptuous House; and was known to favour the Reformation still in his

Heart;

Heart; yet in many things he complied with the Time, and came to have more of his confidence than any Engliſh Man. 1554.

The Cardinal profeſſed himſelf an Enemy to extream Proceedings. He ſaid, Paſtors ought to have Bowels, even to their ſtraying Sheep: Biſhops were Fathers, and ought to look on thoſe that erred as their ſick Children, and not for that, to kill them: He had ſeen, that ſevere Proceedings did rather inflame than cure that Diſeaſe: There was a great difference to be made between a Nation uninfected, where ſome few Teachers came to ſpread Errors; and a Nation that had been over-run with them, both Clergy and Laity. The People were not ſo violently to be drawn back, but were to have time given them to recover out of thoſe Errors, into which they had been led by the Compliance and Writings of their Prelats. Therefore he propoſed, that there ſhould be a ſtrict Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy, carried on. He had obſerved, in every Country of Chriſtendom, that all the beſt and wiſeſt Men acknowledged, that the Scandals and Ignorance of the Clergy, had given the entrance to Hereſy: So he moved, that there might be a reviving of the Rules of the Primitive Church; and then, within a little time, Men might by degrees be brought over. I have not found that he propoſed the receiving the Council of *Trent*; which is the more ſtrange, ſince he had been himſelf one of the Legats at the firſt Seſſion of it: but it ſeems, it was not thought ſeaſonable to propoſe it, till the Council were firſt ended and diſſolved.

The Cardinal is for moderate Courſes.

On the other hand, *Gardiner*, who had no great ſenſe of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, but as they ſerved Intrigues of State; and being himſelf of ſuch a temper, that ſevere Proceedings wrought much on him; judged that the executing the Laws againſt the *Lollards*, was that in which they were chiefly to truſt. He was confident, the Preachers then in Priſon, were Men of ſuch tempers, that, if they ſaw they were to be burnt, they would comply; or if they ſtood out, and were burnt, that would ſo terrify the reſt, that the whole Nation would ſoon change. He remembred well how the *Lollards* grew in *England*, only upon Cardinal *Wolſey*'s ſlackning the execution of the Laws againſt them: And upon the paſſing of the Statute of the Six Articles, many ſubmitted; ſo that if King *Henry* had not diſcouraged the vigorous execution of that Act, all had turned. He did not deny, but a Reformation of the Clergy was a good and fit mean; but ſaid, that all Times could not bear ſuch things; and if they went to reform their Manners, the Hereticks would from thence take advantage of raiſing clamours againſt a ſcandalous Clergy; which would encreaſe, rather than leſſen the averſion the People had to their Paſtors. So *Gardiner* complained, that *Pool*, by his intention of coming over too haſtily, had almoſt precipitated all things; and now, by his gentle proceedings, would as much prejudice them another way. All theſe Reaſonings, were ſuch as became a Man of *Gardiner*'s temper, which being ſervile, and abject, made him meaſure others by himſelf.

But *Gardiner* is for violent ones.

He was alſo at this time highly provoked, by the reprinting of his Books of *True Obedience*, which he had writ in the Time of King *Henry*, and to which *Bonner* had made the Preface. In theſe Books, *Gardiner* had not only argued againſt the Pope's Supremacy, and for the Kings, but had condemned the King's Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, calling

'it often *incestuous*, and *unlawful*; and had justified the King's Divorcing 'her, and marrying his most godly and vertuous Wife, Queen *Ann*. This being reprinted in *Strasburg*, was now conveighed into *England*; and it was acknowledged to be a handsome piece of Spite in the reformed, thus to expose him to the World. But though this netled him much, yet he was confident enough, and excused himself, that he had erred through fear and weakness, as St. *Peter* had done; though it was an unreasonable thing, to compare an Error of near thirty Years continuance, to the sudden denial of St. *Peter*, that was presently expiated with so true and sincere a Repentance.

To which the Queen inclined.

Between these two Councils, the Queen would have a mean way taken, to follow both in part. She encouraged *Pool* to go on in the correcting the Manners of the Clergy; and likewise pressed *Gardiner* to proceed against the Hereticks.

She also sent Ambassadors to *Rome*; who were the Viscount *Montacute*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and Sir *Edward Carn*, one to represent every State of the Kingdom; to make her Obedience to the Pope, and to obtain a Confirmation of all those Graces Cardinal *Pool* had granted in his Name.

1555.

On the 23*d* of *January*, all the Bishops went to *Lambeth*, to receive the Cardinal's Blessing and Directions. He wished them to return to their Cures, and treat their Flocks with all gentleness, and to endeavour rather to gain them that way, than to use Extremity and Rigour. And on the 25*th*, there was a solemn Procession through *London*; there went first 160 Priests, all in their Copes, eight Bishops next, and last of all came *Bonner* himself, carrying the Host; to thank God for reconciling them again to his Church; and Bonefires were burning all the Night. And to keep up a constant remembrance of it, it was ordered, that St. *Andrew*'s day should be still observed as the Anniversary of it, and be called *The Feast of the Reconciliation*; and Processions, with all the highest Solemnities they at any time use, were to be on that day.

They begin with *Rogers*, and others.

But now they turned wholly to the Prosecution of the Hereticks. There had been thirty of them taken at a Meeting near *Bow* Church, where one *Rose*, a Minister, gave them the Communion according to the English Book of Service; so they were all put in Prison. On the 22*d* of *January*, *Rogers*, with others, were brought before the Council; He had been a Prebendary of *Pauls*, and in a Sermon, after the Queen was come to *London*, had zealously asserted the Doctrine he had formerly preached; and as it has been shewn, was confined to his House, upon the Tumult that had been at *Pauls*. He was much pressed to fly over into *Germany*, but he would not hearken to it, though the Necessities of ten Children were great Temptations. He was esteemed one of the most Learned of the Reformers, so that when those of the Convocation were required to Dispute; they desired that *Ridley* and he might be suffered to come and join with them. It was resolved to begin with him, and some others, at the Council-Board, to see if they could be easily brought over.

He was accordingly brought before the Council; where being asked by *Gardiner*, Whether he would knit himself to the Catholick Church,

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and receive the Pope as the Supream Head? He said, He knew no other Head of the Church but Christ; and for the Pope, he had no more Authority in *England*, than any other Bishop, either by the Word of God, or the Authority of the Church, for 400 Years after Christ. But they objecting, that he had acknowledged King *Henry* to be Supream Head: He answered, He never acknowledged him so to be Supream, as to forgive Sins, bestow the Holy Ghost, or be a Judg above the Word of God. But as he was going to explain himself, *Gardiner* pressed him to Answer plainly. He Objected to *Gardiner*, That all the Bishops had for many Years preached against the Pope. *Gardiner* said, They were forced to it, by the Cruelty of the Times; but they would Argue no more with him: Now Mercy was offered, if he rejected it, Justice must come next. *Rogers* said, If they had been pressed to deny the Pope's Power by Cruelty, would they now by the same Motives force others to acknowledg it? for his part he would never do it. Other ten were called in, one after another; and only one of them, by the Lord *Effingham*'s Favour, was let go upon a general Question, if he would be an Honest Man; but all the rest answering resolutely, were sent back to Prison, and were kept much stricter than formerly; none being suffered to come near them.

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Who refusing to comply.

On the 28*th* of *January*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *London*, *Duresm*, *Salisbury*, *Norwich*, and *Carlisle*, sat in St. *Mary Overies* in *Southwark*; where *Hooper* was first brought before them. It needs not to be doubted, but *Bonner* remembred that he had informed against him, when he was deprived in King *Edward*'s Time. He had been summoned to appear before the Queen, soon after she came to the Crown: and it was pretended, he owed her great Sums of Mony: Many advised him not to appear, for that it was but a pretence to put him, and a great many more in Prison, where they would be kept till Laws were made to bring them out to a Stake. But he would not with-draw; so now he and Mr. *Rogers* were singled out and begun with. They were asked, Whether they would submit, or not? they both refused to submit. *Rogers* being much pressed, and continuing firm in his Resolutions; *Gardiner* said, It was vain-glory in him to stand out against the whole Church. He protested it was his Conscience, and not Vain-glory, that swayed him; for his part, he would have nothing to do with the Antichristian Church of *Rome*. *Gardiner* said, by that he condemned the Queen, and the whole Realm, to be of the Church of Antichrist: *Rogers* said, The Queen would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. *Gardiner* said, the Queen went before them in those Counsels, which proceeded of her own motion. *Rogers* said, He would never believe that. The Bishop of *Carlisle* said, they could all bear him witness to it. *Rogers* said, they would all witness for one another. Upon that, the Comptroller, and Secretary *Bourn*, being there, stood up in Court and attested it. Then they asked *Rogers*, What he thought of the Sacrament? He said, It was known he had never medled in that Matter, and was suspected by some to be of a contrary Opinion to many of his Brethren, but yet he did not allow of their Corporal Presence. He complained, that after he had been confined half a Year in his House, they had kept him a Year in *Newgate*, without any Fault; for they could not say he had broken

Were judged.

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1555. any of their Laws, since he had been a Prisoner all the while; so that meerly for his Opinion they were now proceeding against him. They gave *Hooper* and him time till next morning, to consider what they would do: but they continuing in their former Resolution; were declared obstinate Hereticks, and appointed to be degraded, and so to be delivered into the Sheriffs hands. *Hooper* was only degraded from the Order of Priesthood. Then *Rogers* desired he might be suffered to speak with his Wife, concerning his ten Children: They answered, She was not his Wife, and so denied it. Upon this they were led away to *Newgate*.

And Condemned.

On the 4*th* of *February*, early in the morning, *Rogers* was called upon to make ready for *Smithfield*: He was so fast asleep, that he was not easily awakened; he put on his Cloaths carelesly, being, as he said, so soon to lay them off. When he was brought to *Bonner* to be degraded, he again renewed his desire to see his Wife, but could not obtain it. He was led to *Smithfield*, where he was not suffered to make any Speech to the People: so, in a few words, he desired them to continue in that Doctrine which he had taught them, and for which he had not only patiently suffered all the bitterness and cruelty that had been exercised on him, but did now most gladly resign up his Life, and give his Flesh to the consuming Fire, for a testimony to it. He repeated the 51 *Psalm*, and so fitted himself for the Stake. A Pardon was brought, if he would recant: but he chose to submit to that severe, but short punishment, rather than put himself in danger of Everlasting Burnings, by such an Apostacy: So the Fire was set to him, which consumed him to Ashes.

Rogers Martyrdom.

Hooper burnt at *Glocester*.

For *Hooper*, after they had degraded him, they resolved to send him to *Glocester*: At which he much rejoiced, hoping by his Death to confirm their Faith, over whom he had been formerly placed. He was carried thither in three days. After he came, he had one days interval given him, which he spent in Fasting and Prayer. Some came to perswade him to accept of the Queen's Mercy, since Life was sweet, and Death was bitter. He Answered, The Death that was to come after was more bitter, and the Life that was to follow was more sweet. As some of his Friends parted with him, he shed some Tears, and told them, All his Imprisonment had not made him do so much.

On the 9*th* he was led out to his Execution; where, being denied leave to speak, but only to pray, in the strain of a Prayer, he declared his belief. Then the Queen's Pardon being shewed him, he desired them to take it away. He prayed earnestly for strength from God, to endure his Torment patiently; and undressed himself, and embraced the Reeds. When he was tied to the Stake with Iron Chains, he desired them to spare their pains, for he was confident he should not trouble them. The Fire was put to him, but the Wood being green, burnt ill, and the Wind blew away the flame of the Reeds: He prayed oft, *O Jesus, thou Son of* David, *have mercy on me, and receive my Soul*; and called to the People, for the Love of God, to bring him more Fire, for the Fire was burning his neather Parts, but did not reach his Vitals. The Fire was renewed, but the Wind still blew it away from rising up to stifle him, so that he was long in the Torment. The last words he was heard to say, were, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*. One of his

his Hands dropped off before he died; with the other he continued to knock on his Breaſt ſome time after; and was in all near three quarters of an hour a burning. 1555.

Next theſe, was *Sanders* condemned, and ſent to *Coventry* to be burnt, where he ſuffered on the 8*th* of *February*. He had been made a Priſoner for Preaching, notwithſtanding the Queen's Prohibition, and was condemned for refuſing to conform to the New Laws. When he was led out to the Stake, a Pardon was likewiſe offered him: But he ſaid, He held no Hereſies, but the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt; and that he would never recant. When he came to the Stake, he embraced it, and ſaid, *Wellcome the Croſs of Chriſt, wellcome Everlaſting Life*; and ſo he was burnt. *Sanders* burnt at *Coventry*.

Dr. *Taylor* followed next, who was Parſon of *Hadley*. Some of his neighbouring Prieſts came to *Hadley*, and reſolved to ſay Maſs in his Church. He went thither, and openly declared againſt it, but was by violence thruſt out of the Church. *Gardiner* being informed of this, writ for him to come up. Many of his Friends wiſhed him to go out of the way: He ſaid, He muſt follow Chriſt, the good Shepherd, who not only fed his Flock, but died for it. He was old, and thought he ſhould never be able, at any other time, to do his good God ſuch Service as he was then called to; ſo he went with much chearfulneſs. *Gardiner* received him with his ordinary Civilities, of *Traitor*, *Villain*, *Heretick*, and *Knave*. He anſwered, He was none of theſe; and put *Gardiner* in mind of the Oaths he had ſworn, both to King *Henry* and King *Edward*. *Gardiner* ſaid, An unlawful Oath was not to be kept; and charged him for hindring Maſs to be ſaid at his Church. He ſaid, He was by Law Parſon of *Hadley*, and no Man had a right to come thither, and defile his Church and People with Idolatry. After ſome Diſcourſe on that Head, he was ſent to the *Kings Bench* Priſon; and being carried before the Council on the 22*d* of *January*, he refuſed to turn. After that he was condemned, and degraded: And it was reſolved to ſend him to *Hadley* to be burnt there. All the way he expreſſed great chearfulneſs. When he was brought to the Stake, he ſaid to the People, he had taught them nothing but God's Holy Word, and was now to Seal it with his Blood: But one of the Guard ſtruck him over the Head, and made him give over ſpeaking. Then he went to his Prayers, and ſo to the Stake, where he was put in a Pitcht Barrel; as the Faggots were laying about him, one flung a Faggot at his Head, which broke it, and fetch'd a great deal of Blood; but all he ſaid, was, *Oh Friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?* He repeated the 51 *Pſalm* in Engliſh; at which one of the Guard ſtruck him over the Mouth, and bid him ſpeak Latin. He continued in his Ejaculations to God, till the Fire was kindled; and one of the Guard cut him in the Head with his Halbert, ſo that his Brains fell out. This was done on the 9*th* of *February*. And *Taylor* at *Hadley*.

Bradford was alſo at the ſame time condemned, but his Execution was reſpited.

Soon after the Condemnation of theſe Men, ſix others were apprehended on the account of Hereſy.

By

1555

Gardiner is disappointed.

By this *Gardiner* saw, that what he had expected did not follow; for he thought a few severe instances would have turned the whole Nation: but finding he was disappointed, he would meddle no more in the condemning of them; but left the whole matter wholly to *Bonner*, who undertook it chearfully, being naturally savage and brutal, and retaining deep resentments for what had befallen himself in King *Edwards time*.

These Cruelties are much considered.

The whole Nation stood amazed at these Proceedings, and the burning of such Men, only for their Consciences, without the mixture of any other thing, so much as pretended against them. And it was look't upon as a horrible cruelty, because those Men had acted nothing contrary to the Laws; For they were put in Prison, at first for smaller matters, and there kept, till those Laws were past, by which they were now burnt. So that, remembring *Gardiners* Plea for himself in his imprisonment, when he desired to be first Tried, and discharged in the particular for which he was committed, before new matter was brought against him; all Men saw now, how much more justly those men might have demanded the like at his hands. But now the spirit of the two Religions shewed it self. In King *Edwards* time, Papists were only turned out of their Benefices, and at most imprisoned; and of those there were but very few: but now, that could not serve turn, but barbarous Cruelties must be executed, on innocent Men, only for their Opinions. One piece of Severity was taken notice of among the rest: The Council sent for those who were to be burnt in the Country, and required of them a promise to make no Speeches; otherwise they threatned to cut out their Tongues immediatly: so they to avoid that butchery, promised to obey those cruel Orders.

Reflections made on *Hooper's* Death.

The manner of *Hooper's* death, made those who judged too critically of Divine Providences, reflect on the dissension that had been raised by him about the Vestments; as if he, who had kindled that fire, had suffered now more than ordinary for that reason. But all that difference was at an end before this; for *Ridley* and he, between whom there had been the greatest animosity, becoming Partners in the same sufferings, were perfectly reconciled to each other. He writ twice to *Ridley*, who writ him an answer, as soon as he could convey it; in which he declared, how intirely he was knit to him, tho in some circumstances of Religion they had formerly Jarred a little: it was *Hoopers* wisdom, and his own simplicity, that had divided them; every one following the abundance of his own sence; but now he assured him, that in the Bowels of Christ he loved him in the Truth and for the Truth. He encouraged him to prepare for the day of his dissolution; after which they should triumph together in eternal Glory: he expressed great Joy for "what he heard of *Cranmers* godly and fatherly constancy, whose integrity, and uprightness, gravity, and innocence, was known to the "whole Nation: and he blessed God that had given, in his reverend old "age, such a Man to be the witness of his Truth: for miserable and "hard-hearted was he, whom the Godliness and constant confession of "so worthy, so grave, and so innocent a man, would not move to ac-"knowledg and confess his Truth,

It had been happy if the fires that consumed those good Men, had put an end to these Contests: and if those that have been since engaged in the like, will reflect more on the sense they had of them when

they were now preparing for Eternity, than on the heats they were put in concerning them, when perhaps ease and plenty made their Passions keener, they may from thence be reduced to have more moderate thoughts of such matters. 1555.

If the English Nation was dissatisfied with what was done since the beginning of this Reign, it cannot be imagined but their discontent received a great encrease by what was now acted. Those that favoured the Reformation were awakened to have more serious thoughts about it; since they saw those that had preached it, dyed so patiently and resolutly, rather than they would deny it. It begot in them greater tenderness to their memories, and a more violent aversion to their Persecutors. The rest of the Nation that neither knew nor valued Religion much, yet were startled at the severity and strangeness of these proceedings; and being naturally of relenting and compassionate Tempers, were highly disaffected to the King, from whom they believed that this flowed. The Queen had before declared, she would force no body in these points; so they thought it not reasonable nor decent to charge her with it. *Gardiner*, with the other Bishops and Privy Councellours had openly in Court purged themselves of it; and laid it, on the Queen being therein more careful of their own credit, than of her honour; so now, it could fall no where but on the King; the sowreness of whose temper, together with his bigotry for that Religion, made it reasonable enough to impute it to him: besides, he had been bred in *Spain*, where the Inquisition was let loose on all that were suspected of Heresie, without any restraint: and his Father had, during his whole Reign, been always, as far as he safely could be, a persecutor of Protestants. *Philip* could not but see that all was cast on him; and understanding that thereby he should become unacceptable to the Nation, and so not be able to carry on his Design of making himself Master of *England*, he was something concerned to clear himself of these Imputations. Therefore *Alphonsus* a Franciscan Friar that was his Confessor, in a Sermon before him on the 10*th* of *February* preached largely against the taking away of Peoples lives for Religion; and in plain terms, inveighed against the Bishops for doing it: he said, they had not learned it in Scripture, which taught Bishops in the spirit of meekness to instruct those that opposed them; and not to burn them for their Consciences. This startled the Bishops; since it was novv plain, that the Spaniards disovvned these extream courses; and hereupon there vvas a stop for several weeks put to any further severities. But the Popish Clergy, being once engaged in blood, have been always observed to become the most brutally cruel of any sort of men; so that it was not easie to restrain them; and therefore they resolved, rather than the Hereticks should not be prosecuted any further, to take the blame of it avowedly on themselves.

These Burnings were disliked by the Nation.

The King purges himself of them.

But they are prosecuted by the Clergy.

There was at this time a Petition Printed, and sent over from some beyond Sea, to the Queen, in which they set before her the danger of her being carried away by a blind zeal, to persecute the members of Christ, as St. *Paul* was before his conversion: They put her in mind, how *Cranmer* had preserved her in her Fathers time; so that she had more reason to believe he loved her, and would speak truth to her, than all the rest of her Clergy; whom they compared to be *Jezabel's* Prophets.

A Petition against Persecution.

1555. Prophets. They gathered many Passages out of *Gardiner's*, *Bonner's*, and *Tonstal's* Writings, against the Pope's Supremacy, and her Mother's Marriage; and shewed, that they were Men that, by their own confession, had no conscience in them, but measured their Actions and Professions by their Fears, and Interests; and averred that it was known that many of that Faction did openly profess, that if they lived in *Turkey*, they would comply with the Religion of the Country. They said, that the *Turks* did tolerate Christians, and the Christians did in most places suffer *Jews*; but the Persecution now set on foot, was like that which the Scribes and Pharisees raised against the Apostles; for they then pretended that they had been once of their Religion, and so were Apostates, and Hereticks. They also said, (but by a common mistake) That the first Law for Burning in *England*, was made by *Henry* the Fourth; who to gratify the Bishops that had helped him to depose King *Richard* the Second, and to advance himself to the Throne, as it were, in recompence of that Service, had granted them that Law; which was both against all humanity, and more particularly against the mercifulness of the Christian Religion.

They remembred her, that in King *Edward's* Time, none of the Papists had been so used: and in conclusion they told her, She was trusted by God with the Sword, for the protection of her People, as long as they did well; and was to answer to him for their Blood, if she thus delivered them to the Mercy of such Wolves.

From the Queen, the Address is turned to the Nobility, warning them of the Danger, of not only losing their Abbey Lands, but all their Liberties; and being brought under a Spanish Yoke, which had ruined many of the best Countries in the World: They are told, they must resolve to come under heavy Taxes, and a general Excise, such as was in the *Netherlands*; and that all this would come justly on them, who had joined in the Reformation, for base ends, to get the Church Lands; and now, thinking those were secured to them, forsook it: but for all these things they were to answer heartily to God.

From them, it turns to the People, and exhorts them to repent of their great sins, which had brought such Judgments on them: and in the end, begs the Queen will at least be as favourable to her own People, as she had been to the Strangers, to whom she allowed a free passage to Forreign Parts.

This Discourse is writ in a strong and good Style, much beyond the rate of the other Books of that time. Upon this, some were set on work to write in defence of such Proceedings; so a Book was set out about it, with divers Arguments, of which the substance follows.

Arguments for persecuting Hereticks.

They said, The Jews were commanded to put Blasphemers to death; and those Hereticks were such, for they blasphemed the Sacrament of the Altar, which was the Body of Christ, and called it a piece of Bread. They noted also, that the Heathens had persecuted Christians; and if they had that Zeal for their false Religion, it became Christians to be much more zealous for theirs: they made use of that Expression in the Parable, *Compel them to enter in*; and of St. *Paul's*, *I would they were cut off that trouble you.* They alleadged, that St. *Peter* had, by a Divine Power, struck *Ananias* and *Saphira* dead; which seemed a good Warrant for the Magistrate to put such Persons to Death. They said, that

that the Hereticks themselves were for Burning, when they had Power; 1555.
and that those that died then by their hands, had expressed as much Courage in their Deaths, and Innocence in their Lives, as they had ever done: they cited St. *Austin*, who was for prosecuting the *Donatists*; and though he had been once of anothet mind, yet finding Severities had a good effect on them, he changed, and was for fining or banishing of them. These were the Arguments for and against those Proceedings.

But leaving them to the Reader's Judgment, I proceed in the History. I intend not to write a pompous Martyrology, and therefore hereafter I shall only name the Persons that suffered, with the Reasons for which they were condemned: but except in a very few Instances, I shall not enlarge on the manner of their Trial and Sufferings; which being so copiously done bv *Fox*, there is nothing left for any that comes after him. In some private Passages, which were brought to him upon flying Reports, he made a few Mistakes, being too credulous; but in the Account he gives from Records, or Papers, he is a most exact and faithful Writer; so that I could never find him in any prevarication, or so much as a designed concealment. He tells the Good and the Bad, the Weakness and Passion, as well as the Constancy and Patience of those good Men, who sealed their Faith with their Blood; who were not all equal in Parts, nor in Discretion; but the weaker any of them were, it argued the more cruelty in their Persecutors, to proceed so severely against such inconsiderable Persons.

The first Intermission being over, on the 16*th* of *March*, *Thomas Thompkins*, a Weaver in *Shorditch*, was burnt in *Smithfield*, only for denying the corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. *Bonner* kept him many months in his House, hoping to have wrought on him by fair-means; but those having no effect, one day he tore out a great deal of the Hair of his Beard; but, to conceal that, made his Beard be clean shaved: And another time he held his hand in the Flame of the Candle, so long, till the Sinews and Veins shrunk and burst, and spurted in *Harpsfield*'s Face that was standing by, who, interposing with *Bonner*, got him to give over any further cruelty at that time. They proceed to burn more.

The next that suffered, was one *William Hunter* of *Brentwood*, an Apprentice of nineteen Years old; who had been drawn on in discourse by a Priest, till he brought him to deny the Presence in the Sacrament; and then was accused by him. His own Father was made to search for him to bring him to Justice; but he, to save his Father from trouble, rendred himself. *Bonner* offered him 40 *l.* if he would change, so mercenary a thing did he think Conscience to be: But he answered, if they would let him alone, he would keep his Conscience to himself, but he would not change; so he was condemned and sent to be burnt near his vvhere he suffered on the 20*th* of *March*.

On the same day, *Causton* and *Higbed*, two Gentlemen of good Estates, and great Esteem, were burnt near their own Houses in *Essex*.

On the 28*th* of *March*, *William Pigot* was burnt at *Braintree*, and *Stephen Knight* at *Malden*; and on the 29*th*, *John Lawrence*, a Priest, Fathers House, was burnt at *Colchester*.

In all their Processes, the Bishops brought no Witnesses against them; but did only exhibit Articles to them, according to the vvay of those

1555. Courts, called, *Ex Officio*; and required them to make Answers; and upon their Answers, which were judged Heretical, they condemned them; so that all this was singly for their Consciences, without the pretence of any other Matter.

Ferrar, Bishop of St. *David's*, condemned, and burnt.

Ferrar, that had been Bishop of St. *David's*, being dealt with by *Gardiner* to turn, and refusing to do it, was sent down to *Carmarthen*; where his Successor *Morgan* sat upon him; and gave him Articles about the Marriage of Priests, the Mass, and some other things: To which his Answers being found Heretical, he was condemned. He put in an Appeal to Cardinal *Pool*, but it was not received. Yet it seems, that delayed the Execution till they heard from him; for though he was condemned on the 13*th*, he was not burnt before the 30*th* of *March*.

About that time was *Rawlins White*, an honest poor Fisher-man, burnt at *Cardiff*; it was in *March*, but the day is not mentioned: He was very Ancient, and was put in Prison, only because he had put his Son to School, that he might hear the Bible read by him. After a Years Imprisonment, the Bishop of *Landaff* condemned him, upon Articles, to which he answered as an Heretick.

On the 24*th* of *April*, *George March*, a Priest, was burnt at *Chester*, being judged, as the others had been; only at his Death, there was a new Invention of Cruelty, a Firkin of Pitch was hung over his Head, that the Fire melting it, it might scald his Head as it dropt on it.

One wounds a Priest at the Altar, and is burnt for Heresy himself, condemning his former Act.

After this, one *Flower*, that had been in Orders, but was a rash indiscreet Man, went on *Easter* day into St. *Margarets* Church in *Westminster*, and there with a Knife, struck at, and wounded the Priest, as he was officiating. He for some time justified what he had done, as flowing from Zeal; but afterwards he sincerely condemned it. *Bonner*, upon this, proceeding against him as an Heretick, condemned him to the Fire; and he was burnt on the 24*th* of *April*, in *Westminster* Church-Yard. This Fact was condemned by all the Reformed, who knew that the Wrath of Man was not the way to accomplish the Righteousness of God. In the Jewish Government, some extraordinary Persons did execute Vengeance on notorious Offenders; but that Constitution was in all its Policy regulated by the Laws given by *Moses*; in which such Instances were proposed as Examples, whereby they became a part of the Law of that Land; so that in such Cases, it was certainly lawful to execute Punishment in that way; so in some Kingdoms, any Man that finds an out-lawed Person, may kill him: but where there is no Law warranting such things, it is certainly against both Religion, and the Laws of all Society and Government, for private Persons to pretend to the Magistrates right, and to execute Justice upon any account whatsoever.

There was at this time a second stop put to the execution of Hereticks, for till the end of *May*, more fires were not kindled; People grew generally so enraged upon it, that they could not bear it. I shall therefore now turn my self to other things, that will give the Reader a more pleasing entertainment.

The Queen resolves to surrender up all the Church-Lands that were in her hands.

On the 28*th* of *March*, the Queen called for the Lord Treasurer, Sir *Robert Rochester* Comptroller, Sir *William Petre* Secretary of State, and Sir *Francis Inglefield* Master of the Wards. She said, She had sent for them, to declare her Conscience to them concerning the Church-

Lands

Lands that continued still in the Crown: She thought they were taken away in the time of the Schism, and by unlawful Means, therefore she could not keep them vvith a good Conscience; so she did surrender and relinquish them. If they should tell her, That her Crown vvas so poor, that she could not well maintain her Dignity, if she parted with them; she must tell them, She valued the Salvation of her Soul more than ten Kingdoms; and thanked God, her Husband was of the same mind: and therefore she was resolved to have them disposed, as the Pope, or his Legat should think fit; so she ordered them to go with the Lord Chancellor, to whom she had spoken of it before, and wait on the Legat, and signify it to him, together with the value of those Lands. This flowed from the strictness of the Queen's Conscience, vvho then thought her self near the time of her delivery, and therefore vvould not have such a load lie on her; of which she was the more sensible, by reason of a Bull which Pope *Julius* had made, excommunicating all that kept any Abbey or Church-Lands; and all Princes, Prelats, and Magistrates, that did not assist in the execution of such Bulls. Some said, this related to the Business of *England*; but *Gardiner* said, it was only made for *Germany*; and that Bulls had no Authority, unless they vvere received in *England*. This did not satisfy the People much; for if it was such a sin in *Germany*, they could not see, but it was as bad in *England*: And if the Pope had his Authority from Christ and St. *Peter*, his Bulls ought to take place every-where. 1555.

Pope *Julius* died soon after this, on the 20*th* of *March*; and on the 6*th* of *April* after, Cardinal *Marcellus Cervinus* was chosen Pope; a Man of great gravity and innocence of Life. He continued to keep his former Name, which had not been done a great while, except by *Adrian* the 6*th*, between whose temper, and this Man, there was a great resemblance. He presently turned all his Thoughts (as *Adrian* had done) to a Reformation of the Corruptions of that See; and blamed his Predecessors much who had always put it off: he thought nothing could make the Papacy more reverenced, than to cut off their excessive and superfluous Pomp; whereby they would be the more esteemed all the World over, and might, on surer grounds, expect the protection of God. He had been one of the Legats at *Trent*, and there observed what was represented as the root of all Heresy and Disorder, that the Clergy were generally corrupted, and had, by many Exemptions procured from *Rome*, broken all the Primitive Rules. Upon his first Election, he called for the Cardinal of *Mantua*, and having observed him to be a Man of great probity, told him, he knew it vvas ordinary for all Popes, at their first coming to the Throne, to talk of Reformation; but he would talk little, being resolved to do more; only he opened his mind to him, that if ever he went back from it, he might have this check upon him, that so honest a Man as he was, would know him to be a Knave, and a Hypocrite. He would suffer none of his Friends that were in remote parts, to come to *Rome*; nor his Nephews, that were in *Rome*, to come within the Court: He was resolved to have sent all Priests and Bishops home to their Benefices; and talked much of their Non-residence with great detestation: He would not change his Table, nor his Custom of making one read to him when he was sitting at it. One day, after a long musing at Dinner, he said, he remembred

Pope *Julius* dies, and *Marcellus* succeeds.

1555. remembred the words of *Hadrian* the Fourth, 'That the Pope was the 'most miserable of all Men; his whole Life was bitterness, his Chair 'was full of Thorns, and his way of Briars; and then leaning with his Hand on the Table, he said, *I do not see how they can be saved that hold this high Dignity.* These Thoughts did so affect him, that on the 12*th* day after that he vvas chosen Pope, he sickned, and died ten days after. These things are reported of him by the Learned *Onuphrius*, who knew him well: and they will not be thought impertinent to have a room in this Story.

The Queen recommends Card *Pool* to the Popedom, upon *Marcellus*'s death.

As soon as the News of his Death came to *England*, the Queen writ, on the 29*th* day of *May*, to *Gardiner*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, vvho vvere then at *Calais*, mediating a Peace between the French and Spaniard; which they could not effect, but only procured a Truce: She desired them to deal with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Constable, and the other French Commissioners, to perswade their Master to set up Cardinal *Pool*, that he might succeed in that Chair, since he seemed every way the fittest Person for it: adding, (as will appear by the Letter which is in the *Collection*) that she had done this without his knowledg or consent. This could not come in time to *Rome*, vvhere on the 23*d* of that month, *Caraffa* vvas chosen Pope, who was called *Paul* the Fourth; and vvho vvas as different from his Predecessor as any Man could be. He had put on an appearance of great strictness before; and had set up a Religious Order of Monks, called *Theatines:* But upon his coming to the Popedom, he put on the greatest Magnificence possible, and was the highest Spirited, and bloodiest Pope, that had been since *Julius* the Second's Time.

Coll. Numb. 18.

Paul the 4*th* chosen Pope.

The English Embassadors come to *Rome*.

He took it for a great Honour, that on the day of his Election, the English Ambassadors entred *Rome*, with a great Train of 140 Horse of their own Attendants. On the 23 of *June*, in the first Consistory after he was Crowned, they were heard. They fell prostrate at his Feet, and acknowledged the Steps and Faults of their Schism, enumerating them all; for so the Pope had ordered it; confessing they had been ungrateful for the many Benefits they had received from that Church, and humbly asking pardon for them. The Pope held some Consultation, whether he should receive them, since in their Credentials, the Queen stiled her self Queen of *Ireland:* that Title being assumed by King *Henry*, in the Time of Schism. It seemed hard to use such Ambassadors ill: but on the other hand, he stood upon his Dignity, and thought it belonged only to his See to erect Kingdoms: therefore he resolved so to temper the Matter, that he should not take notice of that Title; but should bestow it as a Mark of his Favour. So on the 7*th* of *June*, he did in private erect *Ireland* into a Kingdom; and conferred that Title on the King and Queen, and told them, that otherwise he would not suffer them to use it in their Publick Audience. And it is probable, it was the Contest about this, that made the Audience be delaied almost a month after their Arrival. This being adjusted, he received the Ambassadors graciously, and pardoned the whole Nation: and said, 'That in Token of his esteem of the King and Queen, he gave 'them the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by that Supream Power 'which he had from God, who had placed him over all Kingdoms, to 'supplant the Contumacious, and to build new ones. But in his private

Discourses with the Ambassadors, he complained that the Church-Lands were not restored: which, he said, was by no means to be endured; for they must render all back to the last farthing; since they belonged to God, and could not be kept without their incurring Damnation: He said, he would do any thing in his power, to gratifie the King and Queen; but in this his Authority was not so large, as to prophane the things dedicated to God. This would be an *Anathema*, and a Contagion on the Nation, which would bring after it many Miseries; therefore he required them to write effectually about it: he repeated this to them every time he spake to them; and told them also, that the *Peter-pence* must be paid in *England*, and that he would send a Collector to raise it: he himself had been imployed in that office when he was young, and he said he was much edified to see the forwardness of the People, especially those of the meaner sort, in paying it: and told them they must not expect S. *Peter* would open Heaven to them, so long as they usurped his Goods on Earth.

1555.

The P presses the restoring of the Church Lands.

History of the Council of *Trent*.

The Ambassadors seeing the Pope's haughty temper, that he could endure no contradiction, answered him with great submission; and so gained his Favour much; but knew well that these things could not be easily effected; and the Viscount *Montacute* was too deeply concerned in the matter himself, to sollicit it hard: for almost his whole Estate consisted of Abby Lands. Thus was this business rather laid over, than fully setled.

But now to return to the Affairs in *England*. There came Complaints from all places, that the Justices of Peace were remiss in the matters of Religion; and particularly in *Norfolk*, that these things were ill looked to: So Instructions were sent thither, (which will be found in the *Collections*) requiring the Justices to divide themselves into ten or twelve Districts; that they might more narrowly look into all particulars: that they should encourage the Preachers sent to instruct that County, and turn out such as did not come to Church, or conform in all things, but chiefly the Preachers of Heresie: that the Justices and their Families should be good examples to the rest: that they should have one or two in every Parish to be secretly instructed, for giving information of every thing in it; and should look strictly to all vagabonds, that wandred about, and to such as spread false reports. This was thought to have so much of the Inquisition in it, that it was imputed to the Counsels of the Spaniards. And they seem'd to have taken their pattern from the base Practices of those called *Delatores*, that are set out by *Tacitus* as the greatest abuse of Power that ever was practised by the ill Emperors that succeeded *Augustus*; who going into all companies, and complying with what might be acceptable to them, engaged Men into discourses against the State; and then gave such Informations against them, which without their discovering themselves by being brought to prove them, were made use of to the ruin of the accused Persons. This was certainly very contrary to the freedom of the English temper, and helpt to alienate them the more from the Spaniards. But it may be easily imagined that others were weary of severities, when *Bonner* himself grew averse to them: He complained, that the matter was turned over upon him, the rest looking on, and leaving the execution of these Laws wholly to him. So when the Justices and Sheriffs sent up Hereticks to him,

Instructions sent to the Justices for searching after all suspected of Heresie.

Collect. Numb. 19.

Bonner grows unwilling to persecute any more.

1554. him, he sent them back and refused to meddle further. Upon which the King and Queen writ to him on the 24*th* of *May*, complaining of this, and admonished him to have from henceforth more regard to the Office of a good Pastor and Bishop; and when such Offenders were brought to him, to endeavour to remove them from their Errors; or if they were obstinate, to proceed against them according to Law. This Letter he caused to be put in his Register, from whence I copied it, and have placed it in the *Collections*. Whether he procured this himself, for a colour to excuse his Proceedings; or whether it was sent to him by reason of his slackness; is not certain: but the latter is more probable, for he had burnt none during five weeks; but he soon redeemed that loss of time.

But is required to proceed by the King and Queen.

Coll. Number 20.

The Queens delivery is expected, but in vain.

At this time the Nation was in expectation of the Queen's Delivery. And on the third of *May* the Bishop of *Norwich* writ a Letter to the Earl of *Sussex*, of which I have seen the Original, that news was brought him from *London*, that the Queen had brought forth a Noble Prince; for which he had *Te Deum* solemnly sung in his Cathedral, and in the other Churches thereabout. He adds in the *Postscript*, that the News was confirmed by two other Hands. But, tho this was without any ground, the Queen continued still in her opinion that she was with Child: and on the 29th of *May*, Letters were written by the Council to the Lord Treasurer, to have Money in readiness, that those who were appointed to carry the joyful news of the Queens happy Delivery, might be speedily dispatched. In the beginning of *June* she was believed to be in Labour, and it flew over *London* again that she had brought forth a Son. The Priests had setled all their hopes on that; so they did every where sing *Te Deum*, and were transported into no small Extasies of Joy. One more officious than the rest, made a Sermon about it, and described all the lineaments of their young Prince: but they soon found they were abused. It was said, that they had been deceived, and that the Queen had no great Belly; But *Melvil* in his Memoirs says, he was assured from some of her Women, that she did cast forth at several times some Moles and unformed pieces of flesh. So now there was small hopes of any Issue from her. This encreased the sowrness of her temper; and King *Philip*, being so much younger than she, growing out of conceit with her, did not much care for her; but left her some months after. He saw no hope of Children, and finding that it was not possible for him to get *England* in his hands without that; gave over all his Designs about it: so having lived with her about fifteen months after their first Marriage, he found it necessary to look more after his Hereditary Crown, and less after his Matrimonial one; and henceforth he considered *England* rather as a sure Ally, that was to adhere firmly to his Interests, than as a Nation which he could ever hope to add to his other Crowns. All these things concurred to encrease the Queen's Melancholy Humours, and did cast her into an ill state of Health: so that it was not probable she could live long. *Gardiner* upon that, set himself much to have the Lady *Elizabeth* put out of the way; but, as it was formerly said, King *Philip* preserved her.

Proceedings against Hereticks.

And thus Affairs went on, as to Civil matters, till the meeting of the next Parliament in *October* following. But I now return to the Proceedings against the poor men called *Hereticks*; who were again, after

a ſhort intermiſſion, brought to new Sufferings. *John Cardmaker*, that had been Divinity Reader at S. *Pauls*, and a Prebendary at *Bath*; and *John Warne*, an Upholſter in *London*, were both burnt in *Smithfield*, on the 30th of *May*, for denying the Corporal preſence; being proceeded againſt *ex Officio*. On the 4th of *June*, there was a piece of Pageantry acted on the Body of one *Tooly*; who being executed for a Robbery, did at his death ſay ſomething that ſavoured of Hereſy: upon which the Council writ to *Bonner* to enquire into it, and to proceed according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. He thereupon form'd a Proceſs,& cited the dead Body to anſwer the Points objected to him; but he, to be ſure, neither appearing nor anſwering, was condemned and burnt. After this, on the 10th of *June*, *Thomas Hawkes*, a Gentleman in *Eſſex*, who had lived much in the Court, was alſo burnt at *Coxhall*: and on the ſame day *John Simpſon*, and *John Ardeley*, two Huſbandmen, were alſo burnt in *Eſſex*. *Thomas Watts*, a Linen-Draper, was burnt at *Chelmsford*. On the 9th, *Nicholas Chamberlain*, a Weaver, was burnt at *Colcheſter*; and on the 15th, *Thomas Oſmond*, a Fuller, was burnt at *Manning-tree*; and the ſame day *William Bamford*, a Weaver, was burnt at *Harwich*. 1555.



Theſe, with ſeveral others, had been ſent up by the Earl of *Oxford*, to *Bonner*, becauſe they had not received the Sacrament the laſt Eaſter, and were ſuſpected of Hereſie: and Articles being given to them, they were upon their Anſwers condemned, and ſent to be burnt in the places where they had lived. But upon this occaſion, the Council fearing ſome Tumult, or violent Reſcue, writ to the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Lord *Rich*, to gather the Country, and to ſee the Hereticks burnt. The Earl of *Oxford*, being ſome way indiſpoſed, could only ſend his People to the Lord *Rich*, who went and obeyed the Orders that had been ſent him; for which, Letters of Thanks were written to him; and the Council underſtanding that ſome Gentlemen had come to the burning at *Colcheſter*, that had not been writ to, but as the words of the Letter have it, *had honeſtly and of themſelves gone thither*, writ to the Lord *Rich* to give them the Council's thanks for their Zeal. I find in the Council Books, many Entries made, of Letters writ to ſeveral Counties, to the Nobility and Gentry to aſſiſt at theſe Executions: and ſuch as made excuſes, were always after that looked on with an ill eye, and were ſtill under great jealouſy.

The Council writ to the Lords in *Eſſex* to gather the Gentry, and aſſiſt at theſe Burnings.

After theſe, followed the Execution of *Bradford* in *July*; He had been condemned among the firſt, but was not burnt till now. He had been a Prebendary of St. *Pauls*, and a celebrated Preacher, in the end of King *Edwards* days. He had preſerved *Bourn* in the tumult at *Pauls-Croſs*; and that afternoon, preaching at *Bow-Church*, he ſeverely reproved the people for the diſorder at *Pauls*, but three days after, was put in Priſon, where he lay, removed from one Priſon to another, near three years; where-ever he came, he gained ſo much on the Keepers, that they ſuffered him to Preach and give the Sacrament to his Fellow Priſoners. He was one of thoſe that were carried before the Council on the 22*d* of *January*, where *Bonner* accuſed him of the Tumult at *Pauls*; though all he pretended to prove it by, was, that his way of ſpeaking to the People ſhewed, he thought he had ſome Authority over them, and was a preſumption that he had ſet on the Sedition. *Bradford* appealed to God that ſaw his Innocency, and how unworthily he was requited for ſaving his Enemies, who rendered him evil for good. At

Bradford's Martyrdome.

1555. last refusing to conform himself to the Laws, he was condemned with the rest on the 31. of *Jan.* where that Rescue was again laid to his Charge, together with many Letters he had written over *England*, which (as the Earl of *Darby* informed the Parliament) had done more hurt than he could have done, if he had been at liberty to Preach. He said, since he understood that they acted by a Commission which was derived from the Pope, he could not answer them, having sworn never to acknowledge that Authority: What he had done at *Pauls*, was at *Bourn*'s earnest desire, who prayed him for the Passion of Christ, to speak to the People; upon which he stepped up to the Pulpit, and had almost been killed with the Dagger that was thrown at *Bourn*, for it touched his Sleeve. But in the points of Religion, he professed his Faith so constantly, that for that cause he was condemned. Yet the saving of *Bourn* was so publickly known, that it was thought undecent to proceed against him so quick as they did with the rest. So both *Heath* Arch-Bishop of *York*, and *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Weston*, *Harpsfield*, and the King's Confessor, and *Alphonsus a Castro*, went to see him, and endeavoured to gain him: but all to no purpose. It looks very ill in *Bourn* that he never interposed for *Bradford*, nor came once to visit him: and as when *Bradford* was before the Council, *Bourn's* Brother the Secretary was very sharp upon him; so when he was brought to his Tryal, *Bourn* himself then Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* being present, did not open his mouth for him, though he appealed to him, as to the business of the Tumult. With *Bradford* one *John Lease*, an Apprentice of nineteen years old, was lead out to be burnt, who was also condemned upon his answers to the Articles exhibited to him, When they came to the Stake, they both fell down and Prayed. Then *Bradford* took a Fagot in his hands and kissed it; and so likewise kissed the Stake, expressing thereby the joy he had in his Sufferings: and cried, *O* England, *repent, repent, beware of Idolatry and false Antichrists!* But the Sheriff hindring him to speak any more, he embraced his Fellow Sufferer, and prayed him to be of good comfort, for they should Sup with Christ that night. His last words were, *Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth into eternal Life, and few there be that find it.*

Now the Persecution was carried on to other places, *Bonner* stopping in it again. But *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*, *Harpsfield* Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, and some others, resolved likewise to shew their zeal. This *Thornton* had from the first change made by King *Henry* been the most officious and forward in every turn; and had been the first in this Reign, that had set up the Mass at *Canterbury*. He was much despised for it by Cardinal *Pool*, but *Pool* could not hinder the fury of those men, without drawing on himself the Pope's indignation. The Pope was his professed and inveterate Enemy: but knew not how to vent his hatred to him, since he had done such an eminent service to the Church, as the reconciling of *England*. *Gardiner* understanding this, sent secretly to *Rome*, to give ill Characters of *Pool*, which the ill-natured Pope was ready enough to receive. *Gardiner* designed to be made a Cardinal; and to get *Pool* recalled, and himself made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. The Pope was resolved, on the first occasion, to take the Legatine power from *Pool*, and give it to *Gardiner*, but *Pool* was so much in the Queens favour, that this required some

time to bring it about. This made *Gardiner* study to preserve *Cranmer*, as long as he lived. It seemed more reasonable to have begun with him, who had indeed been the chief Author of the Reformation, and promoter of that they called *Heresie*: nor had *Gardiner* such kindness for him, as to interpose on his account; but he knew, that as soon as he was burnt, *Pool* would be presently invested in the See of *Canterbury*. Therefore he suggested, that if he could be any way brought off, it would be the most effectual means possible to extirpate Heresie: for if he who had so much set on these Doctrines, did forsake them, it would confound the whole Party, and bring over at least all that were weak or staggering; whereas on the other hand, if he died resolutly for it, his death would confirm them all very much. This was a colour good enough to preserve him. But why the See of *Canterbury* was not declared vacant, since he was now pronounced an obstinate Heretick, I do not so well apprehend: whether there was any thing in the Pall, or the latter inventions of the Canonists, that made it necessary not to fill his See so long as he lived, I know not. *Pool* being in these circumstances, durst neither offend those at *Rome*, nor openly hinder the prosecution of Hereticks: which it seems he would have done more steadily, if it had not been for fear of the Popes taking thereby advantages against him, who had before given out in the Conclave, that he was a favourer of Heresie; and therefore would the more easily be induced to believe any thing that might be written over to *Rome* to his prejudice. 1555.

Some burnt at Canterbury.

Those that sat in *Canterbury* to judge the Hereticks, had four Men brought before them, two Priests, *Bland*, and *Frankesh*; and *Shiterden*, and *Midleton*, two Laymen. They were condemned upon their Answers to the Articles, exhibited to them, and burnt at *Canterbury* the 25th of *June*: and in *July Margery Polley* was burnt at *Tunbridge* on the like account; who was the first Woman that suffered in this Reign. *Christopher Ward* was Condemned with her, and burnt in *Darford*. On the 22*d*. of *July*, *Dirick Carver* was burnt at *Lewis*; and on the 23*d* *John Launder* was burnt at *Stoning*. They had been taken in *London*; and brought before *Bonner*; but he would not meddle with them, and desired they might be sent to their own Ordinaries: One of them being of *Surrey* was within *Gardiners* Jurisdiction, who resolved to proceed no more against the Hereticks, so he procured a Letter from the Council to *Bonner*, requiring him to proceed against them, who thereupon presently condemned them.

Pretended Plots, and some put to the Torture to make Discovery.

There were at this time several discoveries of Plottings in several Counties, especially in *Dorsetshire*, and *Essex*; but the nature of these Plots is not set down in the Council Books. Some were taken and put in the Tower: Two or three Privy Councellors were sent thither on the 9*th* of *June*, with a Letter from the Council to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to put them to the Torture, according to their discretions: yet nothing following upon this, it is probable these were only surmises devised by the Clergy, to set on the Council more severely against them, whose Ruine they were contriving by all the ways they could think on.

There was also an outrage committed on two Friars, *Peyto* and *Elston* who were *Franciscans* of the Observance, They had spoken sharply

1555.

The Queen re-build the *Franciscans* house at *Greenwich*.

against King *Henry* in the business of the Divorce, and had fled beyond Sea on that account: therefore the Queen had sent for them, and not only procured the Attainder that had passed against them, to be repealed in the last Parliament, but made *Pey to* her Confessor: and being resolved to raise Religious Houses in *England* again, she had begun with their Order, the *Franciscans of the Observance*, and with their House at *Greenwich*, which was the first that was suppressed; as was shewn in the former Book; and therefore she ordered that to be rebuilt this Summer. So *Elston* and *Peyto* going down by water, there were Stones flung at them by some that were a Shore in *London*. This the Queen resented highly; so she sent the Lord Treasurer to the Lord Mayor, requiring him to make Proclamation of a Reward to any that should discover those who had done it: but it could not be found out. She ordered all Sir *Thomas Mores*'s Works to be printed together in one Volumn; which were in the Press this Year: and it was given out as an extraordinary thing, that King *Edward* had died, and she succeeded to the Crown, that very day in which he was beheaded. But in publishing his Works, one piece of Fraud has occurred to me since the former Part was printed. I have seen the Manuscript out of which his Letters were printed, where the Originals of the Letters that he writ to his Daughter, Mris *Roper*, are; with the Copies of those that he writ to *Cromwel*. But among these, there is a long Letter concerning the Nun of *Kent*, in which he speaks fully of her Hypocrisie, and other Villanies. It contains many remarkable passages concerning her, of the high opinion he at first had of her; how he was led into it, and how he was afterwards convinced, "That she was the most false dissembling Hypocrite that had "been known, and guilty of the most detestable Hypocrisie, and de-"vilish dissembled Falshood; and he believed, that she had communi-"cation with an evil Spirit. This Letter was at that time concealed, but not destroyed: So I find the conjecture I made about it, in my former Part, has proved true; though I did not then hope to come by the Letter it self, as I have done since. It seems it was resolved to raise the Credit of that Story; and since the Nun was believed to be both a Martyr and a Prophetess, it is like she might have been easily gotten to be Canoniz'd; and therefore so great a Testimony from such a Man, was not thought fit to be left in her way. The Letter I have put into the *Collections*.

Sir *Th. More*'s Works Printed.

But his Letter about the Nun of *Kent* was left out.

Coll. Number 21.

Rastal published his works, but did not write his Life.

Concerning this Edition of Sir *Thomas Mores*'s Works, I shall recal to the Reader's mind, what was said in the former Part about his Life, pretended to be writ by *Rastal*; was now the publisher of his Works, and so much encouraged in it, that the Queen promoted him soon after to be a Judge; and so it is not likely, that *Rastal* ever writ any such Book, otherwise he had now prefixed it to this Edition. Nor is it probable that the stories, which *Sanders* vented in his name afterwards, concerning *Ann Boleyn*, or Queen *Elizabeths* Birth, were then so much as contrived: otherwise it is not credible, that they should not have been printed at this time; since the Lady *Elizabeth* being the only object of the fear and jealousy of the popish Party, was now out of the Queens favour, and a Prisoner: so that we cannot doubt but all such Stories would have bin very acceptable to the Queen, and the Clergy would have taken care to have published them, for the defaming her, and blasting her Title.

And

And therefore these things seem to be afterwards contrived in revenge, when Queen *Elizabeth* began to proceed severely against that Party, after the many and repeated Conspiracies they had engaged in against her Life. 1555.

But now the Queen resolved to endow so many Religious Houses, as the Revenues of the Church that were in her hands, could maintain: and about that, and some other particulars, she writ some directions to the Council with her own hand, which will be found in the Collections. I have seen two Copies of these that differ a little, but I follow that which seemed to me to be best derived from the Original. She desired, "That those who had Commission to treat with the Cardinal, about the "goods of the Church, might wait on him once a week, to finish that "and some other matters that were to be prepared for the Parliament: "She particularly recommended the care of having good Preaching "encouraged, which she wished might be well looked to; and she ad-"vised a general Visitation both of the Universities and Churches, to "be made, by such as the Cardinal and they should think fit. As for "the punishment of Hereticks, she wished it might not be done rashly; "yet she would have Justice done, on those who by Learning studi-"ed to deceive the simple: but would have it so managed, that the "People might see, they were not condemned but upon just occasions: "and therefore ordered that some of the Council should be present at "all the burnings about *London*; and that there should be every "where good Sermons at those times: She also verily believed, that "many Benefices should not be in one mans hand; but that every "Priest ought to look to his Cure, and reside upon it And she looked "on the Pluralities over *England*, to be a main cause of the want of "good Preachers; whose Sermons if joyned with a good Example would "do much good; and without that, she thought their Sermons would "profit little.

The Queen restores all the Church Lands that belonged to the Crown. Col. Number 21.

And now I return to the Burnings, from which I am not unwilling frequently to break off, since a continued relation of such things cannot be but an ungrateful entertainment to the Reader. In *July* one *Juxon* was burnt at *Chichester*: On the 2d of *August* *James Abeys* was burnt at *Bury* in *Suffolk*. On the 8th of *August* *Denly* a Gentleman was burnt at *Uxbridge*, and *Robert Smith* at *Waybridge*. On the 26th *George Tankervil* was burnt at *St. Albans*. And on the 28th of *August* *Patrick Packingham* also was burnt there: On the 21st of *August* one *Newman* was burnt at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*, and *Robert Samuel* a Preacher was burnt at *Ipswich*. There were also in *August*, six burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*. *Elizabeth VVarne* burnt at *Stratford Le-Bow*, *Stephen Whorwood* at *Stratford*, *Thomas Fust* at *Ware*, and *William Hall* at *Barnet*; but of their sufferings the days are not marked. In *September* on the 6th day of the month *George Catmer*, and four others were burnt at *Canterbury*. On the 20th *Robert Glover* a Gentleman, and one *Cornelius Bangey* were burnt at *Coventry*: The same month, but we know not on what days, *William Allen* was burnt at *Walsingham*, *Roger Coo* at *Yerford*, *Thomas Cob* in *Thetford*. *Thomas Haywood*, and *John Garaway*, at *Lichfield* were also burnt on the same account. On the 16th of *October* following, *William Woley*, and *Robert Pigot*, were burnt at *Ely*; where *Shaxton*, that had been Bishop of *Salsbury* in King *Henry*'s time, and quitted his Bishoprick on the account of the six Articles, but in the

More Hereticks burnt.

end

1555. end of that Reign recanted, and was now Bishop Suffragan of *Ely*, condemned them. It is enough to have named all these, who were burnt meerly by the Proceedings *Ex Officio*: for being forced, either to accuse themselves, or to die however, they chose rather plainly to answer those Articles that were ministred to them, and so were condemned for their Answers.

Ridley and Latimer burnt at Oxford.

But on the 16*th* of *October Ridley* and *Latimer* offered up their lives at *Oxford*, on which it may be expected I should enlarge a little. The Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Glocester*, and *Bristol*, were sent to *Oxford* by a special Commission from the Cardinal to proceed against them. As soon as *Ridley* heard they proceeded in the name of the Pope, by authority from the Cardinal, he put on his Cap, having stood bare headed before that, because he would express no sign of Reverence to those who acted by such a Commission. He said, he paied great respect to the Cardinal as descended from the Royal Family, and a man endued with such Learning and Vertue; that therefore he honoured and reverenced him: but for his Legatine Authority from the Bishop of *Rome*, he utterly renounced it; and therefore would shew no Reverence to that Character: and so puting off his Cap as he spoke of him on other respects, he put it on again when he named his being *Legat*; and being required to put it off, refused to do it on that account: but one of the Beadles did it for him. After that the Bishop of *Lincoln* made him a long exhortation to recant, and acknowledge the See of *Rome*; since Christ had built his Church on St. *Peter*, and the Fathers had all acknowledged the preheminence of that See, and himself had been once of that opinion. To which he answered, it was upon the Faith which St. *Peter* confessed, that Christ had founded his Church; he acknowledged, the Bishops of *Rome* had been held in great esteem, both for the dignity of the City, and the worthiness of the Bishops that had sate in it; but they were only esteemed Patriarchs of the West; and the Church had not then thought of that Power, to which they had since advanced themselves: he confessed he was once of their mind, but it was as St. *Paul* had been a Persecutor: he had seen since such spots in the Church of *Rome*, that he could never return to it. Upon this followed much discourse: In conclusion they objected to him some Articles, about those Opinions which he had maintained a year and an half before that, in the Schools; and required him to make his answers to them. He began with a Protestation, that by answering them he did not acknowledg the Popes Authority, and then answered them as he had done before. *Latimer* used the like protestation, and answers. So they were allowed one nights respite to consider better, whether they would recant or not; but next day they, appearing, and adhering to the Answers they had made, were declared obstinate Hereticks, and ordered to be degraded, and so delivered over to the Secular Power.

After that, new attemps were made on *Ridley* to perswade him to accept of the Queens Mercy; but all being to no purpose, the Writ was sent down to burn them. The night before the Execution, *Ridley* was very joyful, and invited the Mayor and his Wife, in whose House he was kept, to be at his Wedding next day: at which when the Mayor's Wife wept, he said he perceived she did not love him: but he told her, tho his breakfast would be sharp, he was sure his Supper would be sweet: he was glad

glad to hear that his Sister would come, and see him die; and was in such composure of mind, that they were all amazed at it. Next morning being the *16th* they were led out to the place of Execution, which was before *Baliol* College: they looked up to the Prison to have seen *Cranmer*; but he was then engaged in Dispute with some Friars, so that he was not in his Window; but he looked after them with great tenderness, and kneeling down prayed earnestly, that God would strengthen their Faith and Patience in that their last but painful Passage. When they came to the Stake, they embraced one another with great affection, *Ridley* saying to *Latimer*, *Be of good heart, Brother, for God will either asswage the fury of the Flame, or enable us to abide it.* Doctor *Smith* was appointed to Preach, and took his Text from these words, *If I give my body to be burnt, and have no Charity, it profiteth nothing.* He compared their dying for Heresie, to *Judas*'s hanging himself; and warned the People to beware of them, with as much bitterness as he could express. The best of it was, the Sermon lasted not above a quarter of an hour. When he had done, *Ridley* was going to answer him; and the Lord *Williams*, that was appointed by the Queen to see the Execution, was enclined to hear him: but the Vice-Chancellor said, Except he intended to recant, he was not to be suffered to speak. *Ridley* answered, He "would never deny his Lord, nor those Truths of his of which he was "perswaded; God's Will be done in him: he committed himself to "God, who would indifferently judg all. Then he addressed himself to the Lord *Williams*, and said, "Nothing troubled him so much, as that "he had received Fines of some, who took Leases of him when he was "Bishop of *London*; and these Leases were now voided: He therefore "humbly prayed, that the Queen would give order, that those might "be made good to the Tenants, or that the Fines might be restored out "of his Goods which he had left in his House, and were of far greater "value than those Fines would amount to; and that some pity might "be had of *Shipside* his Brother in law, who was turned out of a place "he had put him in, and had now attended on him with great care. Then they both prayed and fitted themselves for the Stake: *Latimer* saying to *Ridley*, "Be of good comfort, we shall this day light such "a Candle in *England*, as I trust by God's Grace shall never be put out. Then Gunpowder being hanged about their Bodies in great quantities to hasten their death, the Fire was put to, and *Latimer* was with the first Flame, the Powder taking fire, put out of pain, and died immediatly. But *Ridley* had a more lingring Torment, for they threw on the fire so much wood, that the Flame could not break through it: so that his Legs were almost consumed before this was observed, and then, one opening the Passage to the Flame, it put an end to his Life.

1555.

Thus died these two excellent Bishops: the one for his Piety, Learning, and solid Judgment, the ablest Man of all that advanced the Reformation; and the other for the plain simplicity of his Life, esteemed a truly primitive Bishop and Christian. Of his care of his Bishoprick, the Instructions he gave at his Visitation, chiefly of the Monasteries, will give a good Evidence: and therefore I have put them in the *Collection*, as they were copied from the Register of *Worcester*, by that Ingenious and worthy Counsellor Mr. *Summers*; who out of his Zeal to the Reformation, searched all the Books there, that he might gather from them such

Coll. Num. 24.

1555 such things as he thought could be of use to this Work. Bonner had made an ill Retribution to Ridley, for the kindness he had shewed his Friends when he was in possession at London: for he had made Bonner's Mother always dine with him, when he lived in his Country-House of Fulham, and treated her as if she had been his own Mother; besides his kindness to his other Friends. Heath, then Bishop of Worcester, had bin kept Prisoner a Year and a half in Ridley's House, where he lived as if he had bin at his own; and Heath used always to call him the best learned of all the Party: yet he so far forgot gratitude and humanity, that though he went through Oxford when he was a Prisoner there, he came not to see him. When they lay in the Tower, both Cranmer and they were, by reason of the number of Prisoners, put into one Chamber for some months; but after they came to Oxford, they could scarce send Messages to one another: and men had laid off humanity so much, that all the while they lay there none of the University waited on them: that favoured their Doctrine were then left, and of the rest, it is no wonder that none came to visit them; nor did they supply them with any thing they needed: for all the Charity that was sent to them, came from London.

Suits about the Goods of Churches.

This Summer there was a strict search made after all the Goods of the Church, that had bin embezelled: and all that had bin Visiters, either in King Henry or K. Edward's time, were brought into Suits about it, but many compounded, and so purchased their quiet, by an offer to the Church of some large Gratuity: and according to the greatness thereof their affection to the Church was measured. Many of those did favour the Reformation, which made them give the more bountifully, that so they might come under good Characters, and be the less suspected.

Gardiner's Sickness and Death.

The Parliament was opened on the 21st of October. The Chancellor came thither, both then, and on the 23d, but could come no more. It was reported, that he had stayed long for dinner, that day that Ridley and Latimer were to be burnt, till one should bring him word, that the fire was set to them: but the Messenger coming Post, did not reach London till four a Clock in the afternoon, and that he then went cheerfully to dine; but was at Dinner struck with the illness, of which he died. It was a suppression of Urine, which held him till the 12th of November, on which he died. He had great remorse for his former life; and Day Bishop of Chichester coming to him, and comforting him with the assurance of Justification through the Blood of Christ; he answered him, "He might speak of that to him or others in his condition; but "if he opened that gap again, & preached that to the People, then farewell all together. He often repeated those words, *Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro*, I have erred with Peter, but I have not mourned "with him. He was of a nobler descent than is commonly known. For though he took the name Gardiner from his supposed Father, yet he was then believed to be the base Son of Richard Woodvil, that was Brother to Queen Ann, Wife to King Edward the 4th: so that he was of kin to King Henry the 8th in the second and third degree of Consanguinity; which might be the cause that he was so suddenly advanced to the Bishoprick of Winchester. This is mentioned by Sir Edward Hobby, in a Letter he writ to one of those that had fled beyond Sea, giving him an account of his Death: where he saies of him, he was a Man of higher descent



Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in St Pauls Church yard

descent than he was commonly reputed; and on the Margent it is said, 1555.
he was Nephew to a Queen of *England.* This explains that which I find objected both to him and *Bonner* in one of the Books that were writen in the defence of the married Clergy; that no wonder they were such enemies to Marriage, since both of them were born in Adultery. He was a Man well skilled in the Canon and Civil Laws, and moderately in Divinity. He had a good Stile in Latin, and understood the Greek well; but his strength lay in deep dissimulation, a quickness of apprehension, a great prospect of affairs, a close and artificial way of concealing his mind, and insinuating himself into the affections and confidences of other persons. He did comply all *Henry* the 8ths time; and would willingly have done the like in King *Edwards* time, but that *Cranmer* knew him too well to be directed by him, and handled him as he deserved. But the usage he then met with, so recovered him with Queen *Mary*, that she put him in the greatest Trusts; and now, when a Cardinals Hat was like to fall on his Head, he was carried off, and all his ambitious Projects fell with him. Of his servile compliance in promoting King *Henrie's* Divorce, I have found fresh Instances, besides those that are mentioned in the former Volumn. When he went to *Rome*, in the Year 1529, *Anne Boleyn* writ a very kind Letter to him, which I have put in the *Collection*. By it the Reader will clearly perceive that Coll.Num.25.
he was then in the secret of the King's designing to marry her, as soon as the Divorce was obtained. There is another particular in that Letter, which corrects a Conjecture which I set down in the beginning of the former Book, concerning the Cramp-Rings that were blessed by King *Henry*; which I thought might have been done by him after he was declared *Head of the Church*. That part was printed before I saw this Letter; But this Letter shews they were used to be blessed before the Separation from *Rome*; for *Anne Boleyn* sent them as great Presents thither. The use of them had been (it seems) discontinued in King *Edwards* time; but now under Queen *Mary* it was designed to be revived; and the Office for it was written out in a fair Manuscript, yet extant; of which I have put a Copy in the Collection. But the silence in the Coll.Num.26.
Writers of that time makes me think it was seldom, if ever, practised. But to return to *Gardiners* officious compliance in the matter of the Divorce, I have put in the Collection a Letter of his to King *Henry*, writ- Coll.Num.27.
ten in such confidence to him, that even Cardinal *Woolsey* was not to see it. In it he sets out the Pop's timorousness so plainly, that he writes he saw nothing but the fear he was in of the Emperours Forces, kept him from granting what was desired; therefore he advised the King to do the business once in *England*, and then leave it to the Emperor to complain; not doubting but he would be put off by as many Delays as were now used in the King's business.

Heath Archbishop of *York* had the Seals in *February* after; they having been during that interval, in the hands of Sir *Nicholas Hare*, then Master of the Rolls; and he was made Chancellor during the Queen's pleasure. The Queen also, considering that *Whitehall* had been taken from the See of *York*, had a scruple in her Conscience against living in it; but *Heath* and she agreed it thus: *Suffolk-Place* by the Duke's Attainder, was now in the Queen's hands; so she gave that to the See of *York*, which *Heath* sold, and converted it to Tenements, and purchased another House near

1555. Charing-Cross, which from thence forward was called York-House.

The temper of the Parliament is much changed.

But, for the Parliament, it was now much changed; Mens minds were much alienated from the Clergy, and also from the Queen, who minded nothing else but to raise them to great wealth and power again. On the 28th of October it was moved in the House of Commons to give a Subsidy, and two Fifteenths, for paying the Debts of the Crown, but it was opposed with great vehemence. It was said, that the Queen had profusely given away the Riches of the Crown, and then turned to the Laity to pay her Debts: why did she not rather turn it to the Spiritualty? But it was answered, that the Convocation had given her a Subsidy of six shillings in the pound; and the Queen asked now, after almost three years Reign, nothing but what she had discharged her Subjects of, at her first coming to the Crown. Yet the heats grew such, that on the 1st of November Secretary Petre brought a Message from her, that she thanked them that had moved for two Fifteenths for her, but she refused it: so the Subsidy was agreed on. On the 29th of November the Queen sent for the House of Commons. When they were come, she said to them, she could not with a good Conscience take the Tenths and First-fruits of Spiritual Benefices: It was a Tax her Father laid on the Clergy, to support his Dignity of Supream Head; of which since she was devested, she would also discharge that. Then the Legate made a speech to shew that Tithes & Impropriations of spiritual Benefices were the Patrimony of the Church; and ought to return to it. The Queen upon that, declared, that she would surrender them up likewise to the Church. Then one Story of the House of Commons kneeled down, and said to the Queen, That the Speaker did not open to her their Desire that Licences might be restrained. This was a great Affront to the Speaker; so he returning to the House, complained of Story. This Member thought he might assume more liberty; for in Edward the 6th's time, when the Bill for the first Book of the English Service passed, he spoke so freely against it, with such reflections on the King and the Protector, that he was put in the Serjeants hands, and sent to the Tower. The words he had said, were, Wo unto thee O England, when thy King is a Child; and an Impeachment was drawn against him. But upon his Submission, the House ordered the Privy Councellors to declare to the Protector, that it was their Resolution that he should be enlarged: and they desired that the King would forgive his Offence against him and his Council: now he had indiscreetly appeared against all Licenses from Rome, thinking he had a priviledg to talk more freely; but he confessed his Fault, and the House, knowing that he spake from a good zeal, forgave him. He was afterwards condemned for Treason in Queen Elizabeths Reign.

The Queen discharges the Clergy of Tenths and First-fruits.

Eccles. 10. 16.

Journ. Dom. Com.

On the 23d of November, the Bill for suppressing the First-Fruits and Tenths, and the resigning up all Impropriations, that were yet in the Queens Gift, to the Church, to be disposed of as the Legate pleased, for the relief of the Clergy, was brought into the House. It was once thought fit to have the surrender of Impropriations left out: for it was said, the Queen might do that as well by Letters Patents; and if it were put into the Bill, it would raise great Jealousies; since it would be understood, that the Queen did expect that the Subjects should follow her example; but it was resolved, by all means possible, to recover the

Tithes

Tithes to the Church; so it was put into the Bill. It was long argued; some said, the Clergy would rob the Crown, and the Nation both: and that the Laity must then support the Dignity of the Realm. It was particularly committed to Sir *William Cecil* and others to be examined by them. On the 13th of *December* the House divided about it, 126 were against it, and 193 were for it. 1555.

Against those that had fled beyond-Sea, rejected.

There was a Bill sent down against the Countess of *Sussex*, who had left her Husband, and gone into *France*, where she lived openly in Adultery, and bare Children to others. A Bill was put in, to the same purpose, in the first Parliament of this Reign, to take her Jointure from her, and declare her Children Bastards; and was then cast out by the Commons; and had now again the same fate. Another Bill was put in against the Dutchess of *Suffolk* and others, who had gone beyond Sea, to require them to return, under severe punishments: but tho it was agreed to by the Lords, yet, upon a division of the House of Commons, it was carried in the Negative. The greatest and wealthiest of those who favoured the Reformation, seeing in how ill a condition they must be in, if they stayed in *England*, vvere gone beyond Sea: so it was now endeavoured to force them to return, or to make them lose their Estates: but the Commons thought they had already consented to too severe Laws against them, and therefore would add no more. The Dutchess of *Suffolk* had been persecuted while she was in the *Netherlands*, but narrowly escaped. Another Bill was put in, for the incapacitating of several Persons from being Justices of Peace; but was cast out by the Commons at the first reading. This was chiefly against such as were suspected of remissness in the prosecuting of Hereticks: but the Commons would do nothing to encourage that; nor was it necessary, since it was in the Queen's power to leave out of the Commission such as she excepted to: but it shewed the Zeal of some, who had a mind to recommend themselves by such motions.

An Act debarring one from the benefit of Clergy.

There vvas a Complaint put into the House of Commons, by the Wife of one *Rufford* against *Bennet Smith*, vvho had hired two Persons to kill her Husband: and which, as the Act passed about it says, was one of the most detestable Murders that had ever been known in *England*. But *Smith* that had hired, and afterwards paid the Murderers, might by the Law claim, and have the benefit of Clergy. It is, and hath been, an ancient custom in this Nation, that for some Crimes, those who can read, are not to suffer Death. This was at first done vvith a declaration, that either they had vowed, or vvere then resolved to enter into Orders; vvhich vvas the cause that no *Bigami*, that is, none that had been twice married, or such as married Widows, vvere capable of it; because such could not receive Orders: and the Reading vvas only to shew that they vvere in some sort qualified for Orders: tho aftervvards, the Reading, without any such Vow or Promise, was all that was required, to give one the benefit of Clergy. This was granted as an Appendix of the Ecclesiastical Immunity; for the Churchmen were not satisfied that their own Persons should be exempted from punishment, but would needs have all that resolved to come among them, be likewise preserved from the punishment due to those Crimes, which they had formerly committed. So *Rufford's* Wife petitioning, that *Smith* might by Act of Parliament be debarred that benefit; they sent her to the Queen, to beg,

1555. That she would order *Smith* to be brought from the *Tower*, where he was then kept, to the Bar of their House: which being done, the other Partners and Actors confessed all: and tho he at first denied, yet he afterwards confessed. So the Bill was sent up by the Commons to the Lords, where it was much opposed by the Clergy; who would not consent that any diminution should be made of their ancient Privileges: but the heinousness of the Fact wrought so much on the greater part, that it was passed; The Earls of *Arundel* and *Rutland*, the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Norwich*, and *Bristol*, the Lords *Abergaveny*, *Fitzwater*, and *Lumley*, protesting. *Pates* was now Bishop of *Worcester*, upon *Heath's* translation to *York*. He was (as some say) designed to be Bishop of that See by King *Henry* upon *Latimer's* Resignation; but being engaged in a correspondence with the Pope and Cardinal *Pool*, he fled beyond Sea. But the truth is, that upon the Death of *Jerome de Ghinuci*, he was at *Rome* made Bishop of *Worcester* by the Pope, and was thereupon Attainted: But his Attainder had bin repealed by the former Parliament, and so he was restored to that See.

Sir *Anthony Kingston* put in the Tower for his behaviour in the House of Commons. *Ex Lib. Concil.*

On the 9th of *December* the Parliament was dissolved. And the day following Sir *Anthony Kingston*, who had bin a main Stickler in it, and had one day taken the Keyes of the House from the Serjeant; which (it seems,) was not displeasing to the major part of the House, since they did nothing upon it; was sent to the Tower: and that same day, (as it is in the Council Books,) the Bishop of *Ely* delivered to the Lord *Treasurer* the Popes Bull, confirming the King and Queens Title to *Ireland*; bearing date the 7th of *June*. *Kingston* lay in the Tower till the 23d. of the month and then he submitted, and asked pardon, and was discharged. But he was next year accused to have engaged in a Design with some others, to have robbed the Exchequer of 50000 lib. Whereupon six of them, *Udal*, *Throgmorton*, *Petham*, *Daniel*, *Stanton*, and *White*, were Executed for Felony. What Evidence was brought against them I do not know. But *Kingston* died on his way to *London*.

Card. *Pool* in Convocation makes Canons for Reforming the Clergy. *Rot. Par. 2d. Par. 3. Reg.*

From the Parliament I turn next to the Convocation: where the Cardinal was now at more liberty, being delivered from *Gardiners* Jelousies and Opposition. He obtained of the Queen on the 2d of *November* a Warrant under the great Seal, giving him Licence to hold a Synod. The Licence he had formerly taken out, is made mention of: and to avoid all ambiguities, which might arise from the Laws or Prerogatives of the Crown, she authorised him to call that, or any other Synod after, and to decree what Canons he should think fit: she also authorised the Clergy, to meet, consent to, and obey those Canons, without any danger of the Law. This was thought safe on both sides; both for preserving the Rights of the Crown, and securing the Clergy from being afterwards brought within the statute of *Premunire*, as they had been upon their acknowledging Cardinal *Woolseys* Legatine power. To this Convocation *Pool* proposed a Book he had prepared, which was afterwards printed with the Title of *The Reformation of* England *by the Decree of Cardinal* Pool; and is now put into the Volumes of the Councils.

The Heads of *Pool's* Reformation.

The first Decree is, that there should be constantly a remembrance of the Reconciliation now made with *Rome*, in every Mass: besides, a Procession, with other Solemnities, on the Anniversary of it. He also confirmed

confirmed the Constitutions of *Otho*, and *Otho bonus*, forbidding the reading of all Heretical Books; and set forth the Catholick Faith, in the words of that Exposition of it, which *P. Eugenius* sent from the Council of *Florence* to those of *Armenia*. 1555.

The 2d was, for the careful administring and preserving of the Sacraments; and for the puting away of all Feasting in the Festivities of the Dedications of Churches.

The 3d exhorts the Bishops to lay aside all secular Cares, and give themselves wholly to the Pastoral Office; and to reside in their Diocess, under the highest pains. Their Chanons are also required to reside, and also other Clergy Men. All Pluralities of Benefices with Cure, are simply condemned: and those who had more Benefices with cure, were required within two months to resign all, but one: otherwise it was to be declared that they had forfeited them all.

The 4th is, that whereas the residence of Bishops could not be of great use, unless they became truly Pastors to their Flock; which was chiefly done by their preaching the Word of God; that had been, contrary to the Apostles Practice, much neglected by many: therefore he requires them to preach every Sunday or Holy day; or if they were disabled, to find other fit Persons to do it. And they were also in private to instruct and exhort their People; and all the other inferior Clergy; and to endeavour to perswade them to the Catholick Faith; or if need were, to use threatnings. And because of the great want of good Preachers, the Cardinal declared he would take care there should be Homilies set out, for the instruction of the Nation. In the mean while, every Bishop was to be sending such as were more eminent in preaching, over their Diocess, thereby to supply the defects of the rest.

The 5th is, about the lives of the Bishops; that they should be most strict and exemplary: that they should lay aside all Pride and Pomp; should not be clothed in Silk, nor have rich Furniture; and have frugal Tables, not above three or four dishes of Meat; and even so many he rather allows, considering the present time, than approves: that at their Table the Scriptures, or other good Books, should be read, mixed with pious discourses: that they should not have too great numbers of Servants or Horses: but that this Parsimony might appear not to flow from Avarice, they were to lay out the rest of their Revenues on the Poor, and for breeding young Scholars, and other works of Piety. All the same Rules he sets to the inferior Clergy, with a due proportion to their Stations and Profits.

The 6th is, about giving Orders; They were not to be rashly given, but upon a strict previous *Examen*. Every one that was to be Ordained, was to give in his Name a long time before, that there might be time to inquire carefully about him. The Bishops were charged not to turn over the Examination upon others, and think their work was only to lay on their hands: but were to examine diligently themselves, and not superficially. And to call to their assistance such as they knew to be pious and learned, and in whom they might confide.

The 7th was, about conferring Benefices, which in some sort came also within that charge, *Lay hands suddenly on no Man*. They were to lay aside all partialty in their choice, and seek out the most deserving: and to make such as they put in Benefices bind themselves by Oath to reside.

The

1555 The 8th was, against giving the Advousons of Benefices before they

were vacant.

The 9th was about Simony.

The 10th against the Alienations of any of the Goods of the Church.

The 11th was, that in every Cathedral there should be a Seminary for supplying the Diocess: of whom two Ranks were to be made; the one, of those who learned Grammar; the other, of those who were grown up, and were to be ordained *Acholyths*; and these were to be trained up in Study and Vertue, till they were fit to serve in the Church. And a Tax of the fourth peny was laid on the Clergy for their maintenance.

The 12th was about Visitations.

These were all finished, agreed to, and published by him in *February* next Year.

Ex Manuscr. Col. C.C. Cant.

In these Decrees mention is made of Homilies, which were intended to be published: and among Arch-Bishop *Parker's* Papers, I find, the Scheme he had of them was thus laid: He designed four Books of Homilies. The first, of the controverted points, for preserving the People from Error: The 2d. for the Exposition of the Creed, and ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, the Salutation of the Virgin, and the Sacraments: The 3d. was to be for the Saints dayes, and the Sundays and Holy days of the year; for explaining the Epistles and Gospels: and the fourth was concerning Vertues and Vices, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church.

Pool's Designs for Reforming the Church.

By all these it may appear, how well tempered this Cardinal was. He never set on the Clergy to Persecute Hereticks, but to reform themselves: as well knowing, that a strict exemplary Clergy can soon overcome all Opposition whatsoever, and bear down even truth it self. For the common People are generally either so ignorant, or so distracted with other affairs, that they seldom enter into any exact discussion of speculative points, that are disputed among Divines: but take up things upon general notions and prejudices; and none have more influence on them, than the scandals or strict lives of Church-men. So that *Pool*, intending to correct all those, laid down good Rules, to amend their lives, to throw out those crying scandals of Pluralities and Non-residence; to oblige Bishops to be exact in their Examinations before Orders, and in conferring Benefices on the most deserving, and not to be biassed by partial affections. In this last thing himself was a great Example. For tho he had an only Brother, (so I find him called in one of the Cardinals Commissions to him with some others, tho I believe he was a Bastard Brother) *David*, that had continued all King *Henry's* time in his Arch-Deaconry of *Darby*; he, either to punish him for his former compliance, or to shew he had no mind to raise his kindred, did not advance him, till after he had been two years in *England*: and then he gave him only the Bishoprick of *Peterborough*, one of the poorest of the Bishopricks; which considering his nearness to the Crown, and high Birth, was a very small preferment. But above all, that Design of his to have Seminaries in every Cathedral for the planting of the Diocess, shews what a wise prospect he had of the right methods of recovering a Church, which was over-run, as he judged, with Heresie. It was the same that *Cranmer* had formerly designed; but never took effect.

Certainly,

Certainly, Persons formed from their Childhood, with others Notions, and another method of living, must be much better fitted for a holy Character, than those that have lived in the pleasures and follies of the world ; who, unless a very extraordinary change is wrought in them, still keep some of their old Customs about them, and so fall short of that gravity and decency, that becomes so Spiritual a Function. 1555.

He shewed the weakness of his Spirit in one thing, that being against Cruel Proceedings with Hereticks, he did not more openly profess it : but both suffered the other Bishops to go on, and even in *Canterbury*, now sequestred in his hands, and soon after put under his care, he left those poor men to the Cruelties of the brutal and fierce Popish Clergy. In this he was to be pitied, that he had not Courage enough to contend with so haughty a Pope as *Paul* the 4th was : who thought of no other way of bearing down Heresie, but by setting up the Inquisition every where : so *Pool*, it seems, judged it sufficient for him, not to act himself, nor to set on any ; and thought he did enough, when he discouraged it in private; but yet he granted Commissions to the other Bishops and Arch-Deacons to proceed against those called Hereticks. He was not only afraid of being discharged of his Legation, and of losing the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, which was now ready to fall upon him ; but he feared to be sent for to *Rome*, and cruelly used by the Pope, who remembred all the Quarrels he formerly had with any of the Cardinals, and put Card. *Merone* (that was *Pool*'s great Friend) in Prison, upon suspicion of Heresie. All these things prevailed with *Pool* to give way to the Persecution ; and it was thought, that he himself hastned the Execution of *Cranmer*, longing to be invested with that See ; which is the only personal blemish I find laid on him.

One remarkable thing of him was, his not listening to the Proposition the Jesuits made him, of bringing them into *England*. That Order had been set up about twelve years before this, and was in its first Institution chiefly designed for propagating the Doctrines of that Church in Heretical or Infidel Countries ; to which was afterwards added, the Education of Children. It was not easily allowed of at *Rome*, because the Bishops did universally complain of the great numbers of exempted Regulars ; and therefore at first it was limited to a small number; which Restriction was soon taken off. They, besides the Vows of other Orders took one, for a blind and universal Obedience to the See of *Rome :* And because they were much to be imployed, they were dispensed with, as to the hours of the Quire, which made them be called a Mungrel Order between the *Regulars* and *Seculars*. They have since that time, by their care in educating Youth, by their indefatigable Industry, and chiefly by their Accommodating Pennances, and all the other Rules of Religion, to the Humours and Inclinations of those who confess their Sins to them, drawn almost all the World after them : and are raised now to that heighth both of Wealth and Power, that they are become the Objects of the Envy and Hatred of all the rest of their own Church. They suggested to *Pool*, That whereas the Queen was restoring the Goods of the Church that were in her hands, it was but to little purpose to raise up the old Foundations ; for the *Benedictine* Order was become rather a Clog than a Help to the Church : they therefore desired that those Houses might be assigned to them, for maintaining Schools and Semi-

1555 Seminaries, which they should set on quickly: and they did not doubt

but by their dealing with the Consciences of those who were a dying, they should soon recover the greatest part of the Goods of the Church. The *Jesuits* were out of measure offended with him, for not entertaining their Proposition; which I gather from an *Italian Manuscript* which my most worthy Friend Mr. *Crawford* found in *Venice*, when he was Chaplain there to Sir *Thomas Higgins*, his Majesties Envoy to that Republick: but how it came that this motion was laid aside, I am not able to judge.

There passed nothing else remarkable this Year, but that in the end of *November*, *John Web* a Gentleman, *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parke* were burnt all at at one Stake in *Canterbury*. And on the 18th of *December*, *Philpot*, that had disputed in the Convocation, was burnt in *Smithfield*. He was, at the end of that meeting, put in Prison for what he had said in it; tho liberty of speech had been promised; and the nature of the meeting did require it. He was kept long in the Stocks in the Bishop of *London's* Coal-house, and many conferences were had with him, to perswade him to change. By what *Bonner* said in one of them, it appears that he hoped they should be better used upon *Gardiners* death: for *Bonner* told him, he thought, because the Lord Chancelour was dead, they would burn no more; but he should soon find his Error, if he did not recant. He continued stedfast in his Perswasion, and pleaded that he had never spoken nor written against their Laws, since they were made, being all the while a Prisoner, except what he had said in Conference with them; yet this prevailed not with *Bonner*, who had as little Justice as Mercy in his temper. On the 16th of *December* he was condemned, and delivered to the Sheriffs. He was at first laid in Irons, because he was so poor that he could not fee the Jaylour; but next day these were by the Sheriffs order taken off. As he was led into *Smithfield* on the 18th, he kneeled down, and said, *I will pay my Vows in thee O Smithfield.* When he was brought to the Stake, he said, *Shall I disdain to suffer at this Stake, since my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer on the Cross for me?* He repeated the 106*th*, 107*th*, and 108*th Psalms*, and then fitted himself for the Fire, which consumed him to Ashes. So this Year ended, in which there were sixty seven burnt for Religion; and of those, four were Bishops, and thirteen were Priests.

Philpots Martyrdom.

Forreign Affairs.

In *Germany* a Diet was held at *Ausburg*, where the Peace of *Germany* was fully setled: and it was decreed, that the Princes of the *Ausburg* Confession should have the free liberty of their Religion; and that every Prince might in his own State establish what Religion he pleased; excepting only the Ecclesiastical Princes, who were to forfeit their Benefices if they turned. Those of *Austria*, and *Ferdinand's* other Hereditary Dominions, desired freedom for their Consciences: but *Ferdinand* refused it; yet he appointed the Chalice to be given in the Sacrament. The Duke of *Bavaria* did the like in his Dominions. At all this the Pope was highly offended, and talked of deposing *Ferdinand*. He had nothing so much in his mouth, as the Authority former Popes had exercised, in deposing Princes at their pleasure. He had sworn to the Cardinals, before he was chosen, that he would make but four Cardinals in two Years; but he created seven within one half Year, and

would

would not hear the Consistory argue against it, or remember him of his Promise; but said, his Power was absolute, and could not be limited. One of these Cardinals was *Gropper* the Dean of *Colen*, a man of great Learning and Vertues, but inconstant and fearful, as was shewn in the former Book: he refused to accept of that Dignity so generally sought after in their Church; and was more esteemed for rejecting it, than others were that had by their Ambition aspired to it. 1556.

In the end of this year, and the beginning of the next, a memorable thing fell out; of which if I give a large account, I do not fear to be much censured by the Reader for it; especially since it is not impertinent to this work, the King and Queen being so much concerned in it. It was, *Charles* the 5ths laying down, first some of his hereditary Dominions in *October* this year; and the rest, with the Empire, not long after. He had now enjoyed, the one, forty years, and the other thirty six. He was much disabled by the Gout, which had held him, almost constantly, for several years: he had been in the greatest Fatigues that ever any Prince had undergone, ever since the 17th year of his age: he had gone, nine times into *Germany*, six times into *Spain*, seven times into *Italy*, four times into *France*; had been ten times in the *Netherlands*, had made two Expeditions into *Afrik*, and been twice in *England*, and had crossed the Seas eleven times. He had not only been a Conquerer in all his Warrs, but had taken a *Pope*, a King of *France*, and some Princes of *Germany*, Prisoners, besides a vast accession of Wealth and Empire from the *West Indies*. But he now growing out of love with the Pomp and Greatness of the World, began to have more serious thoughts of another Life; which were much encreased in him by the answer one of his Captains gave him, when he desired Leave to retire, and being asked the reason, said, that between the affairs of the World, and the hour of death, there ought to be some interval. He found his for tune turned: his Designs in *Germany* were blasted: In the Siege of *Metz*, he saw he could no more command Triumphs to wait on him; for though his Army consisted of 100000 Men, yet he was forced to raise his Siege with the loss of 40000 Men: and though his Wars had been this year more successful, both in *Italy* and *Flanders*, yet he thought he was too old to deal with the King of *France*. It was thought, his Son set this forward; who had left *England* in discontent; being weary both of His Queen, and of holding a titular Crown, only in her Right, being excluded from the Government. All these things concurring, made the Emperor in a solemn Assembly at *Brussels* on the 25th of *October* in the presence of his Son, and *Maximilian* King of *Boheme*, and of the Duke of *Savoy*, and his two Sisters the Queens Dowagers of *France* and *Hungary*, with a vast number of others of lower quality, first give his Son the Golden Fleece, and so resign the headship of that Order to him; and then, the Dukedomes of *Burgundy*, and *Brabant*, and the other Provinces of the *Netherlands*. Two months after that, he resigned all his other Hereditary Dominions: and the next year, he sent a Resignation of the Empire to the Diet, who thereupon did choose his Brother *Ferdinand* Emperor; to which the Pope made great exceptions; for he said, the Resignation ought to have been only to him, and that being made as

Charles the 5th's Resignation.

1556 it was, it was null; and upon that he would not acknowledge the new Emperor.

Charles staid sometime in *Flanders* in a private House. For he left all his Palaces; and had but little company about him. It is said, that when *Seld* his Brother's Secretary, being sent to him, was leaving him once late at night, all the Candles on the Stairs being burnt out, and none waiting to light him down, the late Emperor would needs carry the Candle down after him: the other, as may be well imagined, being much confounded at it, the Emperor told him, He was now a private Man; and his Servants knowing there was nothing now to be had by attending, did not wait carefully. He bad him tell his Brother, what a change he had seen in him, and how vain a thing the attendance of Courtiers was; since he was so soon forsaken by his own Servants. He reserved but 100000 Crowns a year for his own use: and sixty Servants. But at his coming into *Spain*, he found even that small Pension was not readily payed; at which he was observed to be much displeased. He retired to a place in the Confines of *Castile* and *Portugal*, which he had observed in his Hunting to be fit for a retreat, by reason of the pleasantness of the Situation, and the temperatness of the Air: and there he had ordered a little Appartment of seven Rooms fourteen foot square, to be built for him. He kept only twelve servants about himself and sent the rest to stay in the neighbouring Towns.

He gave himself at first much to mechanical Curiosities, and had great varieties of Clocks, and some other motions, which surprised the ignorant Monks, who were afraid they were the performances of Magick; especially his Machines of Birds of wood that did fly out and come back, and the representations of Armies, that by Springs engaged and fought. He also designed that great work of carrying the *Tago* up a Hill near *Toledo*; which was afterwards done at a vast charge. He gave himself to Gardening, and used to Graft and Imp with his own hand; and keeping but one Horse, rid abroad some times, attended only by one Footman.

The making of Clocks was not then so perfect, as it is since: so that he could never bring his Clocks to strike in the same minute: and he used upon that to say, he saw the Folly of endeavouring to bring all Men to be of the same mind in Religion, since he could not bring Machines to agree exactly.

He set himself also much to study; and in the second year of his retirement, went oftener to the Chappel, and to the Sacrament, than he had done at first: He used also to Discipline himself, with a Cord, which, after his death, having some marks of the severity he had put himself to, was laid up among his Sons chiefest Rarities. But amidst all this, it was believed he became in most points to be of the belief of the Protestants, before he died: and as his Confessor was burnt afterwards for Heresie, so *Miranda* the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, who used to come often to him, was upon the same suspitions kept long in Prison. Near the end of two years, at the Aniversary of his Mothers Funeral, who had died but a few years before, having lived long mad; he took a conceit, that he would see an *Obit* made for himself, and would have his own Funeral Rites performed; to which he came himself

himself with the rest of the Monks, and prayed most devoutly for the Rest of his own Soul; which set all the Company on weeping. Two days after, he sickned of a Feaver, of which he died on the 21st of *September* 1558. A rare and great instance of a mind surfeited with the Pomps and Glories of the World, seeking for that Quiet in retirement, which he had long in vain searched after in Palaces and Camps. 1556.

And now I return to the Affairs of *England*. The 21st of *March* was *Cranmer* brought to the end of all his Afflictions, and received his Crown. On the 12 of *September* the former year, *Brooks* Bishop of *Glocester*, came to *Oxford*, as the Popes Subdelegate: and *Martin*, and *Story*, Commissioners from the King and Queen, sate with him in St. *Maries*, to judge him. When he appeared before them, he payed a low reverence to them that sate in the King and Queen's Name: but would give none to *Brooks*, since he sate by an Authority from the Pope, to which he would pay no respect. Then *Brooks* made a long Speech, to set forth his Apostacy and Heresy, his Incontinence, and finally his Treason; and exhorted him to repent: and insinuated to him great hopes of being restored to his See upon it. After this, *Martin* made a Speech of the difference between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority.

Cranmer's Tryal.

When they had done, *Cranmer* first kneeled down, and said the Lord's Prayer; next he repeated the Apostles Creed: then he told them he would never acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority; he owned his Allegiance to the Crown, according to the Oath he had often sworn; and the submitting to the Pope was directly contrary to that: he could not serve two Masters. He said, the Bishops of *Rome* not only set up Pretensions that were contrary to the Power of Princes, but they had also made Laws contrary to those made by God: instancing it in the Worship of an unknown Tongue, the denying the Chalice to the People, the pretending to dispose of Crowns, and exalting themselves above every Creature; which shewed them not to be the Vicars of Christ, but to be Antichrists, since all these things were manifestly contrary to the Doctrin of Christ, that was delivered in the Gospel. He remembred *Brooks*, that he had sworn to the King's Supremacy. *Brooks* said, it was to K. *Henry* the 8th, and that *Cranmer* had made him swear it. To which *Cranmer* replied, that he did him wrong in that; for it was done in his Predecessor *Warham's* time, who had asserted the King's Supremacy; and it was also sent to be discussed in the Universities, and they had set their Hands and Seals to it; and that *Brooks*, being then a Doctor, had signed it with the rest: so that all this being done before he came to be Arch-Bishop, it ought not to be called his deed.

After this, *Story* made another Speech, of the Authority of the Church; magnifying the See of *Rome*, and enlarging on those Arguments commonly insisted on; and desired *Brooks* would put *Cranmer* to make a plain Answer, and cut off all Debates. Then followed a long Discourse between *Martin* and *Cranmer*: in which *Martin* objected, that he had once sworn to the Pope when he was consecrated, but that aspiring to be Archbishop, he had changed his mind in compliance to King *Henry*; That he had condemned *Lambert* of Heresy, for denying the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and afterwards turned to that himself. To all this *Cranmer* answered, pretending that never man came more unwil-

1556. lingly into a Bishoprick than he did to his. That he was so far from having aspired to it, that tho the King had sent one post to him, to come over to be consecrated, he being then in *Germany*; yet he had delayed his Journey seven weeks, hoping that in all that time the King might have forgot him: That at his Consecration he publickly explained his meaning in what sense he swore to the Pope, so that he did not act deceitfully in that particular: And that when he condemned *Lambert*, he did then believe the Corporal Presence; which he continued to do, till Dr. *Ridley* shewed him such Reasons and Authorities as perswaded him to change his Mind, and then he was not ashamed to retract his former Opinion. Then they objected his having been twice married, his keeping his Wife secretly in King *Henry*'s time, and openly in King *Edward*'s Reign; his setting out Heretical Books and Articles, and compelling others to subscribe them: his forsaking the Catholick Church, and denying Christ's Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar; and disputing against it so publickly lately at *Oxford*. He confessed his living in Marriage, and that he thought it was lawful for all Men to marry; and that it was certainly better to do so, than to lie with other Mens Wives, as many Priests did: He confessed all the other Articles; only he said, he had never forced any to subscribe.

After this, *Brooks* made a long Speech to him, with many of the common Arguments concerning the Pope's Power, and the Presence in the Sacrament: to which *Cranmer* made another large Answer. Then many Witnesses were examined upon the Points they had heard *Cranmer* defend in the Schools; and in conclusion they cited him to appear before the Pope within eighty days, to answer for all those things which were now objected to him. He said, he would do it most willingly, if the King and Queen would send him: but he could not go, if he were still detained a Prisoner.

After this he was sent back to Prison, where he lay till the 14th of *February* this Year: and then *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were sent down to degrade him. *Bonner* desired this Imployment, as a pleasant Revenge on *Cranmer*, who had before deprived him: but it was forced on the other, who had lived in great friendship with *Cranmer* formerly, and was a gentle and good natur'd Man, but very inconstant and apt to change. They had *Cranmer* brought before them, and then they caused to read their Commission, which declared him *Contumax* for not coming to *Rome*, and required them to degrade him. They clothed him in Pontifical Robes, a Miter and the other Garments, with a Crosier in his hand: but the Robes were made of Canvass, to make him shew more ridiculous in them. Then *Bonner* made a Speech full of Jeers; *This is the Man that despised the Pope, and is now judged by him: This is the Man that pulled down Churches, and is now judged in a Church: This is the Man that contemned the Sacrament, and is now condemned before it:* with other such Expressions, at which *Thirleby* was much offended, and pulled him oft by the Sleeve, desiring him to make an end: and challenged him afterwards, that he had broke the Promise he had made to him before, of treating him with respect. And he was observed to weep much all the while: He protested to *Cranmer*, that it was the most sorrowfull Action of his whole Life, and acknowledged the great Love and Friendship that had been between them; and that no Earthly Consideration, but

but the Queen's Command, could have induced him to come, and do what they were then about: He shed so many Tears, that oft he stopt, and could not go on in his discourse for the abundance of them. But *Cranmer* said, his Degradation was no trouble to him at all; he reckoned himself as long ago cut off from all dependance and communion with the See *Rome*; so their doing it now with so much Pageantry did not much affect him: only he put in an Appeal from the Pope, to the next free General Council: he said, he was cited to *Rome*, but all the while kept a Prisoner; so there was no reason to proceed against him in his absence, since he was willing to have gone thither and defended his Doctrine: he also denied any authority the Pope had over him, or in *England*: and therefore appealed from his Sentence. But notwithstanding that, he was degraded, and all that ludicrous Attire was taken, piece after piece, from him, according to the Ceremonies of Degradation, which are in use in the Church of *Rome*.

1556.

He is degraded.

But there were new Engines contrived against him. Many had been sent to confer with him, both English and Spanish Divines, to perswade him to recant: he was put in hopes of Life and Preferment again, and removed out of Prison to the Dean's Lodgings at *Christ-Church*; where all the Arguments that could be invented, were made use of to turn him from his former perswasion: And, in conclusion, as St. *Peter* himself had with Curses denied his Saviour, so he who had resisted now almost three years, was at last overcome; and human infirmity, the fears of Death, and the hopes that were given him, prevailed with him to set his Hand to a Paper, renouncing all the Errors of *Luther* and *Zwinglius*, acknowledging the Pope's Supremacy, the seven Sacraments, the Corporal Presence in the Eucharist, Purgatory, Prayer for departed Souls, the Invocation of Saints; to which was added, his being sorry for his former Errors; and concluded, exhorting all that had been deceived by his Example or Doctrine, to return to the unity of the Church: and protesting that he had signed it willingly, only for the discharge of his own Conscience.

He recants.

Fox, and other later Writers from him, have said, that one reason of this Compliance, was, that he might have time to finish his Answer to *Gardiner*'s Book, against that which he had written concerning the Sacrament: and *Fox* has printed the Letter which he avouches to prove this by. But the good Man (it seems) read the Letter very carelesly; for *Cranmer* says no such thing in it; but only, that he had appealed to the next General Council, to try if that could procure him a longer delay, in which he might have time to finish his Book: and between these two, there is a great difference. How long this was signed before his Execution, I find it no where marked, for there is no Date put to his Subscription.

Cranmer's Recantation was presently printed, and occasioned almost equally great, Insultings on the one hand, and Dejection on the other. But the Queen was not at all wrought on by it: and was now forced to discover that her private Resentments governed her in this matter; which before she had disowned. She was resolved he should be made a Sacrifice, for giving the Judgment of Divorce in her Mother's Marriage; and tho hitherto she had pretended only Zeal for Religion, yet now when that could be no more alleaged, yet she persisted in her Resolution of having him burnt: She said, since he had bin the great Promoter

1556 moter of Heresy that had corrupted the whole Nation; that must not serve his turn, which would be sufficient in other cases: It was good for his own Soul, and might do good to others, that he repented; but yet she ordered the Sentence to be executed. The Writ went out the 24th
Coll.Num.28. of *February*, which will be found in the *Collection*. *Heath* took care, not only to enroll the Writ, but the Warrant sent to him for issuing it, which is not ordinary. It's like he did it, to leave it on Record to Posterity, that he did it not in course, as he did other Writs, but had a special Order from the Queen for it. The long time that passed between the date of the Writ, and the execution of it, makes it probable that he made the formerly mentioned Recantation, after the Writ was brought down; and that the fears of Death, then before his Eyes, did so far work on him, that he signed the Writing: but when the second Order was sent down to execute the former, he was dealt with to renew his Subscription, and then to write the whole over again, which he also did; all this time being under some small hopes of Life: but conceiving likewise some jealousies that they might burn him, he writ secretly a Paper, containing a sincere Confession of his Faith, such as flowed from his Conscience, and not from his weak fears; and being brought out, he carried that along with him. He was carried to *S. Maries*, and set on a place raised higher for him to be more conspicuously seen. *Cole* Provost of *Eaton* preached: he ran out in his Sermon on the Mercy and Justice of God, which two Attributes do not oppose or justle out one another: he applied this to Princes that were Gods on Earth, who must be just, as well as mercifull; and therefore they had appointed *Cranmer* that day to suffer: he said it was he that had dissolved the Marriage between the Queen's Father and Mother, had driven out the Pope's Authority, had been the fountain of all the Heresies in *England*; and since the Bishop of *Rochester* and Sir *Tho. More* had suffered for the Church, it was meet that others should suffer for Heresy: and as the Duke of *Northumberland* had suffered in *More's* room, so there was no other Clergyman that was equal or fit to be ballanced with *Fisher* but he. Then he turned to *Cranmer*, and magnified his Conversion, which he said was the immediate Hand of God; that none of their Arguments had done it, but the inward working of God's Spirit: He gave him great hopes of Heaven, and assured him there should be Dirges and Masses said for his Soul, in all the Churches in *Oxford*.

All this while *Cranmer* expressed great inward confusion, lifting up his Eyes often to Heaven, and then letting them fall downward, as one ashamed of himself; and he often poured out floods of tears. In the end, when *Cole* bid him declare his Faith; he first prayed, with many moving expressions of deep remorse and inward horror: Then he made his Exhortation to the People, First, " Not to love or set their hearts on the " things of the World: to obey the King and Queen out of conscience " to God: to live in mutual Love: and to relieve the Poor according " to their abundance. Then he came to that, on which, he said, all his " past Life, and that which was to come, did hang; being now to enter " either into the joys of Heaven, or the pains of Hell. He repeated the " Apostles Creed, and declared his belief of the Scriptures; and then " he spake to that, which he said troubled his Conscience, more than any " thing he had ever done in his whole Life: which was, the subscribing " a Paper contrary to the Truth, and against his Conscience, out of the

"fear of Death, and the love of Life: and when he came to the Fire, 1556.
"he was resolved that Hand that had signed it, should burn first. He
"rejected the Pope as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist; and said, he had
"the same belief of the Sacrament, which he had published in the Book
"he writ about it.

Upon this, there was a wonderful Confusion in the Assembly: Those who hoped to have gained a great Victory that day, seeing it turning another way, were in much disorder: They called to him to dissemble no more. He said, he had ever loved Simplicity, and, before that time, had never dissembled in his whole Life. And going on in his discourse, with abundance of tears, they pulled him down, and led him away to the Stake, which was set in the same place where *Ridley* and *Latimer* were burnt. All the way the Priests upbraided him for his changing: but he was minding another thing.

He suffers Myrtyrdome with great constancy of Mind.

When he came to the Stake, he first prayed, and then undressed himself: and being tied to it, as the Fire was kindling, he stretched forth his Right-Hand towards the Flame; never moving it, save that once he wiped his Face with it, till it was burnt away: which was consumed before the Fire reached his Body. He expressed no disorder for the pain he was in: sometimes saying, *that unworthy Hand!* and oft crying out, *Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit.* He was soon after quite burnt.

But it was no small matter of Astonishment, to find his Heart entire, and not consumed among the Ashes: which tho the Reformed would not carry so far, as to make a Miracle of it, and a clear proof that his Heart had continued true, tho his Hand had erred; yet they objected it to the Papists, that it was certainly such a thing, that if it had fallen out in any of their Church, they had made it a Miracle.

His Character,

Thus did *Thomas Cranmer* end his days, in the sixty seventh year of his Age. He was a Man raised of God for great Services; and well fitted for them. He was naturally of a milde and gentle temper, not soon heated, nor apt to give his Opinion rashly of things, or persons: and yet his Gentleness, tho it oft exposed him to his Enemies, who took advantages from it to use him ill, knowing he would readily forgive them; did not lead him into such a weakness of Spirit, as to consent to every thing that was uppermost: for as he stood firmly against the six Articles in K. *Henry's* time, notwithstanding all his heat for them; so he also opposed the Duke of *Somerset* in the matter of the sale and alienation of the Chantry Lands, and the Duke of *Northumberland* during his whole Government; and now resisted unto Blood: so that his meekness was really a vertue in him, and not a pusillanimity in his temper. He was a Man of great Candor. He never dissembled his Opinion, nor disowned his Friend: two rare qualities in that Age, in which there was a continued course of dissimulation, almost in the whole English Clergy and Nation, they going backward and forward, as the Court turned. But this had got him that esteem with King *Henry*, that it always preserv'd him in his days. He knew, what Complaints soever were brought against him, he would freely tell him the truth: so instead of asking it from other hands, he began at himself. He neither disowned his esteem of Queen *Anne*, nor his friendship to *Cromwel*, and the Duke of *Somerset* in their misfortunes; but owned, he had the same thoughts of them in their lowest Condition that he had in their greatest State.

He being thus prepared by a candid and good nature, for the searches

1556. into Truth, added to these a most wonderful diligence: for he drew out of all the Authors that he read, every thing that was remarkable, digesting these Quotations into Common-places. This begat in King *Henry* an admiration of him: for he had often tried it, to bid him bring the Opinions of the Fathers and Doctors upon several questions; which he commonly did, in two or three dayes time: This flowed from the copiousness of his common place Books. He had a good judgment, but no great quickness of apprehension, nor closeness of Stile, which was diffused and unconnected: therefore when any thing was to be penned that required more Nerves, he made use of *Ridley*. He laid out all his Wealth on the poor, and pious uses: He had Hospitals and Surgeons in his House for the King's Seamen; He gave Pensions to many of those that fled out of *Germany* into *England*; and kept up that which is Hospitality indeed at his Table, where great numbers of the honest and poor neighbours were always invited, instead of the Luxury and Extravagance of great Entertainments, which the vanity and excess of the Age we live in, has honoured with the name of Hospitality, to which too many are led by the Authority of Custom to comply too far. He was so humble and affable, that he carried himself in all conditions at the same rate. His last Fall was the only blemish of his life; but he expiated it, with a sincere repentance, and a patient Martyrdom. He had been the chief advancer of the Reformation in his Life; and God so ordered it, that his death should bear a proportion to the former parts of his life, which was no small Confirmation to all that received his Doctrine, when they heard how constantly he had at last sealed it with his Blood. And tho it is not to be fancied that King *Henry* was a Prophet, yet he discovered such things in *Cranmers* temper as made him conclude he was to die a Martyr for his Religion: and therefore he ordered him to change his Coat of Arms and to give *Pelicans* instead of *Cranes* which were formerly the Arms of his Family: Intimating withal, that as it is reported of the *Pelican*, that she gives her Blood to feed her young ones; so he was to give his Blood for the good of the Church. That King's kindness to him subjected him too much to him: for great Obligations do often prove the greatest snares to generous and noble minds. And he was so much over-born by his respects to him, and was so affected with King *Henry*'s Death, that he never after that shaved his Beard, but let it grow to a great length: which I the rather mention, because the Pictures that were afterwards made for him, being taken according to what he was at his Death, differ much from that which I have put in my former Volume. Those who compared modern and ancient Times, found in him so many and excellent qualities, that they did not doubt to compare him to the greatest of the Primitive Bishops; not only to the *Chrysostomes*, *Ambroses*, and *Austines*, but to the Fathers of the first Rate that immediately followed the Apostles, to the *Ignatius's*, *Policarps*, and *Cyprians*. And it seemed necessary that the Reformation of this Church, which was indeed nothing else but restoring of the Primitive and Apostolical Doctrine, should have been chiefly carried on by a Man so eminent in all Primitive and Apostolical Vertues. And to those who upbraided the Reformed with his Fall, it was answered, That *Liberius*, whom they so much magnify, had fallen as foully upon a much slighter Temptation, only out of a desire to reenter to his See, from which he had been banished, and that he persisted much longer in it.

But now I shall give account of the rest that were burnt this year. On the 27*th* of *Jan.* *Tho. Wirtle* a Priest, *Bartlet Green* a Gentleman, *Tho. Brown*, *John Tudson*, and *John Went*, three Tradesmen, *Isabel Foster*, and *Joan Warne*, having all been presented because they came not to Church; Articles were put to them, and upon their Answers they were all condemned, and burnt in *Smithfield* at the same Stake. And on the 31*st* of that Month, *John Lomas*, and four Women, were burnt at *Canterbury*. They were presented, because they came not to Confession; whereupon Articles being given them, they were found guilty of Heresie, and burnt in one Fire. In the beginning of *March* two Women were burnt at *Ipswich*: Three Tradesmen were burnt in *Salisbury* on the 24*th* of *March*. On the 29*th* of *April*, *Robert Drakes* a Priest, *William Tyms* a Deacon, and four Tradesmen that were sent out of *Essex*, because they came not to Church, were condemned, and all burnt together in *Smithfield*. *John Harpole*, and *Joan Beach*, were burnt at *Rochester* on the first of *April*: and on the second *John Hallier* a Priest was burnt in *Canterbury*. 1556. Others suffered on the like account.

Six Tradesmen were sent up from *Colchester*: and the Bishop of *London*, who had hitherto kept his Prisoners for some time to see if he could prevail with them, growing weary of that fruitless labour, and becoming by many Acts of cruelty less sensible of those affections which belong to humane Nature, did without any more ado exhibit the Articles to them; and they answering in the way he accounted Heresie, he gave them time to consider if they would recant, till the Afternoon: but they continuing in the same mind, he condemned them, and sent them back to *Colchester*, where they were all burnt in one Fire.

On the 15*th* of *May* he gave yet a more astonishing instance of his barbarity. *Laverock* an old Criple, a Man of sixty eight years old, and *Jo. Ap-price* a blind Man, were upon the like account condemned, and burnt in the same Fire at *Stratford-le-bow*; they comforting one another, that they were now to be freed of their lameness and blindness. The day after, three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*: another blind Man, with a Tradesman, were burnt at *Glocester* this Month. On the 21*st* of the Month three were burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*. On the 6*th* of *June* four Men were burnt at *Lewis* in *Sussex*. Another was burnt there on the 20*th*, and one was burnt at *Leicester* on the 26*th*. But on the 27*th* of *June*, *Bonner* made an unheard of Execution of thirteen, whereof eleven were Men, and two Women, all burnt in one Fire in *Stratford-le-Bow*. He had condemned in all sixteen, but, by what Intercession I do not know, three of them were preserved by a Warrant from Cardinal *Pool*. It seems *Bonner* thought it not worth the while, to burn those singly, and therefore sent them in such droves to the Stake: but whether the horror of this Action, or the discontent, because the Cardinal had saved some of them, wrought on him, I know not; the latter being the more likely; he burnt no more till *April* next Year.

The 30*th* of *June* three were burnt at *Bury* in *Suffolk*: On the 16*th* of *July* three Men were burnt at *Newberry*. But this *July* there was done in *Gernsey* an Act of as great inhumanity, as ever was recorded in any Age. A Mother and her two Daughters, were burnt at the same Stake; and one of them a married Woman, big with Child, when she was in the Fire, the violence of it bursting her Belly, a Boy fell out into the A strange barbarity at Gernsey of burning a Child, born in the Fire.

 Flame,

1556. Flame, that was snatched out of it by one that was more merciful than the rest: but after they had a little consulted about it, the Infant was thrown in again, and there was literally baptized with Fire. There were many Eye-witnesses of this, who attested it afterwards in Queen *Elizabeths* time, when the matter was enquired into, and special care was taken to have full and evident Proofs of it. For indeed the Fact was so unnatural, that a Man must either be possessed with a very ill opinion of the Actors, or be well satisfied about the number and credibility of the Witnesses, before he could believe it, But Lies and Forgeries are seldom made of Actions done in the Face of the Sun, and before so great an Assembly as was present at this. Therefore complaint being made of it to Queen *Elizabeth*, the Dean of *Garnsey* was put in Prison for it; and afterwards, he, and nine more, that were all accessary to it, took out their Pardons. So merciful was the Government then, to pardon an Action of such a monstrous nature, because done with some colour of Law; since, it was said, the Mother was condemned to be burnt, and no exception was made of her Belly. On the 18*th* of *July* two Women and one Man were burnt at *Greenstead*. On the first of *August Joan Wast*, a blind Woman, was burnt at *Darby*. On the 8*th* of *September* one was burnt at *Bristol*; and another in the same place on the 25*th* of that Month. On the 24*th* four were burnt at *Mayfield* in *Sussex*. On the 27*th* a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Bristol*: And on the 12*th* of *October* a Man was burnt at *Nottingham*. And thus ended the burning this Year: those that suffered were in all eighty five. All these Persons were presented as suspect of Heresie, and were required to answer the Questions that the Bishop put to them; which related to the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, the necessity of Auricular Confession, or the Sacrifice of the Mass: and upon the Answers they made, were condemned to the Fire: But none of them were accused of any violence committed on the Persons of any Church-man, or of any affront put on their Religion; and all their Sufferings were meerly for their Conscience, which they kept as private as they could: so that it rather appeared in their abstaining from the Communion of a Church which, they thought, had corrupted the chief parts of Worship, than in any thing they had said or done. It was an unusual and an ungrateful thing to the *English* Nation, that is apt to compassionate all in misery, to see four, five, six, seven, and once thirteen burning in one Fire: and the sparing neither Sex nor Age, nor Blind nor Lame, but making havock of all equally, and above all, the barbarity of *Gernsey*, raised that horror in the whole Nation, that there seems ever since that time, such an abhorrence to that Religion to be derived down from Father to Son, that it is no wonder an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, does upon every new provocation, or jealousie of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive Symptoms.

The Reformation spreads for all the Persecution.

But all those Fires did not extinguish the Light of the Reformation, nor abate the love of it. They spread it more, and kindled new heats in Mens minds: so that what they had read of the former Persecutions under the Heathens, seemed to be now revived. This made those who loved the Gospel meet oft together, though the malice of their Enemies obliged them to do it with great caution and secrecy: yet there were sometimes at their Meetings about 200. They were instructed and watched

watched over by ſeveral faithful Shepherds, who were willing to hazard their Lives, in feeding this Flock committed to their care. The chief of theſe were *Scambler*, and *Bentham*, afterwards promoted by Queen *Elizabeth* to the Sees of *Peterborough*, and *Litchfield* : *Foule*, *Bernher*; and *Rough* a *Scotch-man*, that was afterwards condemned, and burnt by *Bonner*. There was alſo care taken, by their Friends beyond Sea, to ſupply them with good Books; which they ſent over to them for their inſtruction, and encouragement. Theſe that fled beyond Sea went at firſt for the moſt part to *France*, where, though they were well uſed, in oppoſition to the Queen, yet they could not have the free exerciſe of their Religion granted them : ſo they retired to *Geneva*, and *Zurick*, and *Arraw*, in *Switzerland*; and to *Strasburg*, and *Frankfort*, in the upper *Germany*; and to *Emden* in the lower. 1556.

At *Frankfort* an unhappy difference fell in among ſome of them, who had uſed before the *Engliſh* Liturgy, and did afterwards comply with it, when they were in *England*, where it had Authority from the Law : yet they thought that being in Forreign Parts they ſhould rather accomodate their Worſhip to thoſe among whom they lived; ſo in ſtead of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, they uſed one near the *Geneva* and *French* Forms. Others thought, that when thoſe in *England* who had compiled their Liturgy, were now confirming what they had done with their Blood; and many more were ſuffering for it; it was an high contempt of them, and their ſufferings, to depart from theſe Forms. This contradiction raiſed that heat, that Dr. *Cox*, who lived in *Strasburg* with his Friend *Peter Martyr*, went thither; and being a Man of great reputation, procured an Order from the Senate, that the *Engliſh* Forms ſhould only be uſed in their Church. This diſſention, being once raiſed, went further than perhaps it was at firſt intended. For thoſe who at firſt liked the *Geneva* way better, that, being in Forreign Parts, they might all ſeem to be united in the ſame Forms; now began to quarrel with ſome things in the *Engliſh* Liturgy : and *Knox*, being a Man of a hot temper, engaged in this matter very warmly; and got his Friend *Calvin* to write ſomewhat ſharply of ſome things in the *Engliſh* Service. This made *Knox* and his Party leave *Frankfort*, and go to *Geneva*. *Knox* had alſo written indecently of the Emperor, which obliged the Senate of *Frankfort* to require him to be gone out of their Bounds. There fell in other Conteſts, about the cenſuring of offences; which ſome of the Congregation would not leave in the Hands of the Miniſters only, but would have it ſhared among the whole Congregation. Upon theſe matters there aroſe great debates, and many Papers were written on both ſides, to the great grief of *Parker* and others, who lived privately in *England*; and to the ſcandal of the ſtrangers, who were not a little offended to ſee a company of People fly out of their Country for their Conſciences, and in ſtead of ſpending their time in Faſting and Prayer for their perſecuted Brethren at home, to fall into ſuch quarrels about matters which, themſelves acknowledged, were not the Subſtantials of Religion, nor Points of Conſcience: in which certainly they began the Breach, who departed from that way of Worſhip, which they acknowledged was both lawful and good: but there followed too much animoſity on both ſides, which were the Seeds of all thoſe differences that have ſince diſtracted this Church.

The Troubles at *Frankfort* among the *Engliſh* there.

1556. They who reflected on the Contests that the *Novatians* raised, both at *Rome*, and *Carthage*, in *Cyprians* time; and the Heats the *Donatists* brought into the *African* Churches, soon after the Persecution was over; found somewhat parallel both to these Schisms now during the Persecution, and to those afterwards raised when it was over.

Pool is made Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.

I now return to the Affairs of *England*. On the 22*d* of *March*, the very day after *Cranmer* was burnt, *Pool* was consecrated Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* by the Arch-bishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Lincoln*, *Rochester*, and St. *Asaph*. He had come over only a Cardinal Deacon; and was last Winter made a Priest, and now a Bishop. It seems he had his *Conge d'Elire* with his Election, and his Bulls from *Rome*, already dispatched before this time. The Pope did not know with what face to refuse them, being pressed by the Queen on his account, though he wanted only a colour to wreak his revenge on him; to which he gave vent upon the first opportunity that offered it self. It seems, *Pool* thought it indecent to be consecrated as long as *Cranmer* lived; yet his choosing the next day for it, brought him under the suspition of having procured his death: so that the words of *Elijah* to *Ahab* concerning *Naboth*, were applied to him, *Thou hast killed and taken possession*. On the 28*th* of that Month he came in State through *London*, to *Bow-Church*; where the Bishops of *Worcester*, and *Ely*, after the former had said Mass, put the Pall about him. This was a Device set up by Pope *Paschall* the second in the beginning of the twelfth Century, for the engaging of all Arch-bishops to a more immediate dependance on that See: they being, after they took the Pall, to act as the Popes *Legates born*, (as the Phrase was) of which it was the Ensign. But it was at the first admitted with great contradiction both by the Kings of *Sicily*, and *Poland*, the Arch-bishops of *Palermo*, and *Gnesna*, being the first to whom they were sent; all Men wondring at the novelty of the thing, and of the Oath which the Popes required of them at the delivery of it. This being put on *Pool*, he went into the Pulpit, and made a cold Sermon, about the Beginning, the Use, and the Matter of the *Pall*, without either Learning or Eloquence. The Subject could admit of no Learning; and for Eloquence, though in his younger days when he writ against King *Henry* his Stile was too luxuriant and florid, yet being afterwards sensible of his excess that way, he turned as much to the other Extream, and cutting off all the Ornaments of Speech, he brought his Stile to a flatness that had neither life nor beauty in it.

Some more Religious Houses endowed.

All the Business of *England* this Year, was the raising of Religious Houses. *Greenwich* was begun with last Year. The Queen also built a House for the *Dominicans* in *Smithfield*, and another for the *Franciscans*: and they being Begging Orders, these Endowments did not cost much. At *Sion* near *Brainford* there had been a Religious House of Women of the Order of St. *Bridget*. That House was among the first that had been dissolved by King *Henry* the eighth, as having harboured the Kings Enemies, and been Complices to the Business of the Maid of *Kent*. The Queen a-new Founded a Nunnery there. She also Founded a House for the *Carthusians* at *Sheen* near *Richmond*, in gratitude to that Order for their Sufferings upon her Mothers account. From these she went to a greater Foundation, but that which cost her less: for she suppressed the Deanry, and the Cathedral of *Westminster*; and in *September* this Year,

turned

1556.

turned it into a Monaſtery; and made *Fecknam*, Dean of *Pauls*, the first Abbot of it. I have not met with her Foundation of it, which perhaps was razed out of the Records in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; for it is not enrolled among the other Patents of this Year. But on the 23*d* of *September*, ſhe gave Warrants for Penſions to be paid to the Prebends of *Weſtminſter*, till they were otherwiſe provided: and about that time *Fecknam* was declared Abbot; though the ſolemn Inſtallment of him, and fourteen other Monks with him, was not done till the 21*ſt* of *November*.

All the former Records concerning them are razed.

There had been many Searches and Diſcoveries made, in the former Reign, of great diſorders in theſe Houſes; and at the diſſolution of them many had made Confeſſion of their ill Lives, and groſs Superſtition; all which were laid up and Recorded in the Augmentation Office. There had been alſo in that ſtate of things, which they now called, The late Schiſm, many Profeſſions made by the Biſhops and Abbots, and other Religious Men, of their renouncing the Popes Authority, and acknowledging the Kings Supremacy: therefore it was moved, that all theſe ſhould be gathered together and deſtroyed. So on the 23*d* of *September*, there was a Commiſſion granted to *Bonner*, and *Cole*, (the new Dean " of *Pauls* in *Fecknams* room) and Dr. *Martin*, to ſearch all Regiſters; " to find out both the Profeſſions made againſt the Pope, and the Scruti- " nies made in Abbies; which, as the Commiſſion that is in the *Collection* " ſets forth, tended to the ſubverſion of all good Religion and Religious " Houſes: Theſe they were to gather, and carry to the Cardinal, that " they might be diſpoſed of as the Queen ſhould give order. It is not upon Record how they executed this Commiſſion, but the effects of it appear in the great defectiveneſs of the Records, in many things of conſequence, which are razed and loſt. This was a new ſort of Expurgation, by which they intended to leave as few foot-ſteps to Poſterity, as they could, of what had been formerly done. Their care of their own credits led them to endeavour to ſuppreſs the many Declarations themſelves had formerly made, both againſt the See of *Rome*, the Monaſtick Orders, and many of the old Corruptions, which they had diſclaimed. But many things eſcaped their diligence; as may appear by what I have already Collected: and conſidering the pains they were at, in viſiting Regiſters, and deſtroying Records; I hope the Reader will not think it ſtrange, if he meets with many defects in this Work. In this Search, they not only took away what concerned themſelves, but every collateral thing that might inform or direct the following Ages how to imitate thoſe Precedents: and therefore, among other Writings, the Commiſſion that *Cromwell* had to be Vice-gerent was deſtroyed: but I have ſince that time met with it, in a Copy that was in the *Cotton* Library, which I have put in the *Collection*. How far this reſembled the endeavours that the Heathens uſed in the laſt and hoteſt Perſecution, to burn all the Regiſters of the Church, I leave to the Reader. The Abbey of *Weſtminſter* being thus ſet up, ſome of the Monks of *Glaſſenbury*, who were yet alive, were put into it. And all the reſt of the old Monks that had been turned out of *Glaſſenbury*, and who had not married ſince, were invited to return to this Monaſtery. They began to contrive how to raiſe their Abbey again, which was held the Ancienteſt, and was certainly the richeſt in *England*: and therefore they moved the Queen and the Cardi-

Collection Number [illegible].

Collection Number 30.

Endeavours to raiſe the Abbey of *Glaſſenbury*.

1556. Cardinal, that they might have the House and Site restored and repaired, and they would by Labour and Husbandry maintain themselves; not doubting but the People of the Country would be ready to contribute liberally to their subsistence. The Queen and Cardinal liked the Proposition well; so the Monks wrote to the Lord *Hastings*, then Lord Chamberlain, to put the Queen in mind of it, and to follow the Business till it were brought to a good Issue; which would be a great Honour to the Memory of *Joseph* of *Arimathea* who lay there, whom they did heartily beseech to pray to Christ for good success to his Lordship. This Letter I have put in the *Collection* copied from the Original. What followed upon it, I cannot find. It is probable, the Monks of other Houses made the like endeavours, and every one of them could find some rare thing belonging to their House, which seemed to make it the more necessary to raise it speedily. These of St. *Albans* could say, the first Martyr of *England* lay in their Abbey: those of St. *Edmundbury* had a King that was Martyred by the Heathen *Danes*: those of *Battel* could say, they were Founded for the remembrance of *William* the Conquerors Victory, from whence the Queen derived her Crown: and those of St. *Austins* in *Canterbury* had the Apostle of *England* laid in their Church. In short, they were all in hopes to be speedily restored. And though they were but few in Number, and to begin upon a small Revenue, yet as soon as the belief of Purgatory was revived, they knew how to set up the old Trade a-new; which they could drive with the greater advantage; since they were to deal with the People by a new Motive, besides the old ones formerly used, that it was Sacriledge to possess the Goods of the Church; of which it had been robbed by their Ancestors. But in this it was necessary to advance slowly: since the Nobility and Gentry were much allarumed at it; and at the last Parliament, many had laid their Hands to their Swords in the House of Commons, and said they would not part with their Estates; but would defend them: yet some that hoped to gain more favour from the Queen, by such compliance, did Found Chantries for Masses for their Souls. In the Records of the last Years of Queen *Maries* Reign, there are many Warrants granted by her for such Endowments: for though the Statute of *Mortmain* was repealed; yet for greater security it was thought fit to take out such Licenses. This is all I find of our home Affairs this Year.

Collection Number 31.

Forreign Affairs.

Forreign Affairs were brought to a quieter state. For by the Mediation of *England*, a Truce for five Years was concluded between *France* and *Spain*: and the new King of *Spain* was inclined to observe it faithfully; that so he might be well setled in his Kingdoms, before he engaged in War: but the violent Pope broke all this. He was much offended with the Decree made at *Ausburg* for the liberty of Religion; and with *Ferdinand* for ordering the Chalice to be given to his Subjects; and chiefly, for his assuming the Title of Emperor without his approbation. Upon this last provocation the Pope sent him word, that he would let him know, to his grief, how he had offended him. He came to talk in as haughty a Stile, as any of all his Predecessors had ever done, that he would change Kingdoms at his pleasure. He boasted that he had made *Ireland* a Kingdom: that all Princes were under his Feet, (and as he said, that, he used to tread with his Feet against the ground;) and he would

The Pope is extravagantly insolent.

allow

allow no Prince to be his Companion, nor be too familiar with him: nay, rather than be driven to a mean Action, he would set the whole World on fire. But to pretend to do somewhat for a Reformation, he appointed a Congregation to gather some Rules for the condemning of Simony. These he published, and said, having now reformed his own Court, he would next reform the Courts of Princes: and because they had complained much of the corruptions of the Clergy, and Court of *Rome*; he resolved to turn the matter on them, and said, he would gather all the abuses that were in their Courts and reform them. But he was much provoked by an Embassy that came from *Poland*, to desire of him, that they might have the Mass in their own Tongue, and the Communion in both kinds; that their Priests might be allowed to marry, that they might pay Annates no more to *Rome*, and call a National Council in their own Kingdom. These things put him out of all patience, and with all the bitterness he could use, he expressed how detestable they were to him. He then said, he would hold a Council; not that he needed one, for himself was above all: but it should never meet in *Trent*, to which it had been a vain thing to send about sixty Bishops of the least able, and forty Doctors of the most insufficient, as had been twice done already: that he would hold it in the *Lateran*, as many of his Predecessors had done: he gave notice of this to the Ambassadors of all Princes: he said he did that only in curtesie, not intending to ask their advice or consent, for he would be obeyed by them all. He intended in this Council to reform them and their Courts, and to discharge all Impositions which they had laid on the Clergy: and therefore he would call it whether they would or not, and if they sent no Prelates to it, he would hold it with those of his own Court: and would let the World see what the Authority of that See was, when it had a Pope of courage to govern it. 1556.

But after all these Imperious humors of his, which sometimes carried him to excesses, that seemed not much different from madness; he was heartily troubled at the Truce between the *French* and the *Spaniards*. He hates the *Spaniards* most, because they supported the *Colonesi*, whom he designed to ruine. And therefore he sent his Nephew into *France*, with a Sword and Hat which he had Consecrated, to perswade the King to break the Truce; offering his assistance for the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the use of one of the younger Sons of *France*: though it was believed he designed it for his own Nephew. He also sent the *French* King an Absolution from his Oath that he had sworn for the maintaining of the Truce, and promised to create what Cardinals he pleased, that so he might be sure of a Creature of his own to succeed in the Popedom. Yet the Pope dissembled his design in this, so closely, that he perswaded Sir *Edward Caru*, that was then the Queens Ambassador at *Rome*, that he desired nothing so much as a general Peace: and he hoped, as the Queen had mediated in the Truce, she would continue her endeavours till a perfect Peace were made. He said, he had sent two Legates to procure it; and since he was the Common Father of Christendome, God would impute to him, even his silence in that matter, if he did not all he could to obtain it. He complained much of the growth of Heresie in *Poland*, and in the King of the *Romans*'s Dominions. For the repressing of it, he said, he intended to have a General Council: and in order to that it was necessary there should be a Peace; since a

He breaks the Truce between *France* and *Spain*, absolving the *French* King from his Oath.

Truce

1556. Truce would not give sufficient encouragement to those who ought to come to the Council. He said, he intended to be present at it himself, and to hold it in the Church of St. *John* in the *Lateran*: for he thought *Rome*, being the Common Country of all the World, was the meetest Place for such an Assembly: and he, being so very old, could go no where out of *Rome*; therefore he was resolved to hold it there. But he said, he relied chiefly on the assistance of the Queen, whom he called, *That Blessed Queen, and his most Gracious and Loving Daughter*: and holding her Letters in his Hand, he said, they were so full of respect and kindness to him, that he would have them read in the Consistory: and made a Cross over her Subscription. It was no wonder such discourses, with that way of deportment, deceived so honest and plain-hearted a Man as *Caru* was; as it will appear from the Letter that he writ over upon this occasion to the Queen, which I have put in the *Collection*. But it soon appeared on what design he had sent his Legate to *France*; for he pressed that King vehemently to break the Truce, and renew the War. To this the *French* King being perswaded by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and Duke of *Guise*, consented, though all the rest about him disswaded him from such a dishonourable breach of Faith, or medling more in the War of *Italy*, which had been always fatal to their People. The *Colonesi* had been furnished with assistance from *Naples*; upon which, the Pope had it proposed in the Consistory, that the King of *Spain*, by giving them assistance, had lost his Territories: and being then assured of assistance from *France*, he began the War, imprisoning the Cardinals and Prelates of the *Spanish* Faction; and the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *England*; pretending they kept correspondence with the *Colonesi* that were Traitors. He also sent to raise some Regiments among the *Grisons*. But when they came, some told him they were all Hereticks, and it would be a reproach for him to use such Soldiers: he understanding they were good Troops, said, He was confident God would convert them, and that he look'd on them as Angels sent by God for the defence of his Person. Upon this breaking out of the Popes, the Duke of *Alva*, that was then in *Naples*, being himself much devoted to the Papacy, did very unwillingly engage in the War. He first used all ways to avoid it; and made several Protestations of the Indignities that his Master had received, and his unwillingness to enter into a War, with him that should be the Common Father of Christendome. But these being all to no purpose, he fell into *Campania*, and took all the Places in it, which he declared he held for the next Pope: he might also have taken *Rome* it self, but the Reverence he had for the Papacy restrained him.

Collection Number 32.

This being known in *England*, was a great grief to the Queen and Cardinal, who saw what advantages those of the Reformation would take from the Popes absolving Princes from the most Sacred Ties of Humane Societies; since the breach of Faith and publick Treaties was a thing abhorred by the most depraved Nations: and when he, who pretended to be the Vicar of Christ who was the Prince of Peace, was kindling a new Flame in Christendome, these things were so scandalous, that they knew they would much obstruct and disorder all their designs. And indeed the Protestants every where were not wanting to improve this all they could. It seemed a strange thing, that in the same Year, a great Conqueror, that had spent his Life in Wars and Affairs, should in the

the 56*th* Year of his Age retire to a Monastery: and that a Bishop at eighty, who had pretended to such abstraction from the World that he had formerly quitted a Bishoprick to retire into a Monastery, should now raise such a War, and set *Europe* again in a flame. 1556.

In the beginning of the next Year was the Visitation of the Universities. To *Cambridge Pool* sent *Scot* Bishop of *Chester*, his *Italian* Friend *Ormaneto*, with *Watson*, and *Christopherson*, the two Elect Bishops of *Lincoln*, and *Chichester*, (in the rooms of *White*, removed to *Winchester*; out of which *Pool* reserved a Pension of 1000 *l.* and of *Day* that was dead) with some others. When they came thither, on the 11*th* of *January* they put the Churches of St. *Maries* and St. *Michaels* under an Interdict; because the Bodies of *Bucer*, and *Fagius*, two Hereticks, were laid in them. The University Orator received them with a Speech, that was divided between an Invective against the Hereticks, and a Commendation of the Cardinal, who was then their Chancellor. They went through all the Colledges, and gathered many Heretical Books together, and observed the Order used in their Chappels. When they came to *Clare-Hall*, they found no Sacrament; *Ormaneto* asked the Head, *Swinburn*, how that came; he answered, The Chappel was not yet Consecrated: Then *Ormaneto* chid him more for officiating so long in it; but trying him further, he found he had many Benefices in his Hands; for which he reproved him so severely, that the poor Man was so confounded that he could answer nothing to the other Questions he put to him. But *Christopherson* himself, being Master of *Trinity* Colledge, did not escape. *Ormaneto* found, he had mis-applied the Revenues of the House, and had made a Lease of some of their Lands to his Brother-in-law below the value: *Ormaneto* tore the Lease to pieces, and chid him so sharply, that he, fearing it might stop his preferment, fell sick upon it. 1557. The Visitation of the Universities.

Then followed the Pageantry of burning the two Bodies of *Bucer*, and *Fagius*. They were cited to appear, or if any would come in their Name, they were required to defend them: so after three Citations, the dead Bodies not rising to speak for themselves, and none coming to plead for them, (for fear of being sent after them) the Visitors thought fit to proceed. On the 26*th* of *January* the Bishop of *Chester* made a Speech, shewing the earnestness of the University to have Justice done; to which they, the Commissioners, though most unwilling, were obliged to condescend: therefore, having examined many Witnesses of the Heresies that *Bucer* and *Fagius* had taught, they judged them obstinate Hereticks; and appointed their Bodies to be taken out of the Holy Ground, and to be delivered to the Secular Power. The Writ being brought from *London*, on the 6*th* of *February* their Bodies were taken up, and carried in Coffins, and tied to Stakes, with many of their Books, and other Heretical Writings, and all were burnt together. *Pern* preached at it; who as he was that Year Vice-Chancellor, so he was in the same Office four years after this; when by Queen *Elizabeths* Order, publick Honours were done to the Memories of those two learned Men; and Sermons and Speeches were made in their Praise: but *Pern* had turned so oft, and at every one was so zealous, that such turnings came to be nicknamed from him. On the Feast of Purification, *Watson* preached at *Cambridge*; where to extol the Rites and Processions of the Catholicks,

1557. and their carrying Candles on that day, he said, *Joseph* and the Blessed Virgin had carried Wax Candles in Procession that day, as the Church had still continued to do from their Example: which was heard not without the laughter of many.

The Cardinal did also send *Ormanet*, and *Brooks* Bishop of *Glocester*, with some others, to Visit the University of *Oxford*. They went over all the Colledges as they had done at *Cambridge*; and burnt all the *English* Bibles, with such other Heretical Books as could be found. Then they made a Process against the Body of *Peter Martyrs* Wife, that lay buried in one of the Churches: but she being a Forreigner that understood no *English*, they could not find Witnesses that had heard her utter any Heretical Points; so they gave advertisement of this to the Cardinal, who thereupon writ back, That since it was notoriously known, that she had been a Nun, and had married contrary to her Vow, therefore her Body was to be taken up, and buried in a Dunghill, as a Person dying under Excommunication. This was accordingly done. But her Body was afterwards taken up again in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and mixed with St. *Fridiswides* Bones, that she might run the same Fortune with her in all Times coming.

Great Endeavours used to set forward the Persecution most vigorously.

While these things were doing, there was great Complaints made, that the Inferior Magistrates grew every where slack in the searching after, and presenting of Hereticks: they could not find in the Counties a sufficient number of Justices of Peace, that would carefully look after it: and in Towns they were generally harboured. Letters were written to some Towns, as *Coventry*, and *Rye*, which are entred in the Council-Books, recommending some to be chosen their Majors, who were zealous Catholicks. It is probable that the like Letters might have been written to other Towns; for the Council-Books for this Reign are very imperfect and defective. But all this did not advance their design. The Queen understood that the Numbers of the Hereticks rather encreased than abated: so new Councils were to be taken. I find it said, That some advised that Courts of Inquisition, like those in *Spain*, might be set up in *England*. In *Spain* the Inquisitors, who were then all *Dominicans*, received private Informations; and upon these laid hold on any that were delated or suspected of Heresie; and kept them close in their Prisons till they formed their Processes: and by all the ways of torture they could invent, forced from them Confessions, either against themselves, or others, whom they had a mind to draw within their Toils. They had so unlimited a Jurisdiction, that there was no Sanctuary that could secure any from their Warrants; nor could Princes preserve or deliver Men out of their Hands: nor were their Prisoners brought to any publick Trial, but tried in secret: one of the Advocates of the Court, was for Forms sake assigned to plead for them: but was always more careful to please the Court, than to save his Client. They proceeded against them, both by Articles, which they were to answer, and upon Presumptions: and it was a rare thing for any to escape out of their Hands, unless they redeemed themselves, either by great Presents, or by the discovery of others. These had been set up first in the County of *Tholouse*, for the extirpation of the *Albigenses*; and were afterwards brought into *Spain*, upon *Ferdinand* of *Arragons* driving the *Moors* out of it, that so, none of those might any longer conceal themselves in that Kingdom; who being

Being a false and crafty sort of Men, and certainly Enemies to the Government, it seemed necessary to use more than ordinary severity to drive them out. But now those Courts examined Men suspected of Heresie, as well as of *Mahometanisme*; and had indeed effectually preserved *Spain* from any change in Religion. This made the present Pope earnest with all the Princes of Christendome, to set up such Courts in their Dominions; and *Philip* was so much of the same mind, that he resolved to have them set up in *Flanders*; which gave the first Rise to those Wars, that followed afterwards there, and ended in the loss of the seven Provinces. 1557.

A Design to set up the Inquisition in England.

In *England* they made now in *February* a good step towards it. For a Commission was given to the Bishops of *London*, and *Ely*, the Lord *North*, Secretary *Bourne*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, Sir *Edward Walgrave*, Sir *Nicholas Hare*, Sir *Tho. Pope*, Sir *Roger Cholmly*, Sir *Richard Read*, Sir *Tho. Stradling*, Sir *Rowland Hall*, and Serjeant *Rastall*; *Cole* Dean of *Pauls*, *William Roper*, *Randulph Cholmley*, and *William Cook*, *Tho. Martin*, *John Story*, and *John Vaughan*, Doctors of the Law: "That since many false Rumors were published among the Sub-" jects, and many Heretical Opinions were also spread among them; " therefore they, or any three of them, were to enquire into those, ei-" ther by Presentments by Witnesses, or any other politick way they could " devise: and to search after all Heresies; the Bringers in, the Sellers, or " Readers, of all Heretical Books: they were to examine, and punish, " all misbehaviours, or negligences, in any Church or Chappel; and to " try all Priests that did not preach of the Sacrament of the Altar; all " Persons that did not hear Mass, or come to their Parish-Church to Ser-" vice, that would not go in Processions, or did not take Holy Bread, " or Holy Water: and if they found any that did obstinately persist in " such Heresies, they were to put them into the Hands of their Ordina-" ries, to be proceeded against according to the Laws: giving them full " Power to proceed, as their Discretions and Consciences should direct " them: and to use all such means as they could invent, for the searching " of the Premisses: empow'ring them also to call before them such Wit-" nesses as they pleased, and to force them to make Oath of such things " as might discover what they sought after. This Commission I have put in the *Collection*. It will shew how high they intended to raise the Persecution, when a Power of such a nature, was put into the Hands of any three of a number so selected. Besides this, there were many subordinate Commissions issued out. This Commission seems to have been granted the former Year, and only renewed now: for in the Rolls of that Year, I have met with many of those subaltern Commissions, relating to this, as superior to them. And on the eighth of *March* after this, a Commission was given to the Arch-bishop of *York*, the Bishop Suffragan of *Hull*, and divers others, to the same effect: but with this limitation, that if any thing appeared to them so intricate, that they could not determine it, they were to refer it to the Bishop of *London* and his Colleagues, who had a larger Commission. So now, all was done that could be devised for extirpating of Heresie, except Courts of Inquisition had been set up; to which, whether this was not a previous step to dispose the Nation to it, the Reader may judge.

Collection Number 33.

1557.

Proceedings against the Hereticks.

I shall next give an account of the Burnings this Year. On the 15*th* of *January* six Men were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*; and at the same time, two were burnt at *Wye*, and two at *Ashford*, that were condemned with the other six. Soon after the fore-mentioned Commission, two and twenty were sent up from *Colchester* to *London*: yet *Bonner*, though seldom guilty of such gentleness, was content to discharge them. As they were led through *London*, the People did openly shew their affection to them, above a thousand following them: *Bonner* upon this writ to the Cardinal, that he found they were obstinate Hereticks; yet since he had been offended with him for his former Proceedings, he would do nothing till he knew his pleasure. This Letter is to be found in *Fox*. But the Cardinal stopt him; and made some deal with the Prisoners to Sign a Paper, of their professing that they believed that Christs Body and Blood was in the Sacrament; without any further explanation: and that they did submit to the Catholick Church of Christ; and should be faithful Subjects to the King and Queen, and be obedient to their Superiors both Spiritual and Temporal according to their duties. It is plain, this was so contrived, that they might have Signed it without either prevaricating or dissembling their Opinions: for it is not said, "That they were to be "subject to the Church of *Rome*, but to the Church of Christ: and "they were to be obedient to their Superiors according to their duties, which was a good reserve for their Consciences. I stand the longer on this, that it may appear how willing the Cardinal was to accept of any shew of submission from them, and to stop *Bonners* rage. Upon this, they were set at liberty. But *Bonner* got three Men and two Women presented to him in *London* in *January*, and after he had allowed them a little more time than he had granted others, they standing still firm to their Faith, were burnt at *Smithfield* on the 12*th* of *April*. After that, *White*, the new Bishop of *Winchester*, condemned three, who were burnt on the third of *May* in *Southwark*; one of these, *Stephen Gratwick*, being of the Diocess of *Chichester*, appealed from him to his own Ordinary: whether he expected more favour from him, or did it only to gain time, I know not: but they brought in a Counterfeit, who was pretended to be the Bishop of *Chichester*, (as *Fox* has printed it from the account written with the Mans own Hand) and so condemned him. On the seventh of *May*, three were burnt a *Bristol*. On the 18*th* of *June*, two Men, and five Women, were burnt at *Maidston*: and on the 19*th*, three Men, and four Women, were burnt at *Canterbury*; fourteen being thus in two days destroyed by *Thornton* and *Harpsfield*: in which it may seem strange, that the Cardinal had less influence to stop the Proceedings in his own Diocess, than in *London*: but he was now under the Popes disgrace, as shall be afterwards shewn. On the 22*d* of *June*, six Men, and four Women, were burnt at *Lewis* in *Sussex*, condemned by *White*; for *Christopherson*, Bishop Elect of *Chichester*, was not yet consecrated. On the 13*th* of *July* two were burnt at *Norwich*: On the second of *August* ten were burnt at *Colchester*, six in the Morning, and four in the Afternoon: they were some of those who had been formerly discharged by the Cardinals Orders; but the Priests in the Country complained, that the mercy shewed to them had occasioned great disorders among them; Hereticks and the favourers of them growing insolent upon it; and those who searched after them being disheartned: so now,

Bonner

Bonner being under no more restraints from the Cardinal, new Complaints being made that they came not to Church, condemned them upon their Answers to the Articles, which he objected to them. 1557.

At this time one *George Eagle*, a Taylor, who used to go about from place to place, and to meet with those who stood for the Reformation, where he prayed and discoursed with them about Religion; and from his indefatigable diligence was nicknamed *Trudge-over*, was taken near *Colchester*, and was condemned of Treason for gathering the Queens Subjects together; though it was not proved, that he had ever stirred them up to Rebellion; but did it only (as himself always protested) to encourage them to continue stedfast in the Faith: he suffered as a Traitor. On the fifth of *August* one was burnt at *Norwich*; and on the 20*th* a Man, and a Woman more, were burnt at *Rochester*: One was also burnt at *Litchfield* in *August*, but the day is not named.

The same Month, a Complaint was brought to the Council, of the Magistrates of *Bristol*, that they came seldom to the Sermons at the Cathedral; so that the Dean and Chapter used to go to their Houses in Procession, with their Cross carried before them, and to fetch them from thence: upon which, a Letter was written to them, requiring them to conform themselves more willingly to the Orders of the Church, to frequent the Sermons, and go thither of their own accord. On the 17*th* of *September* three Men, and one Woman, were burnt at *Islington* near *London*: and on the same day two Women were burnt at *Colchester*. On the 20*th* a Man was burnt at *Northampton*: and in the same Month one was burnt at *Laxefield* in *Suffolk*. On the 23*d* a Woman was burnt at *Norwich*. There were seventeen burnt in the Diocess of *Chichester*, about this time: one was a Priest, thirteen were Lay-men, and three Women: but the day is not marked. On the 18*th* of *November* three were burnt in *Smithfield*. On the 22*d* of *December John Rough* a *Scotchman* was burnt, whose suffering was on this occasion. On the 12*th* of *December* there was a private Meeting of such as continued to Worship God according to the Service set out by King *Edward*, at *Islington*; where he was to have administred the Sacrament, according to the Order of that Book. The new Inquisitors had corrupted one of this Congregation to betray his Brethren; so that they were apprehended as they were going to the Communion. But *Rough* being a Stranger, it was considered by the Council whether he should be tried as a Native. He had a Benefice in *York-shire* in King *Edwards* days; so it was resolved, and signified to the Bishop of *London*, that he should be proceeded against as a Subject. Thereupon *Bonner* objected to him, his condemning the Doctrine of the Church, and setting out the Heresies of *Cranmer* and *Ridley* concerning the Sacrament, and his using the Service set out by King *Edward*; that he had lived much with those who for their Heresies had fled beyond Sea; that he had spoken reproachfully of the Pope and Cardinals, saying, That when he was at *Rome*, he had seen a Bull of the Popes that licensed Stews, and a Cardinal riding openly with his Whore with him: with several other Articles. The greatest part of them he confessed, and thereupon he, with a Woman that was one of the Congregation, was burnt in *Smithfield*. And thus ended the Burnings this Year; seventy nine in all being burnt.

These

1557. These severities against the Hereticks, made the Queen shew less pity to the Lord *Stourton*, than perhaps might have been otherwise expected. He had been all King *Edwards* time a most zealous Papist, and did constantly dissent in Parliament from the Laws then made about Religion. But he had the former Year murdered one *Argall* and his Son, with whom he had been long at variance: and after he had knock'd them down with Clubs, and cut their Throats, he buried them fifteen Foot under ground, thinking thereby to conceal the Fact: but it breaking out, both he and four of his Servants were taken, and indicted for it. He was found guilty of Felony, and condemned to be hanged with his Servants, in *Wilt-shire*, where the Murder was committed. On the sixth of *March* they were hanged at *Salisbury*. All the difference that was made in their Deaths, being only thus, That whereas his Servants were hanged in common Halters, one of Silk was bestowed on their Lord. It seemed an indecent thing, when they were proceeding so severely against Men for their Opinions, to spare one that was guilty of so foul a Murder, killing both Father and Son at the same time. But it is strange, that neither his Quality, nor his former zeal for Popery, could procure a change of the Sentence, from the more infamous way of hanging, to beheading; which had been generally used to Persons of his Quality. It has been said, and it passes for a Maxim of Law, That though in Judgments of Treason the King can order the Execution to be by cutting off the Head, since it being a part of the Sentence, that the Head shall be severed from the Body, the King may in that Case remit all the other parts of the Sentence except that; yet in Felonies the Sentence must be Executed in the way prescribed by Law; and that if the King should order beheading in stead of hanging, it would be Murder in the Sheriff, and those that Execute it: So that in such a Case they must have a Pardon under the Great Seal for killing a Man unlawfully. But this seems to be taken up without good Grounds, and against clear Precedents: For in the former Reign the Duke of *Somerset*, though condemned for Felony, yet was beheaded. And in the Reign of King *Charles* the first, the Lord *Audley*, being likewise condemned for Felony, all the Judges delivered their Opinons, that the King might change the Execution from hanging to beheading, which was done, and was not afterwards questioned. So it seems the hanging the Lord *Stourton* flowed not from any scruple as to the Queens Power of doing it lawfully, but that on this occasion she resolved to give a publick Demonstration of her Justice and Horror at so cruel a Murder; and therefore she left him to the Law, without taking any further care of him. On the last of *February* he was sent from *London*, with a Letter to the Sheriff of *Wilt-shire*, to receive his Body, and execute the Sentence given against him, and his Servants; which was accordingly done, as has been already shewn. Upon this, the Papists took great advantage to commend the strictness and impartiality of the Queens Justice; that would not spare so zealous a Catholick, when guilty of so foul a Murder. It was also said, That the killing of Mens Bodies was a much less crime, than the killing of Souls, which was done by the Propagators of Heresie; and therefore if the Queen did thus execute Justice on a Friend, for that which was a lesser degree of Murder, they who were her Enemies, and guilty of higher Crimes, were to look for no mercy. Indeed, as the Poor Protestants looked for none, so

The Lord *Stourton* hanged for Murder.

they

they met with very little; but what the Cardinal shewed them: and he was now brought under trouble himself, for favouring them too much, it being that which the Pope made use of to cover his malice against him. 1557.

Now the War had again broken out between *France* and *Spain*, and the King studied to engage the *English* to his assistance. The Queen had often complained to the *French* Court, that the Fugitives, who left her Kingdom, had been well entertained in *France*. She understood that the practises of *Wiat*, and of her other rebellious Subjects, were encouraged from thence: particularly of *Ashton*, who went often between the two Kingdoms, and had made use of the Lady *Elizabeths* Name to raise Seditions, as will appear by a Letter, (that is in the *Collection*) which some of the Council writ to one that attended that Princess. She was indeed the more strictly kept, and worse used upon that occasion. But besides, it so happened, that this Year one *Stafford* had gone into *France*, and gathered some of the *English* Fugitives together, and with Money and Ships, that were secretly given him by that Court, had come and seized on the Castle of *Scarborough*: from whence he published a *Manifesto* against the Queen, that by bringing in the *Spaniards*, she had fallen from her Right to the Kingdom; of which he declared himself Protector. The Earl of *Westmorland* took the Castle on the last of *April*, and *Stafford*, with three of his Complices, being taken, suffered as Traitors on the 28*th* of *May*. His coming out of *France* added much to the Jealousie, though the *French* King disowned that he had given him any assistance. But Dr. *Wotton*, who was then Ambassador there, resolved to give the Queen a more certain discovery of the inclinations of the *French*, that so he might engage her in the War, as was desired by *Philip*: He therefore caused a Nephew of his own to come out of *England*, whom when he had secretly instructed, he ordered him to desire to be admitted to speak with the *French* King; pretending that he was sent from some that were discontented in *England*, and desired the *French* Protection. But the King would not see him, till he had first spoken with the Constable. So *Wotton* was brought to the Constable, and *Melvill*, from whose Memoirs I draw this, was called to interpret. The young man first offered him the Service of many in *England*; that, partly upon the account of Religion, partly for the hatred they bore the *Spaniards*, were ready, if assisted by *France*, to make stirs there. The Constable received and answered this but coldly; and said, He did not see what Service they could do his Master in it. Upon which, he replied, They would put *Calais* into his Hands. The Constable not suspecting a Trick, started at that, and shewed great joy at the Proposition; but desired to know, how it might be effected. Young *Wotton* told him, there were a thousand Protestants in it, and gave him a long formal Project of the way of taking it: with which the Constable seemed pleased, and had much discourse with him about it; he promised him great Rewards, and gave him directions how to proceed in the Design. So the Ambassador having found out what he had designed to discover, sent his Nephew over to the Queen; who was thereupon satisfied, that the *French* were resolved to begin with her, if they found an opportunity. Her Husband King *Philip* finding it was not so easie by Letters or Messages, to draw her into the War,

Collection Number 34.

The Queen becomes jealous of the *French*.

came

1557. came over himself about the 20*th* of *May*, and stayed with her till the beginning of *July*. In that time he prevailed so far with her and the Council, that she sent over a Herauld with a formal Denunciation of War, who made it at *Rhemes*, where the King then was, on the seventh of *June*. Soon after she sent over 8000 Men, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, to joyn the *Spanish* Army, that consisting of near 50000 Men, sate down before St. *Quintin*. The Constable was sent to raise the Siege, with a great Force, and all the chief Nobility of *France*. When the two Armies were in view of one another, the Constable intended to draw back his Army; but by a mistake in the way of it, they fell in some disorder. The *Spaniards* upon that, falling on them, did, with the loss only of fifty of their Men, gain an entire Victory: 2500 were killed on the Place; the whole Army was dispersed, many of the first Quality were killed, the Constable with many others were taken Prisoners. The *French* King was in such a consternation upon it, that he knew not which way to turn himself. Now all the *French* cursed the Popes Counsels, for he had perswaded their King to begin this War, and that with a manifest breach of his Faith. This Action lost the Constable that great reputation, which he had acquired and preserved in a course of much success; and raised the credit of the Duke of *Guise*, who was now sent for in all hast, to come with his Army out of *Italy*, for the preservation of his own Country. *France* indeed was never in greater danger than at that time. For if King *Philip* had known how to have used his Success, and marched on to *Paris*, he could have met with no resistance. But he sate down before St. *Quintins*, which *Coligny* kept out so long, till the first terror was over, that so great a Victory had raised: and then, as the *French* took Heart again, so the *Spaniards* grew less, as well in strength as reputation, and the *English* finding themselves not well used, returned home into their Country.

And denounces War.

The great defeat given the French at St. Quintin.

As soon as the Pope heard, that *England* had made War upon *France*, he was not a little inflamed with it: and his wrath was much heightned, when he heard of the defeat at St. *Qintins*; and that the Duke of *Guise* Army was recalled out of *Italy*; by which he was exposed to the mercy of the *Spaniards*. He now said openly, they might see how little Cardinal *Pool* regarded the Apostolick See, when he suffered the Queen to assist their Enemies, against their Friends. The Pope being thus incens'd against *Pool*, sought all ways to be revenged of him. At first he made a Decree (in *May* this Year) for a General Revocation of all Legates and Nuntio's in the King of *Spains* Dominions; and among these, Cardinal *Pool* was mentioned with the rest. But *Carne*, understanding this, went first to the Cardinals, and informed them what a prejudice it would be to their Religion, to recall the Cardinal, while things were yet in so unsetled a state in *England*. Of this they were all very sensible, and desired him to speak to the Pope about it. So in an Audience he had of him, he desired a Suspension might be made of that Revocation. The Pope pretended he did it in General, in all the *Spanish* Dominions; yet he promised *Carne* to propose it to the Congregation of the Inquisition, but he was resolved not to recall it; and said, it did not consist with the Majesty of the Place he sate in, to revoke any part of a Decree which he had solemnly given. In the Congregation the Pope endeavoured to have got the Concurrence of the Cardinals,

The Popes offended with Cardinal *Pool*.

but

but they were unwilling to joyn in it. So he told *Carne*, that though he would recall no part of his Decree, yet he would give Orders that there should be no Intimation made of it to Cardinal *Pool*: and that if the Queen writ to him to desire his Continuance in *England*, it might be granted. He also let fall some words to *Carne* of his willingness to make Peace with King *Philip*; and indeed at that time he was much distasted with the *French*. Of this *Carne* advertised the King, though he was then so much better acquainted with the Popes dissimulation than formerly that he did not lay much weight on what he said to him; as will appear by the dispatch he made upon this occasion, which is in the *Collection*. Whether the Queen did upon this write to the Pope or not, I do not know. It is probable she did: for this matter lay asleep till *September*; and then the Pope did not only recall *Pool*, but intended to destroy him. He did not know where to find a Person to set up against the Cardinal, since *Gardiner* was dead, and none of the other Bishops in *England* were great enough, or sure enough to him, to be raised to so high a Dignity. *Peito* the *Franciscan* Friar seemed a Man of his own temper, because he had railed against King *Henry* so boldly to his face: and he being chosen by the Queen to be her Confessor, was looked on as the fittest to be advanced. So the Pope wrote for him into *England*; and when he came to *Rome*, made him a Cardinal; and sent over his Bulls, declaring that he recalled *Pools* Legatine Power, and required him to come to *Rome*, to answer for some Accusations he had received of him, as a favourer of Hereticks. This might have perhaps been grounded on his discharging that Year so many delated of Heresie, upon so ambiguous a submission as they had made. The Pope also wrote to the Queen, that he was to send over Cardinal *Peito* with full power, requiring her to receive him as the Legate of the Apostolick See. The Queen called for the Bulls, and according to the way formerly practised in *England*, and still continued in *Spain*, when Bulls that were unacceptable were sent over, she ordered them to be laid up without opening them. It has been shewn in the former part, how Arch-bishop *Chicheley*, when he was so proceeded against by Pope *Martin*, appealed to the next General Council; and some that desired to see the Form of such Appeals in those Ages, have thought it an Omission in me, that I had not published his Appeal in the Collection of Records, at the end of that Work: therefore upon this occasion, I shall refer the Reader to it, which he will find in the *Collection*. But now, Cardinal *Pool* resolved to behave himself with more submission. For though the Queen had ordered the Popes Breve to him, not to be delivered, yet of himself he laid down the Ensigns of his Legatine Power: and sent *Ormaneto*, who had the Title of the Popes Datary, and was his Friend and Confident, to give an account of his whole behaviour in *England*; and to clear him of these Imputations of Heresie. This he did, with so much submission, that he mollified the Pope: only he said, that *Pool* ought not to have consented to the Queens joyning in War with the Enemies of the Holy See. *Peito* had begun his Journey to *England*: but the Queen sent him word, not to come over; otherwise she would bring him, and all that owned his Authority, within the *Præmunire*. So he stopt in his Journey; and dying in *April* following, enjoyed but a short while his new Dignity; together with the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, to which the Pope had advanced him,

1557.

Collection Number [illegible].

And recalls his Legatine Power.

Collection Number 3[illegible].

The Queen refuses to admit of Cardinal *Peito* the new Legate.

clearly

1557. clearly contrary to the old Law then in force against Provisions from *Rome*.

This Storm against *Pool* went soon over, by the Peace that was made between *Philip* and the Pope, of which it will not be unpleasant to give the Relation. The Duke of *Guise* having carried his Army out of *Italy*, the Duke of *Alva* marched towards *Rome*, and took and spoiled all Places on his way. When he came near *Rome*, all was in such confusion, that he might have easily taken it; but he made no assault. The Pope called the Cardinals together, and setting out the danger he was in, with many Tears, said, he would undauntedly suffer Martyrdome: which they, who knew that the trouble he was in, flowed only from his restless ambition and fierceness, could scarce hear without laughter. The Duke of *Alva* was willing to treat. The Pope stood high on the Points of Honour; and would needs keep that entire, though he was forced to yield in the chief matters: he said, rather than lose one jot that was due to him, he would see the whole World ruined; pretending, it was not his own Honour, but Christs, that he sought. In fine, the Duke of *Alva* was required by him to come to *Rome*, and on his Knees to ask pardon, for invading the Patrimony of the Church; and to receive Absolution for himself, and his Master. He being superstitiously devoted to the Papacy, and having got satisfaction in other things, consented to this. So the Conqueror was brought to ask pardon, and the vain Pope received him, and gave him Absolution, with as much haughtiness and state as if he had been his Prisoner. This was done on the 14*th* of *September*, and the news of it being brought into *England* on the 6*th* of *October*: Letters were written by the Council to the Lord Major and Aldermen of *London*, requiring them to come to St. *Pauls*, where high Mass was to be said, for the Peace now concluded between the Pope and the King, after which, Bonfires were ordered. One of the secret Articles of the Peace, was the restoring *Pool* to his Legatine Power.

A Peace made between the Pope and the King of *Spain*.

War being now proclaimed between *England* and *France*, the *French* sent to the *Scottish* Queen Regent, to engage *Scotland* in the War with *England*. Hereupon a Convention of the Estates was called. But in it there were two different Parties. Those of the Clergy liked now the *English* Interest, as much as they had been formerly jealous of it; and so refused to engage in the War: since they were at Peace with *England*. They had also a secret dislike to the Regent, for her kindness to the Heretical Lords. On the other hand, those Lords were ready enough to gain the protection of the Regent, and the favour of *France*; and therefore were ready to enter into the War; hoping that thereby they should have their Party made the stronger in *Scotland*, by the entertainment that the Queen Regent would be obliged to give to such as should fly out of *England*, for Religion. Yet the greater part of the Convention were against the War. The Queen Regent thought at least to engage the Kingdom in a defensive War, by forcing the *English* to begin with them. Therefore she sent *D'Oysel*, who was in chief command, to fortifie *Aymouth*; which by the last Treaty with *England*, was to be unfortified. So the Governour of *Berwick* making Inroads into *Scotland* for the disturbing of their Works; upon that, *D'Oysel* began the War, and went into *England*, and besieged *Warke* Castle. The *Scottish* Lords upon this, met at *Edenburgh*, and complained that *D'Oysel* was engaging

The beginnings of a War between *England* and *Scotland*.

them

them in a War with *England*, without their consent; and required him to return back, under pain of being declared an Enemy to the Nation: which he very unwillingly obeyed. But while he lay there, the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent down with some Troops, to defend the Marches. There was only one Engagement between him and the *Kers*; but after a long dispute, they were defeated, and many of them taken. The Queen Regent seeing her Authority was so little considered, writ to *France*, to hasten the Marriage of her Daughter to the Dolphin; for that he being thereupon invested with the Crown of *Scotland*, the *French* would become more absolute. Upon this a Message was sent from *France* to a Convention of Estates that sate in *December*, to let them know, that the Dolphin was now coming to be of Age, and therefore they desired they would send over some, to treat about the Articles of the Marriage. They sent the Arch-bishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishop of *Orkney*, the Prior of St. *Andrews*, who afterwards was Earl of *Murray*, the Earls of *Rothes*, and *Cassils*, the Lord *Fleeming*; and the Provosts of *Edenburgh* and *Mountrose*; some of every Estate, that in the Name of the three Estates they might conclude that Treaty. 1557.

These Wars coming upon *England*, when the Queens Treasure was quite exhausted, it was not easie to raise Money for carrying them on. They found such a backwardness in the last Parliament, that they were afraid, the supply from thence would not come easily, or at least, that some favour would be desired for the Hereticks. Therefore they tried first to raise Money by sending Orders under the Privy Seal, for the borrowing of certain Sums. But though the Council writ many Letters, to set on those Methods of getting Money; yet they being without, if not against Law, there was not much got this way: so that after all, it was found necessary to summon a Parliament, to assemble on the 20*th* of *January*. In the end of the Year the Queen had Advertisements sent her from the King, that he understood the *French* had a design on *Calais*; but she, either for want of Money, or that she thought the place secure in the Winter, did not send these Supplies that were necessary; and thus ended the Affairs of *England* this Year.

In *Germany*, there was a Conference appointed, to bring matters of Religion to a fuller settlement. Twelve Papists and twelve Protestants were appointed to manage it. *Julius Pflugius*, that had drawn the *Interim*, being the chief of the Papists, moved, that they should begin first with condemning the Heresie of *Zuinglius*. *Melancthon*, upon that, said it was preposterous to begin with the condemnation of errors, till they had first setled the Doctrines of Religion. Yet that which the Papists expected, followed upon this: for some of the fiercer *Lutherans*, being much set against the *Zuinglians*, agreed to it. This raised heats among themselves, which made the Conference break up, without bringing things to any issue. Upon this occasion, Men could not but see that Artifice of the *Roman* Church, which has been often used before and since, with too great success. When they cannot bear down those they call Hereticks with open force, their next way is to divide them among themselves, and to engage them into Heats about those lesser matters, in which they differ; hoping that by those animosities their endeavours, which being united, would be dangerous to the common Enemy, may not only be broken, but directed one against another. This is well enough known The Affairs of Germany.

1557. to all the *Reformed*; and yet many of them are so far from considering it, that upon every new occasion they are made use of to serve the same designs; never reflecting upon the advantages that have been formerly taken from such contentions.

A Persecution of Protestants in *France*.

In *France*, the number of the Protestants was now encreased much; and in *Paris*, in *September* this Year, there was a Meeting of about 200 of them in St. *Germains* to receive the Sacrament according to the way of *Geneva*: which being known to some of their Neighbours, they furnished themselves with Stones to throw at them when they broke up their Meeting. So when it was late, as they went home, Stones were cast at some of them: and the enraged Zealots forced the doors, and broke in upon the rest. The Men, drawing their Swords, made their way through them, and most of them escaped: but 160 Women, with some few Men, delivered themselves Prisoners to the Kings Officers that came to take them. Upon this there were published all the blackest calumnies that could be devised, of the loose and promiscuous embraces that had been in this Meeting: and so exactly had their Accusers copied from what the Heathens had anciently charged on the Meetings of the Christians, that it was said, they found the Blood of a Child, whom they had Sacrificed and eaten, among them. These things were confidently told at Court, where none durst contradict them, for fear of being judged a favourer of them. But afterwards there was printed an Apology for the Protestants. In it they gloried much, that the same false accusations by which the Heathens had defamed the Primitive Christians, were now cast on them. Those that were taken were proceeded against: Six Men and one Woman were burnt. It had gone further, if there had not come Envoys, both from the *German* Princes, and the Cantons of *Switzerland*, to interpose for them: upon which, since the King needed assistance in his Wars, especially from the latter, the Prosecution was let fall. The Pope was much troubled, when he heard that the King would exercise no further severity on the Hereticks: and though himself had hired them in his Wars, yet he said, the Affairs of *France* could not succeed, as long as their King had so many Hereticks in his Army. That King had also made two Constitutions that gave the Pope great offence: the one, that Marriages made by Sons under thirty, and Daughters under twenty five, without their Fathers consent, should be void; the other was for charging the Ecclesiastical Benefices with a Tax, and requiring all Bishops and Curates to reside on their Benefices. So scandalous a thing was Non-residence then held, that every where the Papists were ashamed of it. Upon which the Pope complained a-new, that the King presumed to meddle with the Sacraments, and to tax the Clergy.

1558. *Calais* is besieged.

The beginning of the next Year was famous for the loss of *Calais*. The Lord *Wentworth* had then the command of it; but the Garrison consisted only of 500 Men, and there were not above 200 of the Townsmen, that could be serviceable in a Siege. The Duke of *Guise*, having brought his Army out of *Piedmont*, was now in *France*, and being desirous, when the Constable was a Prisoner, to do some great Action which might raise him in reputation above the other, who was his only Competitor in *France*, set his thoughts on *Calais*, and the Territory

about

about it. There were two Forts on which the security of the Town depended. The one *Newnambridge*, a Mile from it, that commanded the Avenues to it from the Land; from which to the Town there was a way raised thorough a Marsh lying on both hands of it. On the other side, to the Sea, the Fort of *Risbanck* commanded the Harbour; so that the whole strength of the Place, lay in those two Forts. 1558.

On the first of *January* the Duke of *Guise* came and sate down before it. The Governour having but a small Force within, did not think fit to weaken it by sending such Supplies as those Forts required; so they were taken without any opposition. Then the Town being thus shut up, the Enemy pressed it hard, and drew the Water out of its Current, by which the Ditches about the Town and Castle were drained; and having prepared devices for their Soldiers to pass them without sticking in the Mire, they made the Assault; after they had opened a great breach by their Ordnance: and when the Sea was out, others crossed on that side, and so carried the Castle by Storm; which the Governour had look'd on as impregnable, and so had brought his chief Force to the defence of the Town. Seeing the Castle thus unexpectedly lost, he did all he could with his small Force to regain it; but being still repulsed, and having lost 200 of his best Men, he was forced to render the Place on the 7*th* of *January*. By their Articles, all the Townsmen and Soldiers were to go whither they pleased, only he and fifty more were to be Prisoners of War. Thus in one Weeks time, and in Winter, was so strong a Town lost by the *English*, that had been for many Ages in their Hands. It was taken 210 years ago by *Edward* the third after the Battle of *Cressy*; and was still called the Key of *France*, as long as it continued in *English* Hands. But now, in a time of War, it was in as ill a condition, as if they had been in the profoundest Peace: And though *Philip* had offered to put Men into it, yet the *English*, being jealous that those Advertisements were but Artifices of his, to perswade them to admit a *Spanish* Garrison into it, left it in so naked a condition, that the Governour could do little to preserve it. But yet, that it might appear he had not been too careful of himself, he was content to agree that he should be a Prisoner of War. And taken.

From this, the Duke of *Guise* went to *Guisnes*, commanded by the Lord *Gray*; whose Garrison consisted of about 1100 Men: but the loss of *Calais* had much disheartned them. At the first impression the *French* carried the Town, and the Garrison retired into the Castle: but *Gray*, breaking out on the Soldiers that were fallen to plundering, did beat them out again, and burnt the Town. The *French* battered the Castle, till they made a breach in the Out-works of it, which they carried, after a long resistance, in which the *English* lost 300. So the Lord *Gray* was fain to render it; He, and all the Officers, being made Prisoners of War. There was another Castle in that little County, *Hammes*, which lay in such a Marish, that it was thought inaccessible: but the Garrison that was in it, abandoned it, without staying till the Enemy came before them. The *French* Writers speak more meanly of the resistance made by the Lord *Gray*, than of that made by the Lord *Wentworth*: for there went out of *Guisnes* about 800 Soldiers, whereas there went not out of *Calais* above 300. But one of our own Writers magnifies the Lord *Gray*, and speaks dishonourably of the Lord *Wentworth*, adding, which was an Invention

Guisnes and the rest of that Territory taken by the French.

1558. vention of his own, that he was attainted for the losing of *Calais*. All that Historians ground for it, is only this, that there was indeed a Mock-citation issued out against the Lord *Wentworth*; to which he could not appear, being not freed from his imprisonment by the *French* all this Reign: but he came over in the beginning of the next; when, the Treaty of Peace being on foot, he obtained his liberty, and was tried by his Peers in the first Parliament in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and acquitted. It was, as he alledged for himself, his misfortune to be employed in a Place, where he had not so much as a fourth part of that Number of Men that was necessary to hold out a Siege. But in the declinations of all Governments, when losses fall out, they must be cast on those that are entrusted, to excuse those who are much more guilty, by neglecting to supply them as the Service required. Among the Prisoners, one of the chief was Sir *Edward Grimston*, the Comptroller of *Calais*, and a Privy-Counsellor: He had often, according to the duty of his Place, given advertisement of the ill condition the Garrison was in. But whether those to whom he writ were corrupted by *French* Money, or whether the Low state of the Queens Treasury made that they were not supplied, is not certain. It was intended he should not come over to discover that; and therefore he was let lie a Prisoner in the *Bastile*; and no care was taken of him or the other Prisoners: The Ransome set on him was so high, that having lost a great estate, which he had purchased about *Calais*, he resolved not to do any further prejudice to his Family by redeeming his liberty at such a rate; and intended either to continue a Prisoner, or make his escape. He lay above two years in the *Bastile*, and was lodged in the top of it: at the end of that time he procured a File, and so cut out one of the Bars of the Window, and having a Rope conveyed to him, he changed Clothes with his Servant, and went down on the Rope, which proving a great deal too short, he leaped a great way, and having done that before the Gates were shut, made his escape without being discovered. But his Beard, which was grown long, made him fear he should be known by it. Yet by a happy Providence he found in the Pockets of his Servants Cloaths a pair of Scissars, and going into the Fields, did so cut his Beard, that he could not have been known; and having learnt the Art of War in the Company of the *Scotch* Guard *de Manche*, he spake that Dialect: So he passed as a *Scotch* Pilgrim; and by that means escaped into *England*. And there he offered himself to a Trial, where, after the Evidence was brought, his Innocence did so clearly appear, that the Jury were ready to give their Verdict without going from the Bar. So he was acquitted, and lived to a great Age, dying in his 98*th* Year. He was Great-Grand-father to my Noble Patron and Benefactor Sir *Harbotle Grimston*, which has made me the more willing to enlarge thus concerning him, to whose Heir I owe the chief opportunities and encouragements I have had in composing this Work.

Now the Queen had nothing left of all those Dominions that her Ancestors had once in *France*, but the Isles of *Jersey*, *Gernsey*, *Alderney*, and *Sarke*. The last of these, being a naked Place, only inhabited by some Hermites; but having the advantage of a Harbour, the *French* made themselves Masters of it. The strength of it consisted in the difficulty of the ascent: the little Fort they had, being accessible but in one place, where

Sarke taken by the French.

where two could only go up a-breast. So an ingenious Fleming resolved to beat them out of it: He came thither, and pretending he had a Friend dead in his Ship, offered them a good Present, if he might bury him within their Chappel. The French consented to it, if he would suffer himself and his Men to be so narrowly searched, that they might not bring so much as a Knife a-shoar. This he consented to; and as he landed with his Coffin, the French-men were to send some to his Ship to receive the Present. So the Coffin being carried into the Chappel, and the French apprehending nothing from unarmed Men; the Coffin was opened, which was full of good Arms, and every man furnishing himself they broke out upon the French and took them all; as their Companions in the Ship did those who went a-board to bring the Present. 1558. And retaken by an Ingenious Stratagem.

The news of the loss of Calais, filled England with great discontent. Those who were otherwise dissatisfied with the conduct of Affairs, took great advantages from it, to disparage the Government, which the Queen had put into the Hands of Priests, who understood not War, and were not sensible of the Honour of the Nation. It was said, they had drained her Treasury by the restitutions and foundations they got her to make; and being sensible how much the Nation hated them, they had set the Queen on other ways of raising Money than by a Parliament; so that never did the Parliament meet, with greater disorder and trouble, than now. But that loss affected none so deeply as the Queen her self; who was so sensible of the dishonour of it, that she was much oppressed with melancholly, and was never cheerful after it. Those who took on them to make Comments on Divine Providence, expounded this loss as their affections led them. Those of the Reformation said, it was Gods heavy Judgment upon England, for rejecting the light of his Gospel, and persecuting such as still adhered to it. But on the other hand, the Papists said, Calais could not prosper, since it had been a Receptacle of Hereticks, where the Laws against them had never been put in execution. King Philip, as soon as he heard of this loss, wrote over to England, desiring them to raise a great Force with all possible hast, and send it over to recover Calais before it was fortified: and he would draw out his Army, and joyn with them; for if they did not retake it before the season of working about it came on, it was irrecoverably lost. Upon which, there was a long Consultation held about it. They found they could not to any purpose send over under 20000 Men; the Pay of them for five Months would rise to 170000 l. Garrisons, and an Army against the Scots, and securing the Coasts against the French, would come to 150000 l. The setting out of a Fleet, and an Army by Sea, would amount to 200000 l. and yet all that would be too little, if the Danes and Swedes, which they were afraid of, should joyn against them. There was also great want of Ammunition and Ordnance, of which they had lost vast quantities in Calais and Guisnes. All this would rise to above 520000 l. and they doubted much whether the People would endure such Impositions, who were now grown stubborn, and talked very loosely. So they did not see how they could possibly enter into any Action this Year. One Reason, among the rest, was suggested by the Bishops, they saw a War would oblige them to a greater moderation in their Proceedings at Great discontents in England.

home:

1558. home: they had not done their Work, which they hoped a little more time would perfect; whereas a slack'ning in that, would raise the drooping Spirits of those whom they were now pursuing. So they desired another Year to prosecute them, in which time they hoped so to clear the Kingdom of them, that with less danger they might engage in a War, the Year after. Nor did they think it would be easie to bring new raised Men, to the hardships of [illegible] early a Campagne; and they thought the *French* would certainly work so hard in repairing the breaches, that they would be in a good condition to endure a strait and long Siege. All this they wrote over to the King on the first of *February*, as appears from their Letter, which will be found in the *Collection*.

Collection Number 37.

A Parliament is called.

The Parliament was opened on the 20*th* of *January*, where the Convocation, to be a good Example to the two Houses, granted a Subsidy of eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in four Years: In the House of Peers, the Abbot of *Westminster*, and the Prior of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, took their Places according to their Writs. *Tresham*, that had given great assistance to the Queen upon her first coming to the Crown, was now made Prior. But how much was done towards the endowing of that House, which had been formerly among the richest of *England*, I do not know. On the 24*th* of *January* the Lords sent a Message to the Commons, desiring that the Speaker, with ten or twelve of that House, should meet with a Committee of the Lords; which being granted, the Lords proposed, that the Commons would consider of the defence of the Kingdom. What was at first demanded, does not appear; but after several days arguing about it, they agreed to give one Subsidy, a Fifteenth, and a Tenth; and ordered the Speaker to let the Queen know what they had concluded: who sent them her hearty Thanks for it. Then, Complaints being made of some *French-men* that were not Denizens, it was carried, that they should go out of the Kingdom, and not return during the War. The Abbot of *Westminster*, finding the Revenues of his House were much impaired, thought, that if the old Priviledges of the Sanctuary were confirmed, it would bring him in a good Revenue from those that fled to it: so he pressed for an Act to confirm it. He brought a great many ancient Grants of the Kings of *England*, which the Queen had confirmed by her Letters Patents; but they did not prevail with the House, who proceeded no further in it. In this Parliament the Procurers of wilful Murder were denied the Benefit of Clergy; which was carried in the House of Lords by the greater number, as it is in their Journals. The Bishops did certainly oppose it, though none of them entred their dissent. Sir *Ambrose*, and Sir *Robert Dudley*, two Sons of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, were restored in Blood. The Countess of *Sussex*'s Joynture was taken from her for her living in Adultery so publickly, as was formerly mentioned. In the end of the Session a Bill was put in, for the confirming of the Queens Letters Patents: It was designed chiefly for confirming the Religious Foundations she had made. As this went through the House of Commons, one *Coxley* said, He did not approve such a general Confirmation of those she had given, or might give: lest this might be a colour for her to dispose of the Crown from the right Inheritors. The House was much offended at this, and expressed such

ſuch diſlike at the imagination that the Queen would alienate the Crown; that they both ſhewed their eſteem for the Queen, and their reſolution to have the Crown deſcend after her death to her Siſter. *Coxley* was made to withdraw, and voted guilty of great irreverence to the Queen. He asked pardon, and deſired it might be imputed to his youth: yet he was kept in the Serjeants Hands, till they had ſent to the Queen to deſire her to forgive his offence. She ſent them word, that at their ſute ſhe forgave it; but wiſhed them to examine him, from whence that motion ſprung. There is no more entred about it in the Journal, ſo that it ſeems to have been let fall. The Parliament was, on the ſeventh of *March*, prorogued to the ſeventh of *November*. 1558.

Soon after this, the King of *Sweden* ſent a Meſſage ſecretly to the Lady *Elizabeth*, who was then at *Hatfield*, to propoſe Marriage to her. King *Philip* had once deſigned to marry her to the Duke of *Savoy*, when he was in hope of Children by the Queen: but that hope vaniſhing, he broke it off, and intended to reſerve her for himſelf. How far ſhe entertained that motion, I do not know: but for this from *Sweden*, ſhe rejected it, ſince it came not to her by the Queens direction. But to that it was anſwered, the King of *Sweden* would have them begin with her ſelf, judging that fit for him as he was a Gentleman; and her good liking being obtained, he would next, as a King, addreſs himſelf to the Queen. But ſhe ſaid, as ſhe was to entertain no ſuch Propoſitions unleſs the Queen ſent them to her; ſo if ſhe were left to her ſelf, ſhe aſſured them ſhe would not change her ſtate of Life. Upon this, the Queen ſent Sir *Tho. Pope* to her, in *April*, to let her know how well ſhe approved of the Anſwer ſhe had made to them; but they had now delivered their Letters, and made the Propoſition to her, in which ſhe deſired to know her mind. She thanked the Queen for her favour to her, but bade *Pope* tell her, that there had been one or two noble Propoſitions made for her in her Brother King *Edwards* time; and ſhe had then deſired to continue in the ſtate ſhe was in, which of all others pleaſed her beſt, and ſhe thought there was no ſtate of Life comparable to it: She had never before heard of that King, and ſhe deſired never to hear of that Motion more: She would ſee his Meſſenger no more, ſince he had preſumed to come to her without the Queens leave. Then *Pope* ſaid, he did believe, if the Queen offered her ſome Honourable Marriage, ſhe would not be averſe to it: She anſwered, What ſhe might do afterwards ſhe did not know; but proteſted ſolemnly, that as ſhe was then inclined, if ſhe could have the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendome, ſhe would not accept of him; though perhaps the Queen might think, this flowed rather from a Maids modeſty, than any ſetled determination in her. This I take from a Letter *Pope* wrote about it, which is in the *Collection*. Yet her Life at this time was, neither ſo pleaſant, nor ſo well ſecured, but that, if her averſion to a married ſtate had not been very much rooted in her, it is not unlikely, ſhe would have been glad to be out of the Hands of her unkind Keepers; who grew the more apprehenſive of her, the more they obſerved her Siſter to decay: and, as the Biſhops did apprehend,

The King of *Sweden* treats a Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Which is rejected by her.

Collection Number 38.

1558. hend, she would overthrow all that they had been building, and cementing with so much Blood; so some of them did not spare to suggest the putting of her out of the way: and now that she is so near the Throne, in the Course of this History, I shall look back through this Reign, to give account of what befel her in it.

She was hardly used all this Reign. When she was suspected to be accessory to *Wiats* Conspiracy; the day after his breaking out, the Lord *Hastings*, Sir *Tho. Cornwallis*, and Sir *Richard Southwell*, were sent for her to come to Court. She then lay sick at her House at *Ashridge*: but that excuse not being accepted, she was forced to go: so being still ill, she came by slow Journeys to the Queen. She was kept shut up in private at Court, from the fourth of *March* to the 16*th*, and then *Gardiner*, with nineteen of the Council, came to examine her about *Wiats* Rebellion. She positively denied she knew any thing of it, or of Sir *Peter Carew's* designs in the *West*, which they also objected to her. In conclusion, they told her the Queen had ordered her to be sent to the *Tower*, till the Matter should be further enquired into; and though she made great Protestations of her Innocence, yet she was carried thither, and led in by the Traitors Gate; all her own Servants being put from her. Three Men, and as many Women, of the Queens Servants, were appointed to attend on her; and no Person was suffered to have access to her. Sir *John Gage*, who was the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, treated her very severely, kept her closely shut up, without leave to walk either in the Galleries, or on the Leads; nor would he permit her Servants to carry in her Meat to her, but he did that by his own Servants. The other Prisoners were often examined about her, and some were put to the Rack, to try if they could be brought any way to accuse her: but though *Wiat* had done it, when he hoped to have saved his own Life by so base an Action; yet he afterwards denied that she knew any of their designs: and lest those denials he made at his Examinations might have been suppressed, and his former Depositions be made use of against her, he declared it openly on the Scaffold at his death. After some days close Imprisonment, upon great intercession made by the Lord *Chandois*, then Constable of the *Tower*, it was granted that she might sometimes walk in the Queens Rooms, in the presence of the Constable, the Lieutenant, and three Women, the Windows being all shut. Then she got leave to walk in a little Garden for some Air; but all the Windows that opened to it were to be kept shut, when she took her Walk: and so jealous were they of her, that a Boy of four years old was severely threatned, and his Father sent for and chid, for his carrying Flowers to her. The Lord *Chandois* was observed to treat her with too much respect; so he was not any more trusted with the charge of her, which was committed to Sir *Hen. Benefield*. About the middle of *May* she was sent, under the Guard of the Lord *Williams*, and *Benefield*, to *Woodstock*. She was so straitly kept, and *Benefield* was so sullen to her, that she believed they intended to put her privately to death. The Lord *Williams* treated her nobly at his House on the way, at which *Benefield* was much disgusted. When

she

she was at *Woodstock*, she was still kept under Guards, and but seldom allowed to walk in the Gardens, none being suffered to come near her. After many Months Imprisonment, she obtained leave to write to the Queen; *Benefield* being to see all she wrote. It was believed that some were sent secretly to kill her; but the Orders were given so strictly, that none of them could come near her, without a Special Warrant; and so she escaped at that time. But after King *Philip* understood the whole Case, he broke all those designs, as was formerly shewn; and prevailed to have her sent for to Court. When she came to *Hampton-Court*, she was kept still a Prisoner. Many of the Council, *Gardiner* in particular, dealt often with her, to confess her offences, and submit to the Queens mercy. She said, she had never offended her, not so much as in her thoughts; and she would never betray her own Innocency by such a Confession. One night when it was late, she was sent for by the Queen, before whom she kneeled down, and protested she was, and ever had been, a most faithful Subject to her. The Queen seemed still to suspect her, and wished her to confess her guilt; otherwise she must think, she had been unjustly dealt with: She answered, That she was not to complain, but to bear her burden, only she begged her to conceive a good opinion of her. So they parted fairly, which King *Philip* had perswaded the Queen to; and being afraid that the sowrness of the Queens temper, might lead her into passion, he was secretly in a corner of the Room, to prevent any further breach, in case she should have been transported into new heats: but there was no occasion given for it. Soon after that, she was discharged of her Guards, and suffered to retire into the Country; but there were always many Spies about her, and she, to avoid all suspition, medled in no sort of business, but gave her self wholly to Study. And thus she passed these five years, under no small fears and apprehensions; which was perhaps a necessary preparation for that high degree to which she was soon after advanced, and which she held in the greatest and longest course of Prosperity and Glory, that ever any of her Sex attained to. 1558.

The Bishops, when the Parliament was sitting, did always intermit their cruelties: but as soon as it was over, they fell to them afresh. On the 28th of *March*, *Cuthbert Simpson*, that was in Deacons Orders, with two others, were burnt in *Smithfield*. *Simpson* had been taken with *Rough*, that suffered the Year before this. He was put to much torture, he lay three hours on the Rack; besides, two other Inventions of Torture were made use of to make him discover all those in *London* who met with them in their private Assemblies: but he would tell nothing, and shewed such patience, that the Bishops did publickly commend him for it. On the ninth of *April* a Man was burnt at *Hereford*: On the 19th of *May* three Men were burnt at *Colchester*. At this time, Complaints being made to the Queen, that Books of Heresie, Treason, and Sedition, were either brought in from Forreign Parts, or secretly printed in *England*, and disperst among her Subjects; she set out, on the sixth of *June*, a Proclamation of a strange nature: "That whosoever had "any of these, and did not presently burn them, without reading,

The Progress of the Persecution.

1558. "or shewing them to any other Person, they should be esteemed Rebels; and without any further delay, be executed by the Martial "Law. On the 27th of that Month, when seven were to be led out to be burnt in *Smithfield*, it was proclaimed in the Queens Name, that no Man should pray for them, or speak to them, or say, *God help them*: which was thought a strain of barbarity beyond all the Examples of former times, to deprive dying Men of the good wishes and prayers of their Friends. But however this might restrain Men from giving outward Signs of their praying for them, it could not bind up their inward and secret Devotions. Those seven had been taken at a Meeting in *Islington*, with many others; of whom some died in Prison, and six others were burnt at *Brainford* the 14th of *July*. The rest of them were kept by *Bonner*, who now seemed to have been glutted with the Blood of so many Innocents, and therefore to have put a stop to the effusion of more: yet those that were kept Prisoners by him, did not so entirely escape his fury, but that he disciplined them himself with Rods, till he was weary; and so gave over that odd way of Pastoral Correction, rather to ease himself, than in pity to them whom he whipt. On the tenth of *July* a Minister was burnt at *Norwich*: On the second or third of *August*, a Gentleman was burnt near *Winchester*: In *August* four were burnt at *Bury*; and in *November* three more were burnt there. On the fourth of *November* a Man, and a Woman, were burnt at *Ipswich*: At that time a Woman was burnt at *Exeter*: and to close up all, on the tenth of *November* three Men, and two Women, were burnt at *Canterbury*, which made in all thirty nine this Year. There had been seventy nine burnt the former Year, ninety four the Year before that, and seventy two the first Year of the Persecution: which in all come to 284. But he that writ the Preface to Bishop *Ridley*'s Book *De Cœna Domini*, who is supposed to be *Grindal*, afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, says, That in the two first Years of the Queens Persecution there were above eight hundred put to most cruel kinds of death for Religion: by which it seems *Fox*, on whom I depend in the Numbers I have assigned, has come far short in his account. Besides those that were burnt, many others died in Bonds, of whom there are sixty reckoned. There were also great Numbers of those who were vexed with long and grievous Imprisonment: and though they redeemed their Lives by the renouncing, or rather the dissembling of their Consciences; yet this being but forced from them, they carried with them their old Opinions; and the Wound they gave their Consciences to save their Lives, as it begot in many of them great horrour for what they had done, so it raised in them the most mortal hatred to those who had driven them to such straits: so that if that Religion was hateful before to the Nation, for the Impostures and Scandals that were discovered in the Clergy, and some few Instances of their Cruelty, the repeated Burnings, and other Cruelties, of which now they saw no end, did encrease their aversion to it beyond all expression.

The Method of the Persecutions of this Reign.

At first the Bishops dealt earnestly with those who were brought before them, to recant; and were ready at any time to receive them: the Queens Pardon was also sent to them as they were ready

to

to be tied to the Stake, if they would then turn. But now it was far otherwise. For in the Council-Books there is an Entry made of a Letter, written on the first of *August* this Year, to Sir *Richard Pexall* Sheriff of *Hampshire*, signifying, "That the Queen thought it very "strange, that he had delayed the Execution of the Sentence against "one *Bembridge*, condemned of Heresie, because he had recanted: "requiring him to execute it out of hand, and if he still continued "in the Catholick Faith, which he outwardly pretended, he was "then to suffer such Divines as the Bishop of *Winchester* should ap- "point, to have access to him for confirming him in the Faith, and "to attend on him at his death, that he might die Gods Servant: "and as soon as the Sheriff had thus burnt him, he was to come to "the Council, and answer for his presumption in delaying it so long. The Matter of Fact was thus: *Bembridge* being tied to the Stake, and the Fire taking hold on him, he, through the violence of it, yielded, and cried out, *I recant*. Upon which, the Sheriff made the Fire be put out; and *Bembridge* Signed such a Recantation as Doctor *Seton*, who was near him, writ for him: but for all that, upon this Order of Council, he was burnt; and the Sheriff was put in the *Fleet*: so that now it appeared that it was not so much the conversion of those they called Hereticks, as their destruction, that the Bishops desired: and so much were their Instruments set on these severities, that though they saw the Queen declining so fast, that there was no appearance of her living many days; yet the Week before she died, they burnt, as hath been said, five together in one Fire at *Canterbury*. 1558.

An unhappy Expedition against France.

There was nothing done in the War with *France* this Year, but the sending out a Fleet of 120 Ships, with 7000 Land-men in it, under the Command of the Lord *Clinton*; who landed at *Port Conquet*, in the Point of *Brittain*, where after a small resistance made by the *French*, he burnt the Town; but the Country being gathered together, the *English* were forced to return to their Ships, having lost above 600 of their Men. The design was, to have seized on *Brest*, and fortified it; which was proposed by King *Philip*, who had sent thirty of his Ships to their assistance. This the *French* knowing by some of the Prisoners whom they took, went and fortified *Brest*, and kept a great Body of Men together, to resist in case the *English* should make a second impression. But the Lord *Clinton*, seeing he could do nothing, returned, having made a very expensive and unprosperous attempt. The *English* had lost their Hearts; the Government at home was so little acceptable to them, that they were not much concerned to support it; they began to think, Heaven was against them.

Strange and unusual accidents.

There were many strange accidents at home, that struck terror in them. In *July*, Thunder broke near *Nottingham*, with such violence, that it beat down two little Towns, with all the Houses and Churches in them: the Bells were carried a good way from the Steeples, and the Lead that covered the Churches, was cast 400 Foot from them, strangely wreathed. The River of *Trent*, as it is apt upon Deluges of Rain to swell and over-run the Country; so it broke out this Year with extraordinary violence; many Trees were plucked up

1558. up by the Roots, and with it there was such a Wind, that carried several Men and Children a great way, and dashed them against Trees or Houses, so that they died. Hail-stones fell that were fifteen Inches about in other Places: and which was much more terrible, a contagious intermitting Feaver, not unlike the Plague, raged every where: so that three parts of four of the whole Nation were infected with it. So many Priests died of it, that in many Places there were none to be had for the performing of the Offices. Many Bishops died also of it, so that there were many vacancies made by the Hand of Heaven, against Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown: and it spreading most violently in *August*, there were not Men enough, in many Counties, to reap the Harvest: so that much Corn was lost. All these Symptoms concurred to encrease the aversion the People had to the Government; which made the Queen very willing to consent to a Treaty of Peace, that was opened at *Cambray* in *October*; to which she sent the Earl of *Arundel*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Wotton*, as her Plenipotentiaries.

A Treaty of Peace between *England*, *France*, and *Spain*.

The occasion of the Peace was from a meeting that the Bishop of *Arras* had with the Cardinal of *Lorrain* at *Peronne*; in which he proposed to him, how much *Philip* was troubled at the continuance of the War; their Forces being so much engaged in it, that they could make no resistance to the *Turk*, and the mean while Heresie encreasing and spreading in their own Dominions, while they were so taken up that they could not look carefully to their Affairs at home, but must connive at many things: therefore he pressed the Cardinal to perswade the King of *France* to an Accommodation. The Cardinal was easily induced to this, since besides his own zeal for Religion, he saw that he might thereby bear down the Constables greatness; whose Friends, chiefly his two Nephews, the Admiral, and *Dandelot*, who went then among the best Captains in *France*, were both suspect of being Protestants; upon which, the latter was shortly after put in Prison: so he used all his endeavours to draw the King to consent to it; in which he had the less opposition, since the Court was now filled with his Dependants, and his four Brothers, who had got all the great Officers of *France* into their Hands: and the Constable, and Admiral being Prisoners, there was none to oppose their Councils. The King thinking, that by the recovery of *Calais*, and the Places about it, he had gained enough to ballance the loss of St. *Quintin*, was very willing to hearken to a Treaty: and he was in an ill state to continue the War, being much weakned both by the loss he suffered last Year, and the blow that he received in *July* last: the Marshal de *Thermes* being enclosed by the Count of *Egmont* near *Graveling*, where the *French* Army being set on by the Count, and galled with the *English* Ordnance from their Ships that lay near the Land, was defeated, 5000 killed, the Marshal and the other chief Officers being taken Prisoners. These losses made him sensible, that his Affairs were in so ill a condition, that he could not gain much by the War.

The Battel of *Graveling*.

The Number of the Protestants growing in *France*.

The Cardinal was the more earnest to bring on a Peace, because the Protestants did not only encrease in their Numbers, but they came so openly to avow their Religion, that in the publick Walks

without the Suburbs of St. *Germain*, they began to sing *Davids* Psalms in *French* Verse. The newness of the thing amused many, the devotion of it wrought on others, the Musick drew in the rest; so that the Multitudes that used to divert themselves in those Fields, in stead of their ordinary sports, did now nothing for many nights, but go about singing Psalms: and that which made it more remarkable was, that the King and Queen of *Navarre* came and joyned with them. That King, besides the Honour of a Crowned Head, with the small part of that Kingdom that was yet left in their Hands, was the first Prince of the Blood. He was a soft and weak Man; but his Queen, in whose right he had that Title, was one of the most extraordinary Women that any Age hath produced, both for knowledge far above her Sex, for a great judgment in Affairs, an Heroical Greatness of Mind, and all other Vertues; joyned to a high measure of Devotion, and true Piety: all which, except the last, she derived to her Son *Henry the Great.* When the King of *France* heard of this Psalmody, he made an Edict against it; and ordered the doers of it to be punished: but the Numbers of them, and the respect to those Crowned Heads, made the business to go no further. 1558.

On the 24*th* of *April* was the Dolphin married to the Queen of *Scotland.* Four Cardinals, *Bourbon*, *Lorrain*, *Chastilion*, and *Bertrand*, with many of the Princes of the Blood, and the other great Men of *France*, and the Commissioners sent from *Scotland*, were present. But scarce any thing adorned it more than the *Epithalamium* written upon it by *Buchanan*; which was accounted one of the perfectest Pieces of *Latin* Poetry. After the Marriage was over, the *Scotch* Commissioners were desired to offer the Dolphin the Ensigns of the Regality of *Scotland*, and to acknowledge him their King; but they excused themselves, since that was beyond their Commission, which only empow'red them to treat concerning the Articles of the Marriage, and to carry an account back to those that sent them. Then it was desired that they would promote the business at their return to their Country; but some of them had expressed their aversion to those Propositions so plainly, that it was believed they were poisoned by the Brethren of the House of *Guise.* Four of them died in *France*; the Bishop of *Orkney*, and the Earls of *Rothes*, and *Cassils*, and the Lord *Fleeming.* The Prior of St. *Andrews* was also very sick; and though he recovered at that time, yet he had never any perfect health after it. When the other four returned into *Scotland*, a Convention of the Estates was called, to consult about the Propositions they brought.

The Dolphin marries the Queen of *Scotland.*

This Assembly consists of all those Members that make up a Parliament, who were then, the Bishops, and Abbots, and Priors, who made the first Estate; the Noblemen, that were the second Estate; and the Deputies from the Towns; one from every Town, only *Edenburgh* sends two, were the third Estate. Anciently all that held Lands of the Crown, were summoned to Parliaments, as well the greater as the lesser Barons. But in King *James* the first's time, the lesser Barons, finding it a great charge to attend on such Assemblies, desired to be excused from it: and procured an Act of Parlia-

A Convention of Estates in *Scotland.*

ment

1558. ment exempting them, and giving them power to ſend from every County, two, three, four, or more, to repreſent them: but they afterwards thought this rather a Charge than a Priviledge, and did not uſe it; ſo that now the ſecond Eſtate conſiſted only of the Nobility. But the Gentry finding the prejudice they ſuffered by this, and that the Nobility grew too abſolute, procured, by King *James* the ſixth's favour, an Act of Parliament reſtoring them to that Right of ſending Deputies, two from every County, except ſome ſmall Counties that ſend only one. But according to the Ancient Law, none has a Vote in the Elections, but thoſe who hold Lands immediately of the Crown, of ſuch a value. The difference between a Parliament, and a Convention of Eſtates, is, that the former muſt be ſummoned forty days before it ſits; and then it meets in State, and makes Laws, which are to be prepared by a Committee of all the Eſtates, called the Lords of the Articles: but a Conventiou may be called within as few days as are neceſſary for giving notice to all parts of the Nation to make their Elections: They have no Power of making Laws, being only called for one particular Emergent; which, during the diviſion of the Iſland, was chiefly upon the breaking out of War betwixt the two Nations, and ſo their Power was confined to the giving of Money for the occaſion which then brought them together.

In the Convention now held, after much debate and oppoſition, whether they ſhould conſent to the demand made by the Ambaſſador ſent from *France*, it was carried, that the Dolphin ſhould be acknowledged their King: great aſſurances being given, that this ſhould be only a bare Title, and that he ſhould pretend to no Power over them. So the Earl of *Argile*, and the Prior of St. *Andrews*, who had been the main ſticklers for the *French* Intereſt, upon the promiſes that the Queen Regent made them, that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their Religion, were appointed to carry the Matrimonial Crown into *France*. But as they were preparing for their Journey, a great revolution of Affairs fell out in *England*.

A Seſſion of Parliament in *England*. The Parliament met on the fifth of *November*. On the ſeventh the Queen ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and ordered him to open to them the ill condition the Nation was in: for though there was a Treaty begun at *Cambray*, yet it was neceſſary to put the Kingdom in a poſture of defence, in caſe it ſhould miſcarry. But the Commons were now ſo diſſatisfied, that they could come to no reſolution. So on the 14*th* day of *November* the Lord *Chancellor*, the Lord *Treaſurer*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, and *Pembroke*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*, the Viſcount *Mountacute*, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Howard*, came down to the Houſe of Commons, and ſate in that place of the Houſe, where the Privy-Counſellors uſed to ſit. The Speaker left his Chair, and he, with the Privy-Counſellors that were of the Houſe, came and ſate on low Benches before them. The Lord Chancellor ſhewed the neceſſity of granting a Subſidy, to defend the Nation, both from the *French*, and the *Scots*. When he had done, the Lords withdrew; but though the Commons entred, both that, and the two following days, into the debate, they came to no iſſue in their Conſultations.

The

The Queen had never enjoyed her health perfectly, since the false conception that was formerly spoken of; upon which followed the neglect from her Husband, and the despair of Issue, that encreased her Melancholly: and this receiving a great addition from the loss of *Calais*, and the other misfortunes of this Year; she, by a long declination of Health, and decay of her Spirits, was now brought so low, that it was visible she had not many days to live: and a Dropsie coming on her, put a conclusion to her unhappy Reign, and unfortunate Life, on the 17*th* of *November*, in the 43*d* Year of her Age, after she had reigned five Years, four Months, and eleven Days. 1558. The Queens sickness. And death.

At the same time Cardinal *Pool*, as if one Star had governed both their Nativities, was also dying; and his end being hastened by the Queens death, he followed her within sixteen hours, in the 59*th* Year of his Age. He left his whole estate to *Aloisi Prioli* a Noble *Venetian*, with whom he had lived six and twenty years in so entire a friendship, that as nothing could break it off, so neither was any thing able to separate them from one anothers company. *Prioli*, being invited by Pope *Julius* to come and receive a Cardinals Hat, preferred *Pools* company before it; and as he had supplied him in his necessities in *Italy*, so he left his Country now, to live with him in *England*. *Pool* made him his Executor: But *Prioli* was of a more Noble temper, than to enrich himself by his Friends Wealth; for as he took care to pay all the Legacies he left, so he gave away all that remained, reserving nothing to himself but *Pools* Breviary and Diary. And indeed the Cardinal was not a Man made to raise a Fortune, being, by the greatness of his Birth, and his excellent Vertues, carried far above such mean designs. He was a Learned, Modest, Humble, and good natured Man; and had indeed such Qualities, and such a Temper, that if he could have brought the other Bishops to follow his Measures, or the Pope and Queen to approve of them, he might have probably done much to have reduced this Nation to Popery again. But God designed better things for it: so he gave up the Queen to the Bloody Councils of *Gardiner*, and the rest of the Clergy. It was the only thing in which she was not led by the Cardinal. But she imputed his Opinion in that Particular, rather to the sweetness of his Temper, than to his Wisdom and Experience: and he, seeing he could do nothing of what he projected in *England*, fell into a languishing, first of his mind, that brought after it a decay of his Health, of which he died. I have dwelt the more copiously on his Character, being willing to deny to none, of whom I write, the Praises that are due to them: and he being the only Man of that whole Party, of whom I found any reason to say much good, I was the more willing to enlarge about him, to let the World see, how little I am biassed in the account I give, by Interest or Opinion. So that if I have written sharply of any others that have been mentioned in this Reign, it was the force of Truth, and my abhorrence of their barbarous Cruelties, that led me to it, more than my being of a contrary Perswasion to them. It is certain, that *Pool*'s method, of correcting the manners of the Clergy, and being gentle to the Reformed, would in all appearance have been much more fatal to the progress of the Reformation; that was set forward by nothing more, than Cardinal *Pool* dies. His Character.

1558. by the severities shewed to those that differed from them, and the indulgence of the Bishops to the vices of their own Party. Yet *Pool* had a vast superstition to the See of *Rome*; and though his being at the Council of *Trent*, had opened his Eyes to many things, which he had not observed before; yet he still retained his great submission to that See, and thought it impossible to maintain the Order and Unity of the Church, but by holding Communion with it; which carried him, in opposition to many apprehensions himself had of some Theological Points, still to support the Interests, of the Papacy. His neglect of the offer of it, when it was made to him, shewed this flowed from no aspirings of his own, but purely from his judgment: so that what mistakes soever, his Education, and Heats with King *Henry*, and the disasters of his Family, might have involved him in, it cannot be denied, that he was a Man of as great Probity and Vertue as most of the Age, if not all of that Church, in which he lived.

The Queens Character.

For the Queen her self, her Character has appeared so manifestly in her Reign, that I need make no further description of her. She was a Woman of a strict and innocent Life; that allowed her self few of the diversions, with which Courts abound. She was bred to Learning, and understood the *Latin* Tongue well; but what further knowledge she had, does not appear to me. She was constant at her Devotions, and was as much addicted to the Interests and Humours of the Clergy, as they could have wished her. She had great resentments of her own ill usage in her Fathers and Brothers times; which made her be easily induced to take her revenge, though she coloured it with her zeal against Heresie. She did not much mind any other Affairs, but those of the Church: so that if she could have extirpated Heresie, she seemed to regard all other things very little: and being given up to follow the Dictates of *Rome*, with a nice scrupulosity of Conscience, it was no wonder she went on in these designs very vigorously. For as the Pope was ever calling on all Princes that were under his obedience, to set up the Courts of Inquisition; so the fourth General Council of *Lateran*, to which, with the other General Councils, she payed no less reverence than to the Scriptures, charged Catholick Princes to extirpate all Hereticks out of their Dominions; such as were slack must be required to do it by their Bishops; and if that prevailed not, they were to be excommunicated by them; and if they continued negligent, and under that Censure a year, they were to be deprived by the Pope, and their Dominions to be given to others, who should take more care to extirpate Heresie. The Pope had also in *February* this Year published a Constitution, to which he had made all the Cardinals set their Hands, confirming all former Decrees and Canons against Hereticks; declaring, that all Prelates, Princes, Kings, and Emperors, that had fallen into Heresie, should be understood to be deprived of their Dominions, without any further Sentence: and that any Catholicks who would take the Forfeiture, should have a good Title to all that they invaded and seized. The Bishops, besides the other Canons binding them to proceed against Hereticks, were, by the Words of the Oath of Obedience which they swore to the Pope at their Consecration, engaged to *oppose and persecute the Hereticks with all their might*: so that their

giving

giving ſevere Counſels, and the Queens following them, flowed mainly from the Principles of their Religion: in which the ſowrneſs of her temper made it the more eaſie to perſwade her to a Compliance to thoſe courſes, to which her inclination led her without any ſuch Motives. To conclude, her death was as little lamented, as any of all our Princes ever was, the Popiſh Clergy being almoſt the only Mourners that were among her own People. 1558.

Thus lived and died *Mary* Queen of *England* by Inheritance, and of *Spain* by Marriage.

The END *of the Second* BOOK.



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BOOK III.

OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

In the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign.



UEEN *Maries* Death was conceal'd for some hours. What the secret Consultations were upon it is not known; but the Issue of them appeared about nine a Clock. Then the Lord Chancellor went to the House of Lords, and first imparted to them the News of the Queens Death; which, as it struck the Bishops with no small fear, so those Counsellors who had been severe in their advices about her Sister, did apprehend she might remember it against them. Yet they all agreed to proclaim her *Queen*: and by the Zeal they expressed for her coming to the Crown, intended to ballance the Errors they had formerly been led to, rather in compliance to the late Queens resentments, than out of any ill will they bore her self. They sent for the House of Commons, and the Lord Chancellor signified to them the Queens Death; which, he said, would have been a much more sorrowful loss to them, if they had not such a Successor, that was the next and indisputed Heir to the Crown, *Elizabeth*, of whose Right and Title none could make any question; therefore they intended to proclaim her Queen, and desired their Concurrence. This was Ecchoed with many and long repeated Cries, *God save Queen* Elizabeth. *Long and happily may She Reign.* 1558. Queen *Elizabeth* succeeds.

The

1558. The Parliament being declared to be dissolved by the late Queens death, the Lords proclaimed *Elizabeth* Queen; and went into *London*, where it was again done by the Lord Major, and received every where with such excessive Joy, that there was no sign of sorrow expressed for the death of Queen *Mary*, but what the Priests shewed; who, in so publick and universal a Joy, were forced to betake themselves to secret Groans, since they durst not vent them in publick. Never did any before her come to the Throne with so many good Wishes and Acclamations, which the horror of the Cruelties, and the reflection of the Disasters of the former Reign, drew from the People, who now hoped to see better Times.

And proclaimed Queen.

And comes to *London*.

The Queen was then at *Hatfield*, where having received the news of her Sisters death, and of her being proclaimed *Queen*, she came from thence to *London*. On the 19*th* at *Highgate* all the Bishops met her, whom she received civilly, except *Bonner*, on whom she looked as defiled with so much Blood that she could not think it fit to bestow any mark of her favour on him. She was received into the City, with Throngs much greater than even such Occasions used to draw together, and followed with the loudest shouts of Joy that they could raise. She lay that night at the Duke of *Norfolk's* House in the *Charter-house*, and next day went to the *Tower*. There at her Entry she kneeled down, and offered up thanks to God for that great change in her Condition; that whereas she had been formerly a Prisoner in that Place, every hour in fear of her Life, she was now raised to so high a Dignity. She soon cleared all Peoples apprehensions as to the hardships she had formerly met with, and shewed she had absolutely forgot from whom she had received them: even *Benefield* himself not excepted; who had been the chief Instrument of her Sufferings: But she called him always her *Goaler*, which though she did in a way of Raillery, yet it was so sharp that he avoided coming any more to the Court.

She presently dispatched Messengers to all the Princes of Christendome, giving notice of her Sisters death, and her Succession. She writ in particular to King *Philip*, a large acknowledgment of his kindness to her, to whom she held her self much bound for his interposing so effectually with her Sister for her Preservation. She also sent to Sir *Edward Karn*, that had been her Sisters Resident at *Rome*, to give the Pope the news of her Succession. The haughty Pope received it in his ordinary Stile, declaring, "That *England* was held in Fee of the Apostolick See, that she "could not succeed being Illegitimate, nor could he contradict the De-"clarations made in that matter by his Predecessors, *Clement* the seventh, "and *Paul* the third: He said, it was great boldness in her to assume the "Crown without his consent; for which in reason she deserved no favour "at his hands: yet, if she would renounce her Pretensions, and refer "her self wholly to him, he would shew a fatherly affection to her, and "do every thing for her that could consist with the Dignity of the Apo-"stolick See. When she heard of this, she was not much concerned at it; for she had written to *Karn* as she did to her other Ministers, and had renewed his Powers upon her first coming to the Crown, being unwilling in the beginning of her Reign to provoke any Party against her. But hearing how the Pope received this Address, she recalled *Karns* Powers, and commanded him to come home. The Pope on the other hand required

She sends a Dispatch to *Rome*.

But to no effect.

quired him not to go out of *Rome*, but to stay and take the care of an Hospital over which he set him; which it was thought that *Karn* procured to himself, because he was unwilling to return into *England*, apprehending the change of Religion that might follow, for he was himself zealously addicted to the See of *Rome*. 1558.

King *Philip* courts her in Marriage.

As soon as *Philip* heard the news, he ordered the Duke of *Feria*, whom he had sent over in his Name to comfort the late Queen in her sickness, to Congratulate the new Queen, and in secret to propose Marriage to her; and to assure her he should procure a Dispensation from *Rome*: and at the same time he sent thither to obtain it. But the Queen, though very sensible of her Obligation to him, had no mind to the Marriage. It appeared by what hath been said in the former Book, and by the Sequel of her whole Life, that though upon some occasions, when her Affairs required it, she treated about her Marriage, yet she was firmly resolved never to marry. Besides this, she saw her People were generally averse to any Forreigner, and particularly to a *Spaniard*: and she made it the steady Maxime of her whole Reign, from which she never departed, to rule in their affections as well as over their Persons. Nor did she look on the Popes Dispensation as a thing of any force to warrant what was otherwise forbidden by God: And the Relation between King *Philip* and her being the Reverse of that which was between her Father and Queen *Katharine*, it seeming to be equally unlawful for one Man to marry two Sisters, as it was for one Woman to be married to two Brothers, she could not consent to this Marriage without approving King *Henry*'s with Queen *Katharine*: and if that were a good Marriage, then she must be Illegitimate, as being born of a Marriage which only the unlawfulness of that could justifie. So Inclination, Interest, and Conscience, all concurred to make her reject King *Philip*'s motion. Yet she did it in terms so full of Esteem and Kindness for him, that he still insisted in the Proposition; in which she was not willing to undeceive him, so entirely, as to put him out of all hopes, while the Treaty of *Cambray* was in dependance, that so she might tie him more closely to her Interests.

The Queen of *Scots* pretends to the Crown of *England*.

The *French*, hearing of Queen *Maries* Death, and being allarum'd at *Philips* design upon the new Queen, sent to *Rome*, to engage the Pope to deny the Dispensation, and to make him declare the Queen of *Scotland* to be the right Heir to the Crown of *England*, and the pretended Queen to be Illegitimate. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* prevailed also with the *French* King, to order his Daughter-in-law to assume that Title, and to put the Arms of *England* on all her Furniture.

The Queens Council.

But now to return to *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* continued to employ some of the same Counsellors that had served Queen *Mary*: namely, *Heath* the Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of *Winchester* Lord Treasurer, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, and *Pembroke*, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Howard*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *John Mason*, Sir *Richard Sackvile*, and Dr. *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. Most of these had complied with all the Changes that had been made in Religion backward and forward since the latter end of King *Henry*'s Reign, and were so dexterous at it, that they were still employed in every new Revolution. To them, who were all Papists, the Queen added, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas*

1558. *Parre*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambrose Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecil*, whom she made Secretary of State; and soon after she sent for Sir *Nicolas Bacon*; who were all of the Reformed Religion. She renewed all the Commissions to those formerly intrusted, and ordered, that such as were imprisoned on the account of Religion should be set at liberty. After this, a Man that used to talk pleasantly, said to her, that he came to supplicate in behalf of some Prisoners not yet set at liberty: She asked who they were: he said they were *Mathew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*, that were still shut up; for the People longed much to see them abroad. She answered him as pleasantly, she would first talk with themselves, and see whether they desired to be set at such liberty as he requested for them.

A Consultation about the change of Religion.

Now the two great things under Consultation were Religion, and Peace. For the former, some were appointed to consider how it was to be Reform'd. *Beal*, a Clerk of the Council, gave advice to *Cecil*, that the Parliaments under Queen *Mary* should be declared void; the first being under a force, (as was before related) and the Title of *Supream Head* being left out of the Summons to the next Parliament before it was taken away by Law: from whence he inferred, that both these were not lawfully held or duly summoned; and this being made out, the Laws of King *Edward* were still in force: but this was laid aside as too high and violent a way of proceeding, since the annulling of Parliaments, upon little errors in Writs, or some particular disorders, was a Precedent of such consequence that to have proceeded in such a manner, would have unhinged all the Government and security of the Nation. More moderate Courses were thought on. The Queen had been bred up from her Infancy with a hatred of the Papacy, and a Love to the Reformation: But yet as her first Impressions in her Fathers Reign were in favour of such old Rites as he had still retained; so in her own Nature she loved State, and some Magnificence, in Religion, as well as in every thing else: She thought that in her Brothers Reign they had stript it too much of external Ornaments, and had made their Doctrine too narrow in some Points; therefore she intended to have some things explained in more general terms, that so all Parties might be comprehended by them. She inclined to keep up Images in Churches: and to have the manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament left in some general words; that those who believed the Corporal Presence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an Explanation of it. Nor did she like the Title of *Supream Head*; she thought it imported too great a Power, and came too near that Authority which Christ only had over the Church. These were her own private thoughts. She considered, nothing could make her Power great in the World abroad, so much as the uniting all her People together at home: Her Fathers and her Brothers Reign had been much distracted by the Rebellions within *England*, and she had before her Eyes the Instance of the Coldness that the People had expressed to her Sister on all occasions for the maintaining or recovering of the Dominions beyond Sea: Therefore she was very desirous to find such a Temper in which all might agree. She observed, that in the Changes formerly made, particularly in renouncing the Papacy, and making some Alterations in Worship, the whole Clergy had concurred, and so she resolved to follow and imitate these by easie steps.

There

There was a long Consultation had about the Method of the Changes she should make: The substance of which shall be found in the *Collection*, in a Paper, where, in the way of Question and Answer, the whole design of it is laid down. This Draught of it was given to Sir *William Cecil*, and does exactly agree with the account that *Cambden* gives of it. That Learned and Judicious Man has written the History of this Queens Reign, with that Fidelity and Care, in so good a Stile, and with so much Judgment, that it is without question the best part of our *English* History: but he himself often says, that he had left many things to those who should undertake the History of the Church; therefore in the Account of the beginnings of this Reign, as I shall in all things follow him with the credit that is due to so extraordinary a Writer, so having met with some things which he did not know, or thought not necessary in so succinct a History to enlarge on, I shall not be afraid to write after him, though the Esteem he is justly in may make it seem superfluous to go over these matters any more. 1558. A Method of doing it proposed. Collection Number 1.

"It seemed necessary for the Queen to do nothing before a Parliament "were called; for only from that Assembly could the affections of the "People be certainly gathered. The next thing she had to do, was to ballance the dangers that threatned her both from abroad and at home. "The Pope would certainly excommunicate and depose her, and stir up "all Christian Princes against her: The King of *France* would lay hold "of any opportunity to embroil the Nation; and by the assistance of "*Scotland*, and of the *Irish*, might perhaps raise troubles in her Dominions. "Those that were in Power in Queen *Maries* time, and remained firm "to the old Superstition, would be discontented at the Reformation of "Religion: the Bishops and Clergy would generally oppose it: and "since there was a necessity of demanding Subsidies, they would take "occasion, by the discontent the People would be in on that account, "to inflame them: and those who would be dissatisfied at the retaining "of some of the old Ceremonies, would on the other hand disparage "the Changes that should be made, and call the Religion a Cloak'd-"Papistry, and so alienate many of the most zealous from it. To "remedy all these things, it was proposed to make Peace with *France*, "and to cherish those in that Kingdom that desired the Reformation. "The Curses and Practises of *Rome* were not much to be feared. In "*Scotland* those must be encouraged who desired the like change in Re-"ligion; and a little Money among the Heads of the Families in "*Ireland*, would go a great way. And for those that had born Rule "in Queen *Maries* time, ways were to be taken to lessen their credit "throughout *England*: they were not to be too soon trusted or em-"ployed, upon pretence of Turning; but those who were known "to be well affected to Religion, and the Queens Person, were to be "sought after and encouraged. The Bishops were generally hated by "the Nation: It would be easie to draw them within the Statute of "*Præmunire*, and upon their falling into it, they must be kept under "it, till they had renounced the Pope, and consented to the Altera-"tions that should be made. The Commissions of the Peace, and for "the Militia, were to be carefully reviewed, and such Men were to be "put in them, as would be firm to the Queens Interests. When the The Heads of it.

1558. "Changes should be made, some severe punishments would make the "rest more readily submit. Great care was to be had of the Univer- "sities, and other publick Schools, as *Eaton* and *Winchester*, that the "next Generation might be betimes seasoned with the Love and Know- "ledge of Religion. Some learned Men, as *Bill*, *Parker*, *May*, *Cox*, "*Whitehead*, *Grindall*, *Pilkington*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, were to be "ordered to meet and consider of the Book of Service. In the mean "while the People were to be restrained from Innovating without Au- "thority; and the Queen, to give some hope of a Reformation, might "appoint the Communion to be given in both kinds. The Persons "that were thought fit to be trusted with the Secret of these Consul- "tations, were the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Bedford*, and "*Pembroke*, and the Lord *John Gray*. The Place that was thought most "convenient for the Divines to meet in, was Sir *Thomas Smiths* House "in *Channon-Row*, where an Allowance was to be given for their En- "tertainment.

The forwardness in many to the Reformation.

As soon as the News of the Queens coming to the Crown was known beyond Sea, all those who had fled thither for shelter did return into *England*: and those who had lived in Corners during the late Persecution, now appeared with no small assurance: and these, having notice of the Queens Intentions, could not contain themselves, but in many Places begun to make Changes, to set up King *Edwards* Service, to pull down Images, and to affront the Priests. Upon this, the Queen, to make some discovery of her own Inclinations, gave order, that the Gospels and Epistles, and the Lords Prayer, the Apostles Creed, and the Ten Commandements, should be read in *English*, and that the Letany should be also used in *English*: and she forbade the Priests to Elevate the Host at Mass. Having done this, on the 27*th* of *December* she set out a Proclamation against all Innovations, requiring her Subjects to use no other Forms of Worship than those she had in her Chappel, till it should be otherwise appointed by the Parliament, which she had summoned to meet on the 23*d* of *January*. The Writs were issued out by *Bacon*, into whose Hands she had delivered the Great Seal. On the fifth of *December*, she performed her Sisters Funeral Rites with great Magnificence at *Westminster*. The Bishop of *Winchester* being appointed to preach the Sermon, did so mightily extoll her and her Government, and so severely taxed the disorders which he thought the Innovators were guilty of, not without reflections on the Queen, that he was thereupon confined to his House till the Parliament met.

Parker designed to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

One of the chief things under consultation, was, to provide Men fit to be put into the Sees that were now vacant, or that might fall to be so afterwards, if the Bishops should continue intractable. Those now vacant, were the Sees of *Canterbury*, *Hereford*, *Bristol*, and *Bangor*: and in the beginning of the next Year the Bishops of *Norwich*, and *Glocester* died: so that, as *Cambden* hath it, there were but fourteen Bishops living when the Parliament met. It was of great importance to find Men able to serve in these Imployments, chiefly in the See of *Canterbury*. For this, Dr. *Parker* was soon thought on. Whether others had the offer of it before him,

or not, I cannot tell: but he was writ to by Sir *Nicholas Bacon* on the ninth of *December*, to come up to *London*; and afterwards on the 30*th* of *December*, by Sir *William Cecil*; and again by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, on the fourth of *January*. He underſtood, that it was for ſome high preferment; and being a Man of an humble Temper, diſtruſtful of himſelf, that loved privacy, and was much diſabled by ſickneſs, he declined coming up all he could: he begged he might not be thought of for any publick Imployment, but that ſome Prebend might be aſſigned him, where he might be free both from Care and Government; ſince the Infirmities, which he had contracted by his flying about in the Nights in Queen *Maries* time, had diſabled him from a more publick ſtation. That to which he pretended, ſhews how moderate his deſires were: for he profeſſed, an Imployment of twenty Nobles a year would be more acceptable to him than one of two hundred Pound. He had been Chaplain to Queen *Anne Bullen*, and had received a ſpecial charge from her, a little before ſhe died, to look well to the Inſtruction of her Daughter in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion; and now the Queen had a grateful Remembrance of thoſe Services. This, joyned with the high Eſteem that Sir *Nicholas Bacon* had of him, ſoon made her reſolve to raiſe him to that great Dignity. And ſince ſuch high Preferments are generally, if not greedily ſought after, yet very willingly undertaken by moſt Men; it will be no unfit thing to lay open a modern Precedent, which indeed ſavours more of the Ancient than the latter Times; for then in ſtead of that *Ambitus*, which has given ſuch offence to the World in the latter Ages, it was ordinary for Men to fly from the offer of great Preferments. Some run away when they underſtood they were to be Ordained, or had been Elected to great Sees, and fled to a Wilderneſs. This ſhewed they had a great ſenſe of the Care of Souls, and were more apprehenſive of that weighty Charge, than deſirous to raiſe or enrich themſelves or their Families. It hath been ſhewed before, that *Cranmer* was very unwillingly engaged in the See of *Canterbury*; and now, he that ſucceeded him in that See with the ſame deſigns, was drawn into it with ſuch unwillingneſs, that it was almoſt a whole year before he could be prevailed upon to accept of it: The account of this will appear in the Series of Letters both written to him, and by him, on that Head; which were communicated to me by the preſent moſt Worthy and moſt Reverend Primate of this Church. I cannot mention him in this place without taking notice, that as in his other great Vertues and Learning he has gone in the ſteps of thoſe moſt eminent Arch-biſhops that went before him; ſo the whole Nation is witneſs how far he was from aſpiring to high Preferment, how he withdrew from all thoſe opportunities that might be ſteps to it, how much he was ſurprized with his unlooked-for advancement, how unwillingly he was raiſed, and how humble and affable he continues in that high Station he is now in: but this is a Subject that I muſt leave for them to enlarge on that ſhall write the Hiſtory of this preſent Age. 1558.

1559. Bacon made Lord Keeper.

In the beginning of the next Year, the Queen having found that *Heath* Arch-bishop of *York*, then Lord Chancellor, would not go along with her, as he had done in the Reigns of her Father and Brother; and having therefore taken the Seals from him, and put them into Sir *Nicholas Bacon's* Hand, did now by Patent create him Lord Keeper. Formerly those that were Keepers of the Seal, had no Dignity nor Authority annexed to their Office; they did not hear Causes, nor preside in the House of Lords, but were only to put the Seals to such Writs or Patents as went in course; and so it was only put in the Hands of a Keeper but for some short Interval. But now, *Bacon* was the first Lord Keeper, that had all the Dignity and Authority of the Lord Chancellor conferred on him; and his not being raised to that high Title, perhaps flowed from his own modesty; for as he was one of the most Learned, most Pious, and Wisest Men of the Nation; so he retained in all his greatness a Modesty equal to what the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* had carried with them to their highest advancement. He was Father to the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount St. *Albans*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, that will be always esteemed one of the greatest Glories of the *English* Nation.

The Queens Coronation.

The Queen was now to be Crowned; and having gone on the twelfth of *January* to the *Tower*, she returned from thence in State on the thirteenth. As she went into her Chariot, she lifted up her "Eyes to Heaven, and blessed God that had preserved her to see "that Joyful Day, and that had saved her as he did his Prophet "*Daniel* out of the Mouth of the Lyons. She acknowledged her "Deliverance was only from him, to whom she offered up the "Praise of it. She passed through *London* in great Triumph: and having observed that her Sister, by the sullenness of her behaviour to the People, had much lost their affections; therefore she always used, as she passed through Crowds, but more especially this day, to look out of her Coach cheerfully on them, and to return the respects they paid her with great sweetness in her Looks; commonly saying, *God bless You, my People*; which affected them much. But nothing pleased the City more than her behaviour as she went under one of the Triumphal Arches: There was a rich Bible let down to her, as from Heaven, by a Child, representing *Truth*; She with great Reverence kissed both her Hands, and receiving it, kissed it, and laid it next her Heart; and professed she was better pleased with that Present, than with all the other Magnificent ones that had been that day made her by the City: This drew Tears of Joy from the Spectators Eyes. And indeed this Queen had a strange Art of insinuating her self by such ways into the affections of her People. Some said she was too Theatrical in it; but it wrought her end; since by these little things in her deportment she gained more on their affections, than other Princes have been able to do by more real and significant Arts of Grace and Favour. The day following she was Crowned at *Westminster* by *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, all the other Bishops refusing to assist at that Solemnity. He, and the

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rest of that Order, perceived that she would change the Religion 1559.
then established, and looked on the Alterations she had already made, as Pledges of more to follow; and observed by the favour that *Cecil* and *Bacon* had with her, that she would return to what had been set up by her Brother. They had already turned so oft, that they were ashamed to be turning at every time. *Heath*, *Tonstall*, and *Thirleby*, had complied in King *Edwards* time, as well as in King *Henry's*; and though *Thirleby* had continued in credit and favour with them to the last; yet he had been one of those who had gone to *Rome*, where he made such publick Professions of his respect to the Apostolick See; and he had also assisted at the degradation and condemnation of *Cranmer*; so that he thought it indecent for him to return to that Way any more: Therefore he with all the rest resolved to adhere to what they had set up in Queen *Maries* time. There were two of King *Edwards* Bishops yet alive, who were come into *England*, yet the Queen chose rather to be consecrated by a Bishop actually in Office, and according to the old Rites, which none but *Oglethorp* could be perswaded to do. After that, she gave a general Pardon according to the Common Form.

On the 23*d* of *January*, being the day to which the Parliament was summoned, it was Prorogued till the 25*th*, and then it was opened with a long Speech of the Lord *Bacons*, in which he laid "before them the distracted estate of the Nation, both in matters "of Religion, and the other Miseries that the Wars and late Calamities had brought upon them: all which he recommended to their "care. For Religion, the Queen desired they would consider of it "without heat or partial affection, or using any reproachful term of "*Papist* or *Heretick*; and that they would avoid the Extreams, of "Idolatry and Superstition on the one hand, and contempt and irreligion on the other; and that they would examine matters without "Sophistical Niceties, or too subtil Speculations, and endeavour to settle things so as might bring the People to an Uniformity and Cordial Agreement in them. As for the state of the Nation, he shewed the Queens great unwillingness to lay new Impositions on them, "upon which he run out largely in her commendation, giving them "all assurance that there was nothing she would endeavour more effectually than the advancing of their Prosperity, and the preserving "their affections. He laid open the loss of *Calais*, with great reflections on those who had been formerly in the Government; yet "spoke of it as a thing which they could not at that time hope to "recover; and laid before them the charge the Government must "be at, and the necessities the Queen was in; adding in her Name, "that she would desire no Supply, but what they did freely and "cheerfully offer.

The Parliament meets.

One of the first things that the Commons considered, was, whether the want of the Title of *Supream Head*, which the Queen had not yet assumed, was a Nullity in the Summons for this and other Parliaments in which it had been omitted; but after this had been considered some days, it was judged to be no nullity; for the annulling

1559. nulling of a Parliament, except it had under a force, or for some other error in the Constitution, was a thing of Dangerous Consequence.

The Treaty at *Cambray*. But leaving the Consultations at *Westminster*, I shall now give an account of the Treaty of Peace at *Cambray*. That at which things stuck most, was the rendring of *Calais* again to the *English*, which the *French* did positively refuse to do. For a great while *Philip* demanded it with so much earnestness, that he declared he would make Peace on no other terms; since as he was bound in Point of Honour to see the *English*, who engaged in the War only on his account, restored to the condition that they were in at the beginning of it; so his Interest made him desire that they might be Masters of that Place, by which, it being so near them, they could have the Conveniency of sending over Forces to give a diversion to the *French* at any time thereafter, as their Alliances with him should require. But when *Philip* saw there was no hope of a Marriage with the Queen, and perceived that she was making alterations in Religion, he grew less careful of her Interests, and secretly agreed a Peace with the *French*. But that he might have some colour to excuse himself for abandoning her, he told her Ambassador, that the *French* had offered him full satisfaction in all his own concerns, so that the Peace was hindered only by the Consideration of *Calais*; and therefore, unless the *English* would enter into a League with him for keeping up the War six years longer, he must submit to the necessity of his Affairs. The Queen perceiving that she was to expect no more assistance from the *Spaniard*, who was so much engaged to the old Superstition, that he would enter into no strict League with any whom he accounted an Heretick, was willing to listen to the Messages that were sent her from *France*, by the Constable and others, inducing her to agree to a Peace. She on the other hand complained that the Queen of *Scotland*, and her Husband in her Right, had assumed the Title and Arms of *England*: It was answered, That was done as the younger Brothers in *Germany* carried the Title of the great Families from whence they were descended; and for Titles, the Queen of *England* had little reason to quarrel about that, since she carried the Title, and gave the Arms of *France*.

A Peace with *France* agreed to. The Queen and her Council saw it was impossible for her to carry on the War with *France* alone. The laying heavy Impositions on her Subjects in the beginning of her Reign, might render her very ingrateful to the Nation, who loved not to be charged with many Subsidies: and when the War should produce nothing but some Wasts on the *French* Coasts, which was all that could be expected, since it was unreasonable to look for the Recovery of *Calais*, it might turn all the Joy they were now in at her coming to the Crown into as general a discontent. It was the ruine of the Duke of *Somerset*, that he had engaged in a War in the beginning of King *Edwards* Reign, when he was making Changes in Religion at home: therefore it was necessary to yield to the necessity of the time, especially since the loss of *Calais* was no reproach on the

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Queen; but on her Sister: so it was resolved on, to make a general Peace, that being at quiet with their Neighbours, they might with the less danger apply themselves to the correcting what was amiss in *England*, both in Religion, and the Civil Government. At length a Peace was made on these terms, That there should be free Commerce between the Kingdoms of *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: the *French* should keep *Calais* for eight years; and at the end of that time should deliver it to the *English*: and if it were not then delivered, they should pay to the *English* 500000 Crowns, for which they should give good security by Merchants that lived in other Parts, and give Hostages till the Security were given: but if during these years the Queen made War on *France*, or *Scotland*, she was to lose her Right to that Town; or if the *French* or *Scots* made War on her, *Calais* should be presently restored; to which she was still to reserve her Right: *Aymouth* in *Scotland* was to be razed, and a Commission was to be sent down to some of both Kingdoms, to agree all lesser differences. On these terms a Peace was made, and proclaimed between those Crowns; to which many of the *English*, that did not apprehend what the charge of a War for the regaining of *Calais* would have amounted to, were very averse; thinking it highly dishonourable, that they, whose Ancestors had made such Conquests in *France*, should be now beaten out of the only remainder that they had on the Continent; and thus make a Peace by which it was in effect parted with for ever. For all these Conditions about restoring it were understood to be only for palliating so Inglorious a business. But the Reformed cast the blame of this on the Papists; and some moved, that all the late Queens Council should be questioned for their Misgovernment in that Particular: for it was thought, nothing would make them so odious to the Nation, as the charging that on them. They on the other hand did cast the blame of it on the Lord *Wentworth*, that had been Governour of *Calais*, and was now professedly one of the Reformed, and had been very gentle to these of that Perswasion during his Government. But he put himself on a Trial by his Peers, which he underwent on the 22*d* of *April*, and there did so clear himself, that he was by the Judgment of the Peers acquitted. 1559.

The Proceedings of the Parliament.

The Queens Government being thus quieted abroad, she was thereby at more leisure to do things at home. The first Bill that was put into the House of Lords to try their affections and disposition to a Change in the matters of Religion, was that for the Restitution of the Tenths and First Fruits to the Crown. It was agreed to by the Lords on the fourth of *February*, having been put in the 30*th* of *January*, and was the first Bill that was read: the Arch-bishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Landaffe*, *Litchfield*, *Exeter*, *Chester*, and *Carlisle*, protested against it, these were all of that Order that were at the Session, except the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, *Ely*, and the Abbot of *Westminster*, who it seems were occasionally absent. On the sixth of *February* it was sent down to the Commons, to which they readily agreed; and so it had the Royal Assent. By it, not only the Tenths and First Fruits were again restored to the

Crown,

1559. Crown, but also all Impropriated Benefices which had been surrendred up by Queen *Mary*.

They address to the Queen for her marrying.

But the Commons, reflecting on the Miseries in which they had been lately involved by Queen *Maries* Marriage, had much debate about an Address to the Queen to induce her to marry. On the fourth of *February* it was argued in the House of Commons; and on the sixth, the Speaker, with the Privy-Counsellors of the House, and thirty Members more, were sent with their desires to the Queen. "They expressed the affections of the Nation to her, and said, That "if they could hope she might be Immortal they would rest satisfied; but that being a vain Imagination, they earnestly besought "her to choose such a Husband as might make the Nation and her "self happy; and by the blessing of God, bring such Issue as might "Reign after her death, which they prayed God might be very late. She said, "She looked on that as an expression both of their "affection and respect, since they had neither limited Time nor "Place. She declared that she had hitherto lived in a single state "with great satisfaction; and had neither entertained some Honourable Propositions which, the Lord Treasurer knew, had been made "to her in her Brothers time, nor had been moved by the fears of "death that she was in, while she was under her Sisters displeasure, "(of which she would say little; for though she knew, or might justly suspect, by whose means it was, yet she would not utter it, nor "would she charge it on the Dead, or cast the burthen of it wholly upon her Sister:) But she assured them, if ever she married, she "would make such a Choice as should be to the satisfaction and "good of her People: She did not know what credit she might "yet have with them; but she knew well, she deserved to have it, "for she was resolved never to deceive them: Her People were to "her in stead of Children, and she reckoned her self married to them, "by her Coronation: They would not want a Successor when she "died; and for her part, she should be well contented that the Marble should tell Posterity, HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT "REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A "VIRGIN: She took their Address in good part, and desired "them to carry back her hearty thanks for the care the Commons "had of her.

The Queens Answer.

The Journals of the House of Lords are imperfect, so that we find nothing in them of this matter: yet it appears that they likewise had it before them: for the Journals of the House of Commons have it marked, that on the fifteenth of *February*, there was a Message sent from the Lords, desiring that a Committee of thirty Commoners might meet with twelve Lords to consider what should be the Authority of the Person whom the Queen should marry. The Committee was appointed to treat concerning it; but it seems, the Queen desired them to turn to other things that were more pressing: for I find nothing, after this, entred in the Journals of this Parliament concerning it.

On

On the ninth of *February* the Lords past a Bill for the Recognizing of the Queens Title to the Crown. It had been considered whether as Queen *Mary* had procured a former Repeal of her Mothers Divorce, and of the Acts that passed upon it declaring her Illegitimate, the like should be done now. The Lord Keeper said, The Crown purged all defects, and it was needless to look back to a thing which would at least cast a reproach on her Father: the enquiring into such things too anxiously would rather prejudice than advance her Title. So he advised that there should be an Act passed in general words asserting the lawfulness of her descent, and her Right to the Crown, rather than any special Repeal. Queen *Mary* and her Council were careless of King *Henry*'s Honour; but it became her rather to conceal than expose his Weakness. This being thought both Wise and Pious Council, the Act was conceived in general Words, "That they did assuredly believe and declare, that by "the Laws of God and of the Realm she was their lawful Queen, "and that she was rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended from the "Royal Blood, and that the Crown did without all doubt or ambiguity belong to her, and the Heirs to be lawfully begotten of "her Body after her; and that they, as representing the Three Estates of the Realm, did declare and assert her Title, which they "would defend with their Lives and Fortunes. This was thought to be very wise Council: for if they had gone to repeal the Sentence of Divorce which passed upon her Mothers acknowledging a Precontract, they must have set forth the force that was on her when she made that Confession: and that, as it was a great dishonour to her Father, so it would have raised discourses likewise to her Mothers prejudice; which must have rather weakned than strengthened her Title: And, as has been formerly observed, this seems to be the true reason why in all her Reign there was no Apology printed for her Mother. There was another Act passed for the restoring of her in Blood to her Mother, by which she was qualified, as a private Subject, to succeed, either to her Grand-fathers Estate, or to any others by that Blood.

1559.

They recognize her Title to the Crown.

But for the matters of Religion, the Commons began; and on the fifteenth of *February*, brought in a Bill for the *English* Service, and concerning the Ministers of the Church. On the 21*st* a Bill was read for annexing the Supremacy to the Crown again; and on the 17*th* of *March* another Bill was brought in, confirming the Laws made about Religion in King *Edwards* time: and on the 21*st* another was brought in, That the Queen should have the Nomination of the Bishops, as it had been in King *Edwards* time. The Bill for the Supremacy was past by the Lords on the 18*th* of *March*; the Archbishop of *York*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Viscount *Mountacute*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Worcester*, *Landaffe*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Exeter*, *Chester*, and *Carlisle*, and the Abbot of *Westminster*, dissenting. But afterwards the Commons annexed many other Bills to it, as that about the Queens making Bishops, not according to the Act made in King *Edwards* time, but by the old way of Elections, as it was Enacted in the 25*th* Year of her Fathers Reign,

The Acts that were passed concerning Religion.

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1559. with several Provisoes; which passed in the House of Lords with the same dissent. By it, "all the Acts past in the Reign of King *Henry*, "for the abolishing of the Popes Power, are again revived; and the "Acts in Queen *Maries* time, to the contrary, are repealed. There "was also a Repeal of the Act made by her for proceeding against "Hereticks. They revived the Act made in the first Parliament of "King *Edward*, against those that spoke irreverently of the Sacra-"ment, and against private Masses, and for Communion in both kinds: "And declared the Authority of Visiting, Correcting, and Reforming "all things in the Church, to be for ever annexed to the Crown, "which the Queen and her Successors might by her Letters Patents "depute to any Persons to exercise in her Name. All Bishops, and "other Ecclesiastical Persons, and all in any Civil Imployment, were "required to swear that they acknowledged the Queen to be the *Su-"pream Governour in all Causes as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal with-"in her Dominions; that they renounced all Forreign Power and Ju-"risdiction; and should bear the Queen Faith and true Allegiance:* "Whosoever should refuse to swear it, was to forfeit any Office he "had either in Church or State; and to be from thenceforth disa-"bled to hold any Imployment during Life. And if within a Month "after the end of that Session of Parliament, any should, either by "discourse or in writing, set forth the Authority of any Forreign "Power, or do any thing for the advancement of it, they were to "forfeit all their Goods and Chattels: and if they had not Goods "to the value of twenty Pounds, they were to be Imprisoned a "whole year; and for the second offence they were to incur the "Pains of a *Præmunire:* and the third offence in that kind was made "Treason. To this a Proviso was added, That such Persons as should "be Commissioned by the Queen to Reform and Order Ecclesiasti-"cal Matters, should judge nothing to be Heresie but what had been "already so Judged, by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, "or by the first four General Councils, or by any other General "Council in which such Doctrines were declared to be Heresies by "the express and plain Words of Scripture: All other Points, not "so decided, were to be judged by the Parliament with the assent "of the Clergy in their Convocation.

This Act was in many things short of the Authority that King *Henry* had claimed, and the severity of the Laws he had made. The Title of *Supream Head* was left out of the Oath: This was done to mitigate the Opposition of the Popish Party; but besides, the Queen her self had a scruple about it, which was put in her Head by one *Lever*, a famous Preacher among those of the Reformation, of which *Sands*, afterwards Bishop of *Worcester*, complained to *Parker* in a Letter that is in the *Collection*. There was no other punishment in-flicted on those that denied the Queens Supremacy, but the loss of their Goods; and such as refused to take the Oath, did only lose their Imployments; whereas to refuse the Oath in King *Henry's* time, brought them into a *Præmunire*, and to deny the Supremacy was Treason. But against this Bill the Bishops made Speeches in the House of Lords. I have seen a Speech of this kind was said to have

Collection Number 2.

The Bishops oppose the Queens Supremacy.

have been made by Arch-bishop *Heath*; but it must be forgery put out in his Name: for he is made to speak of the Supremacy as a new and unheard of thing, which he, who had sworn it so oft in King *Henry's* and King *Edwards* times, could not have the face to say. The rest of the Bishops opposed it, the rather, because they had lately declared so high for the Pope that it had been very indecent for them to have revolted so soon. The Bishop of *Duresme* came not to this Parliament. There were some hopes of gaining him to concur in the Reformation: for in the Warrant the Queen afterwards gave to some for Consecrating the new Bishops, he is first named; and I have seen a Letter of Secretary *Cecils* to *Parker*, that gives him some hope that *Tonstal* would joyn with them. He had been offended with the Cruelties of the late Reign, and though the resentments he had of his ill usage in the end of King *Edwards* time, had made him at first concur more heartily to the restoring of Popery, yet he soon fell off, and declared his dislike of those violent Courses; and neither did he, nor *Heath*, bring any in trouble within their Diocesses upon the account of Religion; though it is hardly credible that there was no occasion for their being severe, if they had been otherwise enclined to it. The Bishop of *Ely* was also absent at the passing of this Act; for though he would not consent to it, yet he had done all that was prescribed by it so often before, that it seems he thought it more decent to be absent, than either to consent to it, or to oppose it. 1559.

The Power that was added for the Queens Commissionating some to Execute her Supremacy, gave the Rise to that Court, which was commonly called the *High Commission Court*; and was to be in the room of a single Person, to whom, with the Title of Lord Vice-gerent, King *Henry* did delegate his Authority. It seems, the Clergy-men with whom the Queen consulted at this time, thought this too much to be put in one Mans Hand, and therefore resolved to have it shared to more Persons, of whom a great many would certainly be Church-men: so that they should not be altogether kept under by the hard Hands of the Laity, who having groaned long under the Tyranny of an Ecclesiastical Yoke, seemed now disposed to revenge themselves by bringing the Clergy as much under them; for so Extreams do commonly rise from one another. The beginning of the High Commission.

The Popish Clergy were now every where beginning to declaim against Innovation and Heresie. *Harpsfield* had, in a Sermon at *Canterbury* in *February*, stirred the People much to Sedition: and the Members belonging to that Cathedral had openly said, that Religion should not nor could not be altered. The Council also heard that the Prebendaries there had bought up many Arms: so a Letter was written to Sir *Thomas Smith*, to examine that matter. *Harpsfield* was not put in Prison, but received only a Rebuke. There came also complaints from many other Places of many Seditious Sermons: So the Queen, following the Precedent her Sister had set her, did, in the beginning of *March*, forbid all Preaching, except by such as had a Licence under the Great Seal. But lest the Clergy might now in the Convocation set out Orders in opposition to what the Queen was about to do; she sent, and required them, under the Pains of a *Præmunire*, to make no Canons. Yet

1559. *Harpsfield*, that was Prolocutor, with the rest of the lower House, made an Address to the upper House, to be by them presented to the Queen, for the discharge of their Consciences. They reduced the Particulars into five Articles. 1. That Christ was corporally present in the Sacrament. 2. That there was no other Substance there but his Body and Blood. 3. That in the Mass there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead and the Living. 4. That St. *Peter* and his lawful Successors had the Power of feeding and governing the Church. 5. That the Power of treating about Doctrine, the Sacraments, and the Order of Divine Worship, belonged only to the Pastors of the Church. These they had sent to the two Universities, from whence they were returned, with the Hands of the greatest part in them to the first four; but it seems they thought it not fit to sign the last: For now the Queen had resolved to have a publick Conference about Religion in the Abby-Church of *Westminster*.

The Arch-bishop of *York* was continued still to be of the Council; so the Conference being proposed to him, he, after he had Communicated it to his Brethren, accepted of it, though with some unwillingness. It was appointed that there should be nine of a side, who should confer about these three Points. 1. *Whether it was not against the Word of God, and the Custom of the Ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People, in the Common-Prayers and the Administration of the Sacraments?* 2. *Whether every Church had not Authority to appoint, change, and take away, Ceremonies, and Ecclesiastical Rites, so the same were done to edification.* 3. *Whether it could be proved by the Word of God, that in the Mass there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead, and the Living?* All was ordered to be done in Writing. The Bishops, as being actually in Office, were to read their Papers first upon the first Point, and the Reformed were to read theirs next; and then they were to exchange their Papers, without any discourse concerning them, for the avoiding of jangling. The next day they were to read their Papers upon the second, and after that, upon the third Head: and then they were to answer one anothers Papers. The Nine on both sides were, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Litchfield*, *Chester*, *Carlisle*, and *Lincoln*, and Doctors *Cole*, *Harpsfield*, *Langdale*, and *Chedsey*, on the Popish side: and *Scory* late Bishop of *Chichester*, *Cox*, *Whitehead*, *Grindal*, *Horn*, *Sands*, *Guest*, *Almer*, and *Jewel*, for the Protestants. The last of *March* was appointed to be the first day of Conference, where the Privy Council was to be present, and the Lord Keeper was to see that they should not depart from the Rules to which they had agreed.

The noise of this drew vast numbers of People to so unusual a sight: it being expected that there should be much fairer dealings now, than had been in the Disputes in Queen *Maries* time. The whole House of Commons came to hear it, as no doubt the Lords did also, though it is not marked in their Journal. At their meeting, the Bishop of *Winchester* said their Paper was not quite ready, and pretended they had mistaken the Order: But Dr. *Cole* should deliver what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order that they could copy it out. The Secret of this was, the Bishops had in their private Consultations agreed to read their Paper, but not to give those they called Hereticks a

Copy

Copy of it: They could not decently refuse to give a publick account of their Doctrine, but they were resolved not to enter into Disputes with any about it: This seemed to be the giving up of the Faith, if they should suffer it again to be brought into question: Besides, they look'd on it as the Highest Act of Supremacy, for the Queen to appoint such Conferences: for she and her Council would pretend to judge in these Points, when they had done disputing. For these Reasons they would not engage to make any Exchange of Papers. The Lord Keeper took notice that this was contrary to the Order laid down at the Council Board, to which the Arch-bishop of *York* had in their Names consented. But they pretending they had mistaken the Order, *Cole* was appointed to deliver their Minds, which he did in a long Discourse, the greatest part of which he read out of a Book, that will be found in the *Collection*. For though they refused to deliver a Copy of it, yet *Parker* some way procured it, among whose Papers I found it. The Substance of it was, "That although it might "seem that the Scriptures had appointed the Worship of God to be "in a known Tongue; yet that might be changed by the Authority "of the Church, which had changed the Sabbath, appointed in the "Scripture, without any Authority from thence. Christ washed his "Disciples Feet, and bid them do the like, yet this was not kept up: "Christ Instituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood after Supper; and yet the Church appointed it to be received fasting: so "had the Church also given it only in one kind, though Christ himself "gave it in both: And whereas the Apostles, by Authority from the "Holy Ghost, commanded all Believers to abstain from Blood, yet "that was not thought to oblige any now: and though there was a "Community of Goods in the Apostles times, it was no obligation to "Christians to set up that now: so that this matter was in the Power of "the Church. And since the Church of *Rome* had appointed the "*Latin* Service to be every where used, it was Schismatical to separate "from it: for according to *Ireneus*, all Churches ought to agree with "her, by reason of her great Preeminence. Upon which they run out "largely to shew the mischiefs of Schism, both in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and in other Countries. And for the *Brittains* and *Saxons* of "*England*, their first Apostles, that converted them to Christianity, were "Men of other Nations, and did never use any Service but that of their "Native Language. All the Vulgar Tongues did change much, but the "*Latin* was ever the same: and it was not fit for the Church to be changing her Service. The Queen of *Ethiopia*'s Eunuch read *Isaiah*'s Book, "though he understood it not; upon which, God sent *Philip* to him to "expound it: So the People are to come to their Teachers, to have "those things explained to them which they cannot understand of themselves. There were many Rites in the Jewish Religion, the signification whereof the People understood as little then, as the Vulgar do "the *Latin* now; and yet they were commanded to use them. The "People were to use their private Prayers in what Tongue they pleased, "though the publick Prayers were put up in *Latin*; and such Prayers "may be for their profit, though they understand them not, as absent "Persons are the better for the Prayers which they do not hear, much "less

1559.

Collection Number 4.

Arguments for the Latin Service.

1559. "less understand. They said, it was not to be thought that the Holy "Ghost had so long forsaken his Church, and that a few lately risen up "were to teach all the World. They concluded, that they could bring "many more Authorities; but they, being to defend a Negative, "thought it needless, and would refer these to the Answers they were "to make.

Arguments against it. When this was done, the Lord Keeper turned to those of the other side, and desired them to read their Paper. *Horn* was appointed by them to do it. He began with a short Prayer to God to enlighten their minds, and with a Protestation that they were resolved to follow the Truth according to the Word of God. Then he read his Paper, which will be also found in the *Collection*. "They founded their Assertion on "St. *Pauls* words, who, in the 14*th* Chapter of his first Epistle to the "*Corinthians*, had treated on that Subject of set purpose; and spake in "it, not only of Preaching, but of Praying with the Understanding; "and said, that the Unlearned were to say *Amen* at the giving of Thanks. "From that Chapter they argued, that St. *Paul* commanded that all things "should be done to Edification, which could not be by an unknown Lan-"guage: He also charged them that nothing should be said that had an "uncertain sound; and that, as the sound of a Trumpet must be di-"stinct, so the People must understand what is said, that so they might "say *Amen* at the giving of Thanks. He also required those that spake "in a strange Language, and could not get one to interpret, to hold "their peace; since it was an absurd thing for one to be a Barbarian "to others in the Worship of God: and though the speaking with strange "Tongues was then an extraordinary Gift of God, yet he ordered that "it should not be used where there was no Interpreter. They added, "that these things were so strictly commanded by St. *Paul*, that it is plain "they are not indifferent, or within the Power of the Church. In the "Old Testament, the *Jews* had their Worship in the Vulgar Tongue; "and yet the new Dispensation being more Internal and Spiritual, it was "absurd that the Worship of God should be less understood by Chri-"stians, than it had been by the *Jews*. The chief end of Worship is, "according to *David*, that we may shew forth Gods Praises, which can-"not be done, if it is in a strange Tongue. Prayer is the offering "up of our desires to God, which we cannot do, if we understand not "the Language they are in. *Baptisme* and the *Lords Supper* are to "contain Declarations of the Death and Resurrection of Christ, which "must be understood, otherwise why are they made? The use of Speech "is to make known what one brings forth to another. The most Barba-"rous Nations perform their Worship in a known Tongue, which shews "it to be a Law of Nature. It is plain from *Justin Martyrs* Apology, that "the Worship was then in a known Tongue; which appears also from all "the Ancient Liturgies: and a long Citation was brought out of St. *Basil*, "for the singing of Psalms, duly weighing the Words with much atten-"tion and devotion; which, he says, was practised in all Nations. They "concluded, wondering how such an abuse could at first creep in, and be "still so stiffly maintained; and why those who would be thought the "Guides and Pastors of the Church, were so unwilling to return to the "Rule of St. *Paul*, and the Practise of the Primitive Times.

Collection Number 3.

There

There was a great ſhout of Applauſe, when they had done. They gave their Paper, ſigned with all their Hands, to the Lord Keeper, to be delivered to the other ſide, as he ſhould think fit. But he kept it till the other ſide ſhould bring him theirs. The Papiſts, upon this, ſaid, they had more to add on that Head, which was thought diſingenuous by thoſe that had heard them profeſs they had nothing to add to what *Cole* had ſaid. Thus the Meeting broke up for that day, being *Saturday*; and they were ordered to go forward on *Munday*, and to prepare what they were to deliver on the other two Heads. The Papiſts, though they could complain of nothing that was done, except the applauſe given to the Paper of the Reformers; yet they ſaw by that, how much more acceptable the other Doctrine was to the People; and therefore reſolved to go no further in that matter. At the next meeting, they deſired that their Anſwer to the Paper read by the Reformed might be firſt heard: To this the Lord Keeper ſaid, That they had delivered their mind the former day, and ſo were not to be heard till they had gone through the other Points; and then they were to return on both ſides to the anſwering of Papers. They ſaid that what *Cole* had delivered the former day, was *Ex tempore*, and of himſelf; but it had not been agreed on by them. This appeared to all the Aſſembly to be very foul dealing; ſo they were required to go on to the ſecond Point. Then they preſſed that the other ſide might begin with their Paper, and they would follow: for they ſaw what an advantage the others had the former day, by being heard laſt. The Lord Keeper ſaid, the Order was that they ſhould be heard firſt, as being Biſhops now in Office. But both *Wincheſter*, and *Lincoln*, refuſed to go any further, if the other ſide did not begin. Upon which there followed a long debate; *Lincoln* ſaying that the firſt Order, which was, that all ſhould be in *Latin*, was changed; and that they had prepared a Writing in *Latin:* But in this, not only the Counſellors, among whom ſate the Arch-biſhop of *York*, but the reſt of his own Party contradicted him. In concluſion, all, except *Fecknam*, refuſed to read any more Papers: he ſaid, he was willing to have done it, but he could not undertake ſuch a thing alone; and ſo the Meeting broke up. 1559.

But the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, and of *Lincoln*, ſaid, the Doctrine of the Catholick Church was already eſtabliſhed, and ought not to be diſputed; except it were in a Synod of Divines: that it was too great an encouragement to Hereticks, to hear them thus diſcourſe againſt the Faith before the unlearned Multitude: and that the Queen by ſo doing had incurred the Sentence of Excommunication; and they talked of excommunicating her and her Council. Upon this they were both ſent to the *Tower*. The Reformed took great advantage from the Iſſue of this Debate, to ſay, their Adverſaries knew that upon a fair hearing the Truth was ſo manifeſtly on their ſide, that they durſt not put it to ſuch hazard. The whole World ſaw that this Diſputation was managed with great Impartiality, and without noiſe or diſorder; far different from what had been in Queen *Maries* time: ſo they were generally much confirmed in their former belief, by the Papiſts flying the Field. They on the other hand ſaid, they ſaw the rude Multitude were now carried with a Fury againſt them; the Lord Keeper was their profeſſed Enemy; the

The Conference between the Papiſts and Proteſtants breaks up.

1559. the Laity would take on them to judge, after they had heard them; and they perceived they were already determined in their minds; and that this Dispute was only to set off the changes that were to be made with the Pomp of a Victory: and they blamed the Bishops for undertaking it at first, but excused them for breaking it off in time. And the Truth is, the strength of their Cause, in most Points of Controversie, resting on the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, that was now a thing of so odious a sound, that all Arguments brought from thence, were not like to have any great effect. Upon this whole matter, there was an Act of State made, and Signed by many Privy Counsellors, giving an account of all the steps that were made in it, which will be found in the
Collection Number 5. *Collection.*

This being over, the Parliament was now in a better disposition to pass the Bill for the Uniformity of the Service of the Church. Some of the Reformed Divines were appointed to review King *Edwards* Liturgie, and to see if in any Particular it was fit to change it. The only considerable Variation was made about the Lords Supper, of which somewhat will appear from the Letter of *Sandys* to *Parker*. It was proposed to have the Communion Book so contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the Corporal Presence: for the chief design of the Queens Council was, to unite the Nation in one Faith; and the greatest part of the Nation continued to believe such a Presence. Therefore it was recommended to the Divines to see that there should be no express definition made against it; that so it might lie as a Speculative Opinion, not determined, in which every Man was left to the Freedom of his own Mind. Hereupon the Rubrick that explained the reason for kneeling at the Sacrament, *That thereby no Adoration is intended to any Corporal Presence of Christs natural Flesh and Blood*, because, *that is only in Heaven*, which had been in King *Edwards* Liturgy, was now left out. And whereas at the delivery of the Elements, in King *Edwards* first Liturgy, there was to be said, *The Body or Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ Preserve thy Body and Soul to Everlasting Life*; which words had been left out in his second Liturgy, as favouring the Corporal Presence too much; and in stead of them, these words were ordered to be used in the distribution of that Sacrament, *Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy Heart by Faith with Thanksgiving*; and *Drink this in remembrance that Christs Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.* They now joyned both these in one. Some of the Collects were also a little altered: and thus was the Book presented to the House. But for the Book of Ordination, it was not in express terms named in the Act; which gave an occasion afterwards to question the lawfulness of the Ordinations made by that Book. But by this Act the Book that was set out by King *Edward*, and confirmed by Parliament in the fifth Year of his Reign, was again authorized by Law; and the Repeal of it in Queen *Maries* time was made void. So the Book of Ordinations being in that Act added to the Book of Common-Prayer, it was now legally in force again; as was afterwards declared in Parliament, upon a Question that was raised about it by *Bonner*.

The

The Bill that was put in on the 15th of *February*, concerning the new Service, being laid aside, a new one was framed, and sent up by the Commons on the 18th of *April*, and debated in the House of Lords: *Heath* made a long Speech against it, rather Elegant than Learned; "He enlarged much on the several Changes which had been made in "King *Edward's* time: he said, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* changed "their Opinions in the matter of Christ's presence: he called *Ridley* "the most notably learned Man that was of that way. These Changes "he imputed to their departing from the Standard of the Catholick "Church: he complained much of the robbing of Churches, the breaking "of Images, and the Stage-Plays made in mockery of the Catholick Re-"ligion. Upon all these Reasons he was against the Bill. The Bishop of *Chester* spake also to it: "He said, the Bill was against both Faith and Cha-"rity: that Points once defined were not to be brought again into que-"stion; nor were Acts of Parliament Foundations for a Churches Be-"lief: he enlarged on the Antiquity of their Forms; and said, it was "an insolent thing to pretend that our Fathers had lived in Ignorance. "The Prophets oftentimes directed the *Israelites* to ask of their Fathers. "Matters of Religion could not be understood by the Laity. It was "of great consequence to have their Faith well grounded. *Jeroboam* "made Israel to Sin, when he set up a new way of Worship: and not "only the Orthodox, but even the *Arrian* Emperours ordered, that "points of Faith should be examined in Councils. *Gallio* by the light of "Nature knew that a Civil Judge ought not to meddle with matters of "Religion: In the Service-Book that was then before them, they "had no Sacrifice for their Sins, nor were they to adore Christ in "the Host; and for these reasons he could not agree to it: but if any "thought he spoke this because of his own concern, or pittied him for "what he might suffer by it, he would say in the words of our Saviour "*Weep not for me, Weep for your selves.*

1559.

Debates about the Act of Uniformity.

After him spake *Fecknam* Abbot of *Westminster*; "He proposed "three Rules by which they should judge of Religion; its Antiquity, "its constancy to it self, & the influence it had on the Civil Government: "he said the old Religion began in the time of King *Lucius*, according "to *Gildas*; the Book now proposed, was not used before the two last "years of King *Edward*: the one was always the same, the other was "changed every second year, as appeared in the point of the Presence "of Christ in the Sacrament: there had been great Order and Obe-"dience in Queen *Maries* Reign; but now every where great Insolen-"ces were committed by the People, with some very indecent Pro-"phanations of the most holy things: he recommended to them, in "St. *Austines* words, the adhering to the Catholick Church: the very "name *Catholick*, which Hereticks had not the confidence to assume, "shewed their Authority. The Consent of the whole Church in all "Ages, with the perpetual Succession of Pastors in St. *Peter's* Chair, "ought to weigh more with them, than a few new Preachers, who had "distracted both *Germany* and *England* of late.

Thus I have given the substance of their Speeches, being all that I have seen of that side. I have seen none at all on the other side; tho it is not probable but some were made in defence of the Service, as well as these were against it. But upon this Occasion I shall set down the

1559 substance of the second Paper, which the Reformed Divines had prepared on the second point, for the Conference about the Authority of every particular Church to change or take away Ceremonies. I do not put it in the Collection, because I have not that which the Papists prepared in Opposition to it. But the heads of this Paper were as followeth.

Arguments for the Changes made in the Service.

"It is clear by the Epistles which St. *Paul* writ to the Corinthians "and other Churches, that every Church has Power in it self to order "the Forms of their Worship, and the administration of the Sacraments, "among them, so as might best tend to Order, Edification, and Peace. The "like Power had also the seven Angels of the Churches to whom St. "*John* writ. And for the first three Ages, there was no General Meet-"ing of the Church in Synods, but in those times the neighbouring Pa-"stors and Bishops, by mutual advice rather than Authority, ordered "their affairs: and when Heresies sprung up, they condemned them, "without staying for a General Determination of the whole Church. "There were also great differences among them in their Customs, as a-"bout observing *Lent* and *Easter*. Ceremonies grew too soon to a great "number. When Errors or Abuses appeared, private Bishops reformed "their own Dioceses: So those who came in the room of *Arrian* Bi-"shops, even when that Heresie was spread over all the East, and the "See of *Rome* it self was defiled with it, yet reformed their own Churches. "*Ambrose* finding the custom of Feasting in Churches on the Anniver-"saries of the Martyrs gave occasion to great Scandals, took it away. "Even in Queen *Maries* time, many of the old Superstitions of Pilgri-"mages and Reliques, which had been abolish'd in King *Henry's* time, "were not then taken up again: from which they argued, that if some "things might be altered, why not more? So that if there was good "reason to make any Changes, it could not be doubted but that as *He-"zekiah* and *Josiah* had made by their own power, so the Queen might "make Reformations: which were not so much the setting up of new "things, as the restoring of the state of Religion to what it was ancient-"ly; which had been brought in by consent of Parliament and Convo-"cation in King *Edward's* time. The Rules they offer'd in this Paper about Ceremonies, were, that they should not be made necessary parts of Worship; that they should not be too many, nor dumb and vain, nor should be kept up for gain and advantage.

These were the Arguments used on both sides: But the Reformed being superiour in number, the Bill passed in the House of Lords; the Archbishop of *York*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Viscount *Mountacute*, the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Ely*, *Coventry*, *Chester*, and *Carlisle*; and the Lords, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, *Wharton*, *Rich*, and *North*, and the Abbot of *Westminster* dissenting. By this Act the new Book was to take place by St. *John Baptist's* day.

Another Act passed, That the Queen might reserve to her self the Lands belonging to Bishopricks, as they fall void, giving the full value of them in Impropriated Tithes in lieu of them. To this the Bishops dissented on the 7th of *April*, when it passed in the House of Lords. But when this came to the Commons, there was great opposition made to it. Many had observed, that in *Edward* the 6th's time, under a pretence of giving some Endowments to the Crown, the Courtiers got all the Church-Lands divided amongst themselves; so it was believed the use

to be made of this, would be the robbing of the Church, without enriching the Crown. After many days Debate, on the 17th of *April*, the House divided, and 90 were against it, but 133 were for it, and so it passed. 1559.

On the 5th of *May*, another Bill passed with the like opposition. It was for annexing of all Religious Houses to the Crown. After that there followed some private Acts for declaring the deprivation of the Popish Bishops in K. *Edward's* Time to have been good. When they were restored by Q. *Mary*, the Sentences passed against them, were declared to have been void from the beginning; and so all Leases that were made by *Ridley*, *Poinet*, and *Hooper*, and the Patents granted by the King, of some of their Lands, were annulled. It was particularly remembred in the House of Commons, that *Ridley* had made the confirming of these Leases his last desire, when he was going to be tied to the Stake. The ground on which the Sentences were declared void, was, because the Parties had appealed, though in the Commission, by virtue of which the Delegates deprived them, they were impowered to proceed notwithstanding any Appeal. To this, not only the Bishops, but the Marquess of *Winchester*, and the Lords, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, and *North*, dissented.

It shews the great Moderation of this Government, that this Marquess, notwithstanding his adhering to the Popish Interest in the House of Lords, was still continued Lord Treasurer; which employment he held fourteen Years after this, and died in the 97th Year of his Age, leaving 103 issued from his own Body, behind him. He was the greatest instance of good Fortune and Dexterity, that we find in the English History; who continued Lord Treasurer in three such different Reigns, as King *Edward's*, Queen *Mary's*, and Queen *Elizabeth's* were.

There was a Subsidy, and two Tenths, and two Fifteenths given by the Parliament, with the Tonnage and Poundage, for the Queen's Life; and so on the 8th of *May* it was dissolved.

Bills that were proposed, but not passed.

There were three Bills that did not pass in the House of Commons, but upon what account they were laid aside, it does not appear. The one was for the Restoring of the Bishops that had been deprived by Q. *Mary*. There were but three of these alive, *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*; the first of these had resigned, and the last, being old, had no mind to return to his Bishoprick: So perhaps it was not thought worth the while to make an Act for one Man's sake, especially since there were so many vacant Bishopricks in the Queen's hands, and more were like to fall. The other Bill was, for the restoring of all Persons that were deprived from their Benefices because they were married. This the Queen odered to be laid aside; of which *Sands* complained much in his Letter to *Parker*: But yet the Queen took no notice of the Laws formerly made against their Marriage; and promoted many married Priests, particularly *Parker* himself. There was no Law now in force against Clergy-mens marrying; for Queen *Mary* had only repealed the Laws of *Edward* the 6th, which allowed it, but had made none concerning that Matter: So there was nothing but the Canon Law against it; and that was resolved to be condemned, by continuing that Article of Religion concerning the Lawfulness of their Marriage, among those that should be set out. The next Bill, that came to nothing, was a new Act for giving Authority to 32 Persons, to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws,

1559 and digest them into a Body; it was laid aside at the second Reading in the House of Commons, and has slept ever since.

The Bishops refuse the Oath of Supremacy.

Vita Parkeri.

When the Parliament was over, the Oath of Supremacy was soon after put to the Bishops and Clergy. They thought, if they could stick close to one another in refusing it, the Queen would be forced to dispence with them, and would not at one stroke turn out all the Bishops in *England*. It does not appear how soon after the Dissolution of the Parliament, the Oath was put to them; but it was not long after, for the last Collation *Bonner* gave of any Benefice, was on the *6th* of *May* this Year. The Oath being offered to *Heath*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, to *Bonner* of *London*, *Thirleby* of *Ely*, *Bourn* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Christopherson* of *Chichester*, *Bain* of *Litchfield*, *White* of *Winchester*, and *Watson* of *Lincoln*, *Oglethorpe* of *Carlisle*, *Turbervile* of *Exeter*, *Pool* of *Peterburgh*, *Scot* of *Chester*, *Pates* of *Worcester*, and *Goldwell* of St. *Asaph*, they did all refuse to take it: So that only *Kitchin* Bishop of *Landaff* took it. There was some hope of *Tonstall*; so it was not put to him till *September*, but he being very old, chose to go out with so much Company, more for the decency of the thing, than out of any scruple he could have about the Supremacy for which he had formerly writ so much. They were, upon their refusal, put in Prison for a little while; but they had all their Liberty soon after, except *Bonner*, *White*, and *Watson*. There were great Complaints made against *Bonner*, that he had, in many things, in the prosecution of those that were presented for Heresy, exceeded what the Law allowed; so that it was much desired to have him made an Example. But as the Queen was of her own nature Merciful, so the Reformed Divines had learned in the Gospel, not *to render Evil for Evil*, nor to seek Revenge; and as *Nazianzen* had of old exhorted the Orthodox, when they had got an Emperor that favoured them, not to retaliate on the *Arrians* for their former Cruelties: So they thought it was for the honour of their Religion, to give this real demonstration of the Conformity of their Doctrine, to the Rules of the Gospel, and of the Primitive Church, by avoiding all Cruelty and Severity, when it looked like Revenge.

The Queen's gentleness to them.

All this might have been expected from such a Queen, and such Bishops. But it shewed a great temper in the whole Nation, that such a Man as *Bonner* had been, was suffered to go about in safety, and was not made a Sacrifice to the Revenge of those who had lost their near Friends by his means. Many things were brought against him, and *White*, and some other Bishops; upon which the Queen promised to give a Charge to the Visitors, whom she was to send over *England*, to enquire into these things; and after she had heard their Report, she said, she would proceed as she saw cause: by this means she did not deny justice, but gained a little time to take off the Edg that was on Mens Spirits, who had been much provoked by the ill usage they had met with from them.

Heath was a Man of a generous temper, and was so well used by the Queen, for as he was suffered to live securely at his own House in *Surrey*, so she went thither sometimes to visit him. *Tonstall* and *Thirleby* lived in *Lambeth* with *Parker*, with great freedom and ease; the one was Learned and good natured, the other was a Man of Business: but too easy and flexible. *White* and *Watson* were morose sullen Men; to which their Studies, as well as their Tempers, had disposed them; for they were

much given to Scholastical Divinity, which inclined Men to be Cinical, 1559.
to over-value themselves, and despise others. *Christopherson* was a good Grecian, and had translated *Eusebius* and the other Church Historians into Latin, but with as little fidelity, as may be expected from a Man violently addicted to a Party. *Bain* was learned in the Hebrew, which he had professed at *Paris*, in the Reign of *Francis* the First. All these chose to live still in *England*; only *Pates*, *Scot*, and *Goldwell*, went beyond Sea. After them went the Lord *Morley*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, Sir *Robert Peckham*, Sir *Thomas Shelley*, and Sir *John Gage*; who it seems, desired to live where they might have the free exercise of their Religion: And such was the Queen's gentleness, that this was not denied them, tho such favour had not been shewed in Q. *Mary's* Reign. *Feeknam* Abbot of *Westminster*, was a charitable and generous Man, and lived in great esteem in *England*. Most of the Monks returned to a Secular course of Life, but the Nunns went beyond Sea.

A Visitation and Injunctions ordered by the Queen.

Now the Queen intended to send *Injunctions* over *England*, and in the end of *June* they were prepared. There was great difficulty made about one of them; the Queen seemed to think the use of Images in Churches, might be a means to stir up Devotion, and that at least it would draw all People to frequent them the more: for the great measure of her Councils was, to unite the whole Nation into one way of Religion. The Reformed Bishops and Divines opposed this vehemently; they put all their Reasons in a long Writing which they gave her concerning it; the Preface and Conclusion of which will be found in the *Collection*. *Coll.* Numb. 6.

The Queen inclined to retain Images in Churches.

'They protested they could not comply with that, which, as it was 'against their own Consciences, so it would prove a Snare to the Ignorant: they had often pressed the Queen in that Matter; which, it 'seems, stuck long with her: They prayed her not to be offended with 'that Liberty they took, thus to lay their Reasons before her, it being 'a thing which Christian Princes had at all times taken well from their 'Bishops. They desired her to commit that Matter to the Decision of 'a Synod of Bishops and Divines, and not to do such a thing meerly 'upon some Political Considerations; which as it would offend many, 'so it would reflect much on the Reign of her most Godly Brother, and 'on those who had then removed all Images, and had given their Lives 'afterwards for a Testimony to the Truth.

Reasons brought against it.

'The substance of their Reasons, (which for their length I have not 'put in the *Collection*) is, That the second Commandment forbids the 'making of any Images, as a resemblance of God. And *Deut.* 27. 'there was a Curse pronounced on those *who made an Image, an abomination to the Lord, and put it in a secret place*; which they expounded 'of some *Sacraria* in private Houses: and *Deut.* 4. among the Cautions '*Moses* gives to the People of *Israel* to beware of Idolatry; this is one, '*that they do not make an Image*, for the use of these does naturally degenerate into Idolatry: The Jews were so sensible of this after the Captivity, that they would die, rather than suffer an Image to be put in their 'Temple. The Book of *Wisdom*, calls an Image, *A Snare for the feet of the Ignorant*. St. *John* charged those he writ to, to *beware of Idols*. 'So *Tertullian* said, It was not enough to beware of Idolatry towards 'them, but of the very Images themselves. And as *Moses* had charged 'the People not to lay a stumbling-block in the way of the Blind; so

'it

1559. 'it was a much greater Sin to leave such a Trap for the weak Multitude. 'This was not for Edification, since it fed the Superstition of the Weak 'and Ignorant, who would continue in their former dotage upon them, 'and would alienate others from the Publick Worship; So that be-'tween those that would separate from them if they were continued, 'and the Multitude that would abuse them, the number of those that 'would use them aright, would be very inconsiderable: The outward 'splendor of them would be apt to draw the minds of the Worship-'pers, if not to direct Idolatry, yet to staring and distraction of 'Thoughts. Both *Origen* and *Arnobius* tell us, That the Primitive Chri-'stians had no Images at all. *Ireneus* accused the *Gnosticks* for carrying 'about the Image of Christ. St. *Austin* commends *Varro*, for saying, 'that the old *Romans* worshipped God more chastly, without the use 'of any Images. *Epiphanius* tore a Veil with an Image on it; and *Se-'renus* broke Images in *Gregory* the Great's Time. *Valens* and *Theodosi-'us*, made a Law against the Painting or Graving of the Image of 'Christ: And the use of Images in the Eastern Churches, brought 'those distractions on that Empire, that laid it open to the Invasions 'of the Mahometans.

These Reasons prevailed with the Queen, to put it into her Injuncti-ons, to have all Images removed out of the Church.

The Injunctions given by King *Edward*, at his first coming to the Crown, were all renewed, with very little variation. To these some things were added, of which I shall give account.

The Heads of the Injunctions.

'It was no where declared, neither in the Scriptures, nor by the Pri-'mitive Church, that Priests might not have Wives; upon which, many 'in King *Edward*'s Time had married. Yet great offence was given by 'the indecent Marriages that some of them then made. To prevent the 'like Scandals for the future, it was ordered, That no Priest or Deacon 'should marry without allowance from the Bishop of the Diocess, and 'two Justices of the Peace, and the Consent of the Womans Parents or 'Friends. All the Clergy were to use Habits, according to their De-'grees in the Universities; the Queen declaring, that this was not done 'for any Holiness in them, but for Order and Decency. No Man 'might use any Charm, or consult with such as did. All were to resort 'to their own Parish Churches, except for an extraordinary Occasion. 'Inn-Keepers were to sell nothing in the Times of Divine Service. None 'were to keep Images, or other Monuments of Superstition, in their 'Houses. None might Preach, but such as were licensed by their Or-'dinary. In all Places, they were to examine the Causes, why any 'had been in the late Reign Imprisoned, Famished, or put to Death, 'upon the pretence of Religion; and all Registers were to be searched 'for it. In every Parish the Ordinary was to name three or four dis-'creet Men, who were to see that all the Parishioners did duly resort on '*Sundays* and Holy-days to Church; and those who did it not, and 'upon admonition did not amend, were to be denounced to the Ordi-'nary. On *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, the Common Prayer and Litany 'was to be used in all Churches. All slanderous words, as *Papist*, *He-'retick*, *Schismatick*, or *Sacramentary*, were to be forborn, under severe 'pains. No Books might be printed without a License, from the 'Queen, the Arch-Bishop, the Bishop of *London*, the Chancellor of

'the Univerſities, or the Biſhop, or Arch-Deacon of the Place where 1559.
'it was printed. All were to kneel at the Prayers, and to ſhew a Re-
'verence when the Name of *Jeſus* was pronounced. Then followed
'an Explanation of the Oath of Supremacy, in which the Queen de-
'clared that ſhe did not pretend to any Authority for the miniſtring of
'Divine Service in the Church, and that all that ſhe challenged was
'that which had at all times belonged to the Imperial Crown of *Eng-*
'*land*; that ſhe had the Soveraignty and Rule over all manner of Per-
'ſons under God, ſo that no Forreign Power had any Rule over them;
'and if thoſe who had formerly appeared to have Scruples about it,took
'it in that ſence, ſhe was well-pleaſed to accept of it, and did acquit
'them of all Penalties in the Act. The next was about Altars and Com-
'munion-Tables; ſhe ordered, that for preventing of Riots, no Altar
'ſhould be taken down, but by the conſent of the Curat and Church-
'Wardens; that a Communion-Table ſhould be made for every Church,
'and that on Sacrament days it ſhould be ſet in ſome convenient Place in
'the Chancel; and at other Times ſhould be placed where the Altar had
'ſtood. The Sacramental Bread was ordered to be round and plain,
'without any Figure on it, but ſomewhat broader and thicker than the
'Cakes formerly prepared for the Maſs. Then the form of bidding
'Prayer was preſcribed,with ſome variation from that in King *Edward's*
'Time; for whereas to the Thankſgiving for God's Bleſſings to the
'Church in the Saints departed this Life,a Prayer was added,*That they with*
'*us, and we with them, may have a glorious Reſurrection*; now thoſe words,
'*they with us*, as ſeeming to import a Prayer for the Dead,were left out.

For the Rule about Church-men Marrying, thoſe who reflected on it, ſaid, They complained not of the Law, but as St. *Jerom* did in the making a Law in his Time, they complained of thoſe that had given occaſion for it. Miniſters wearing ſuch Apparel as might diſtinguiſh them from the Laity, was certainly a means to keep them under great reſtraint, upon every indecency in their Behaviour, laying them open to the Cenſures of the People; which could not be, if they were habited ſo,as that they could not be diſtinguiſhed from other Men: and humane nature being conſidered, it ſeems to be a kind of Temptation to many, when they do but think their Diſorders will paſs unobſerved. Bowing at the Name of *Jeſus*, was thought a fit expreſſion of their grateful acknowledging of our Saviour, and an owning of his Divinity: And as ſtanding up at the Creed, or at the *Gloria Patri*, were ſolemn expreſſions of the Faith of Chriſtians; So ſince *Jeſus* is the Name by which Chriſt is expreſſed to be our Saviour, it ſeemed a decent piece of acknowledging our Faith in him, to ſhew a Reverence when that was pronounced; not as if there were a peculiar ſanctity or vertue in it, but becauſe it was his proper Name, *Chriſt* being but an Appellation added to it. By the Queen's care, to take away all words of Reproach, and to explain the Oath of Supremacy; not only clearing any ambiguity that might be in the words, but allowing Men leave to declare in what ſenſe they ſwore it, the moderation of her Government did much appear; in which, inſtead of inventing new Traps to catch the Weak, which had been practiſed in other Reigns, all poſſible care was taken to explain things ſo, that they might be as comprehenſive to all Intereſts as was poſſible. They

Reflections made on the Injunctions.

reckoned,

1559. reckoned, if that Age could have been on any terms separated from the Papacy; though with allowance for many other superstitious Conceits, it would once unite them all; and in the next Age they would be so educated, that none of those should any more remain. And indeed this Moderation had all the effect that was designed by it for many Years, in which the Papists came to Church, and to the Sacraments. But afterwards, it being proposed to the King of *Spain*, then ready to engage in a War with the Queen, upon the account of her supporting of the *United Provinces*, that he must first divide *England* at home, and procure from the Pope a Sentence against the Queen, and a condemnation of such Papists as went to the English Service; and that for the maintaining and educating of such Priests as should be his Tools to distract the Kingdom, he was to found Seminaries at *Doway*, *Lovain*, and St. *Omers*, from whence they might come over hither, and disorder the Affairs of *England*: The prosecution of those Counsels, rais'd the Popish Party among us, which has ever since distracted this Nation, and has oftner than once put it into most threatning convulsive Motions, such as we feel at this day.

The first high Commission. After the Injunctions were thus prepared, the Queen gave out Commissions for those who should visit all the Churches of *England*: in which they lost no time, for the New Book of Service was by Law to take place on St. *John Baptist's* day; and these Commissions were signed that same day. One of those Commissions, which was for the Arch-Bishoprick and Province of *York*, is put into the *Collection*. It was granted to the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Derby*, and some others, among whom Dr. *Sands* is one.

Coll. Num. 7.

The Preamble sets forth, 'That God having set the Queen over the 'Nation, she could not render an account of that Trust, without 'endeavouring to propagate the True Religion with the right 'way of worshipping God in all her Dominions; therefore she in'tending to have a General Visitation of her whole Kingdom, impow'red them, or any two of them, to examine the true State of all the 'Churches in the Northern Parts; to suspend or deprive such Clergy'men as were unworthy, and to put others into their Places, to pro'ceed against such as were obstinate, by Imprisonment, Church-Cen'sure, or any other legal way. They were to reserve Pensions for such 'as would not continue in their Benefices, but quitted them by Resig'nation; and to examine the condition of all that were Imprisoned on 'the account of Religion, and to discharge them; and to restore all 'such to their Benefices, as had been unlawfully turned out in the late 'Times.

This was the first High Commission that was given out; that for the Province of *Canterbury* was, without doubt, of the same nature. The prudence of reserving Pensions for such Priests as were turned out, was much applauded; since thereby they were kept from extream want, which might have set them on to do mischief; and by the Pension which was granted them upon their good Behaviour, they were kept under some awe, which would not have been otherwise. That which was chiefly condemned in these Commissions, was, the Queen's giving the Visitors Authority to proceed by Ecclesiastical Censures, which seemed a great stretch of her Supremacy: but it was thought, that the

Queen

Queen might do that, as well as the Lay-Chancellors did it in the Ecclesiastical Courts; So that one Abuse was the excuse for another. 1559.

These Visiters having made Report to the Queen of the Obedience given to the Laws and her Injunctions, it was found, that of 9400 Beneficed Men in *England*, there were no more but fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Arch-Deacons, fifteen Heads of Colledges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors of Parishes, that had left their Benefices upon the account of Religion. So compliant were the Papists generally. And indeed the Bishops after this time had the same apprehension of the danger into which Religion was brought by the juglings of the greatest part of the Clergy, who retained their affections to the old Superstition, that those in King *Edward's* time had: So that if Queen *Elizabeth* had not lived so long as she did, till all that Generation was dead, and a new Set of Men better educated and principled, were grown up and put in their rooms; and if a Prince of another Religion had succeeded before that time, they had probably turned about again to the old Superstitions as nimbly as they had done before in Queen *Mary's* days. That which supported the superstitious Party in King *Edward's* time most, was, that many great Bishops did secretly favour and encourage them: Therefore it was now resolved to look well to the filling of the vacant Sees.

Parker's unwillingness to accept of the *Canterbury*.

It has been said before, that *Parker* was sent for to *London* by the Queen's Order, and the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* was offered him: he was, upon that, cast into such a perplexity of mind, that he was out of measure grieved at it. As soon as he was returned home, he writ a Letter to the Lord-Keeper; which, with all the other Letters that passed in this matter, I have put into the *Collection*: "He professed he never "had less joy of a Journey to *London*, and was never more glad to get "from it, than upon his last being there. He said, It was necessary to fill "that See with a Man that was neither Arrogant, Faint-hearted, nor Co- "vetous; an Arrogant Man would perhaps divide from his Brethren in "Doctrine, whereas the whole strength of the Church depended on "their Unity; but if their should be Heart-burnings among them, and "the private quarrels, that had been beyond Sea, should be brought "home, the Peace of the Church would be lost, and the Success of all "their Design would be blasted: and if a fainthearted Man were put "in, it would raise the Spirits of all their Adversaries; A Covetous "Man was good for nothing. He knew his own unfitness both of Body "and Mind, so well, that though he should be sorry to offend him, and "Secretary *Cecil*, whom he honoured above all Men in the World, and "more sorry to displease the Queen; yet he must above all things a- "void God's Indignation, and not enter into a station into which he "knew he could not carry himself so as to answer it either to God, or "the World for his Administration. And if he must go to Prison for his "obstinate untowardness, (with which it seems they had threatned him) "he would suffer it rather with a quiet conscience, than accept of an "Imployment which he could not discharge. He said, he intended by "God's Grace never to be of that Order, neither higher nor lower. "He knew what he was capable of: he was poor, and not able to en- "ter on such a station; he had a Rupture which made him that he could "not stir much; therefore he desired some place in the University,

Coll. Numb. 8.

1559 "where he might wear out his Life tolerably. He knew he could not "answer their Expectation, which made him so importunate not to be "raised so high: He said, he had great apprehensions of Differences like "to fall out among themselves; which would be a pleasant diversion to "those of the Church of *Rome*: He saw some Men were Men still, even "after all their teaching in the School of Affliction. He protested he "did not seek his own private gain or ease; he had but two or three "years more of life before him, and did not intend to heap up for his "Children. This he writ the first of *March*.

The business of the Parliament made this Motion to be laid aside, till that was dissolved; and then on the 17th of *May* the L. Keeper wrote to him concerning it: He told him, that he saw by a Resolution taken that day in the Queen's Presence, that it would be very hard for his Friends to get him delivered from that Charge. For his own part, if he knew a Man to whom the Characters in his Letter did agree better than to himself, he should be for preferring of such a one; but knowing no such, he must be still for him. On the 19th after that, the Lord Keeper, and Secretary *Cecil*, signed a Letter in the Queen's Name, requiring him to come up; and after that, they sent a second Command to him to come to Court, on the 28th of the Month. He came up, but again excused himself. Yet at last, being so often pressed, he writ to the Queen her self, "protesting that extream Necessity forced him to "trouble her, both out of Conscience to God, and regard to her Ser-"vice: he knew his great unworthiness for so high a Function; there-"fore as on his Knees he humbly besought her to discharge him of that "Office, which did require a Man of more Learning, Virtue, and "Experience, then he perfectly knew was in himself. He lamented "his being so meanly qualified, that he could not serve her in that "high station; but in any other inferiour Office, he should be ready to "discharge his Duty to her, in such a Place as was suitable to his infir-"mity. But in the conclusion he submitted himself to Her pleasure. In the end he was with great difficulty brought to accept of it. So on the 8th day of *July* the *Conge d' Elire* was sent to *Canterbury*; and upon that, on the 22d of *July* a *Chapter* was summoned to meet the first of *August*; where the Dean and Prebendaries meeting, they, according to a method often used in their Elections, did by a Compromise refer it to the Dean to name whom he pleased: and he naming Doctor *Parker*, according to the Queen's Letter, they all confirmed it, and published their Election, singing *Te Deum* upon it. On the 9th of *September* the Great Seal was put to a Warrant for his Consecration, directed to the Bishops of *Duresm*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Landaff*, and to *Barlow*, and *Scory* (stiled only Bishops, not being then elected to any Sees) requiring them to Consecrate him. From this it appears, that neither *Tonstal*, *Bourn*, nor *Pool* were at that time turned out: It seems there was some hope of gaining them to obey the Laws, and so to continue in their Sees.

He is Consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

This matter was delay'd to the 6th of *December*. Whether this flow'd from *Parker*'s unwillingness to engage in so high a Station, or from any other secret Reason, I do not know. But then, the three Bishops last named refusing to do it, a new Warrant passed under the Great Seal, to the Bishop of *Landaff*, *Barlow* Bishop Elect of *Chichester*, *Scory* Bishop



Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in S.t Pauls Church yard

Elect of *Hereford*, *Coverdale* late Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Hodgkins* Biſhop Suf- 1559.

fragan of *Bedford*, *John* Suffragan of *Thetſord*, and *Bale* Biſhop of *Oſ-ſory*; that they, or any four of them, ſhould Conſecrate him. So by virtue of this, on the 9th of *December*, *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgkins* met at the Church of St. *Mary le Bow*; where, according to the Cuſtom, the *Conge d' Elire*, with the Election, and the Royal Aſſent to it, were to be brought before them: and theſe being read, Witneſſes were to be cited to prove the Election lawfully made; and all who would object to it were alſo cited. All theſe things being performed according to Law, and none coming to object againſt the Election, they Confirmed it according to the uſual manner. On the 17th of *December* *Parker* was Conſecrated in the Chappel at *Lambeth*, by *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgkins*, according to the Book of Ordinations made in King *Edward*'s time: Only the Ceremony of putting the Staff in his hands was left out of the Office, in this Reign. He being thus Conſe-crated himſelf, did afterwards Conſecrate Biſhops for the other Sees: namely, *Grindal* Biſhop of *London*, *Cox*, that had been King *Edward*'s Almoner, Biſhop of *Ely*, *Horn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Sandys* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Merick* Biſhop of *Bangor*, *Young* Biſhop of *S. Davids*, *Bul-lingham* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Jewel* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, (the great Orna-ment of that Age for Learning and Piety;) *Davis* Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, *Gueſt* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Berkley* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Bentham* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Alley* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and *Par* Bi-ſhop of *Peterborough*. *Barlow* and *Scory* were put into the Sees of *Chi-cheſter* and *Hereford*. And ſometime after this, in *February* 1561, *Young* was tranſlated from *S. Davids* to *York*; there being now no hopes of gaining *Heath* to continue in it; which it ſeems had been long endea-voured, for it was now two years that that See had been in vacancy. In like manner, after ſo long waiting to ſee if *Tonſtal* would conform, there being now no more hope of it, in *March* 1561, *Pilkington* was made Biſhop of *Dureſme*. *Beſt* was afterwards made Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and *Downham* Biſhop of *Cheſter*.

The Fable of the Nags-head confuted.

I have given the more diſtinct Accouut of theſe Promotions, becauſe of a moſt malicious Slander with which they were aſperſt in after-times. It was not thought on for forty years after this. But then it was forged, and publiſh'd, and ſpread over the World, with great confidence, That *Parker* himſelf was not legally nor truly Conſecrated. The Author of it was ſaid to be one *Neale*, that had been ſometime one of *Bonner*'s Chaplains. The Contrivance was, that the Biſhop of *Landaff* being re-quired by *Bonner* not to Conſecrate *Parker*, or to give Orders in his Dioceſs, did thereupon refuſe it: Upon that the Biſhops Elect being met in *Cheapſide* at the *Nags-head*-Tavern, *Neale*, that had watch'd them thither, peep'd in through an hole of the Door, and ſaw them in great diſorder, finding the Biſhop of *Landaff* was intractable. But (as the Tale goes on) *Scory* bids them all kneel, and he laid the Bible upon e-very one of their Heads or Shoulders, and ſaid, *Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God ſincerely*, and ſo they roſe up all Biſhops. This Tale came ſo late into the World, that *Sanders*, and all the other Wri-ters in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, had never heard of it: otherwiſe we may be ſure they would not have concealed it. And if the thing had been true, or if *Neale* had but pretended that he had ſeen any ſuch thing,

1559. there is no reason to think he would have suppressed it. But when it might be presumed that all those persons were dead that had been present at *Parker*'s Consecration, then was the time to invent such a Story; for then it might be hoped that none could contradict it. And who could tell but that some who had seen Bishops go from *Bow*-Church to dine at that Tavern with their Civilians, as some have done after their Confirmation, might imagine that then was the time of this *Nags-head-Consecration.* If it were boldly said, one or other might think he remembred it. But as it pleased God, there was one then living that remembred the contrary. The old Earl of *Nottingham*, who had been at the Consecration, declared it was at *Lambeth*, and described all the Circumstances of it, and satisfied all reasonable men that it was according to the Form of the Church of *England.* The Registers both of the See of *Canterbury*, and of the Records of the Crown, do all fully agree with his Relation. For as *Parker's Conge d' Elire*, with the Queen's Assent to his Election, and the Warrant for his Consecration, are all under the Great Seal: So upon the Certificate made by those who Consecrated him, the Temporalties were restored by another Warrant also enrolled; which was to be shewed in the House of Lords when he took his Place there. Besides that the Consecrations of all the other Bishops made by him, shew that he alone was first Consecrated without any other. And above all other Testimonies, the Original Instrument of Archbishop *Parker*'s Consecration lies still among his other Papers in the Library of *Corpus Christi* College at *Cambridge*, which I saw and read. It is as ma-
*Coll.*Numb.9. nifestly an Original Writing, as any that I ever had in my hands: I have put it in the Collection, for the more full discovery of the Impudence of that Fiction. But it served those ends for which it was designed. Weak people hearing it so positively told by their Priests, came to believe it; and I have my self met with many that seemed still to give some credit to it, after all that clear Confutation of it, made by the most Ingenious and Learned Bishop *Bramhall*, the late Primat of *Ireland*. Therefore I thought it necessary to be the larger in the Account of this Consecration; and the rather, because of the influence it hath into all the Ordinations that have been since that time derived down in this Church.

Some excepted against the Canonicalness of it, because it was not done by all the Bishops of the Province, and three of the Bishops had no Sees when they did it, and the fourth was only a Suffragan-Bishop. But to all this it was said, That after a Church had been over-run with Heresy, those Rules, which were to be observed in its more setled state, were always superseded; as appears particularly when the *Arrian* Bishops were turned out of some great Sees, for the Orthodox Bishops did then ordain others to succeed them, without judging themselves bound by the Canons in such Cases. And Bishops that had been rightly Consecrated, could certainly derive their own Character to others, whether they were actually in Sees or not. And a Suffragan-Bishop, being Consecrated in the same manner that other Bishops were, tho he had a limited Jurisdiction, yet was of the same Order with them. All these things were made out with a great deal of Learning by *Mason*, who upon the publishing of that Fiction, wrote in Vindication of the English Ministry.

Thus

Thus were the Sees filled, the Worship Reformed, and the Queen's Injunctions sent over England. Three things remained yet to be done. The first was, To set out the Doctrine of the Church, as it had been done in King *Edward*'s Time. The second was, To Translate the Bible, and publish it with short Notes. And the third was, To regulate the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Bishops therefore set about these. And for the first, Though they could not, by publick Authority, set out the Articles of the Church till they met in a Convocation; yet they soon after prepared them. And for the present, they agreed on a short Profession of their Doctrine, which all Incumbents were obliged to read and publish to their People. This will be found in the *Collection*, copied from it, as it was then printed. 1559. Coll. Num. 11.

In the Articles made in King *Edward*'s Reign, which I have put in the *Collection*, the Reader will find on the Margent the differences between those and these marked. In the third Article, the explanation of Christ's descent to Hell, was left out. In that about the Scriptures, they now added an enumeration of the Canonical and Apocryphal Books; declaring, that some Lessons were read out of the latter, for the Instruction of the People, but not for the confirmation of the Doctrine. About the Authority of the Church, they now added, That the Church had power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and had Authority in Controversies of Faith; but still subordinate to the Scripture.

In the Article about the Lord's Supper, there is a great deal left out, for instead of that large refutation of the Corporal Presence, from the impossibility of a Bodies being in more places at once; from whence it follows, that since Christ's Body is in Heaven, the Faithful ought not to believe or profess a Real or Corporal Presence of it in the Sacrament. In the new Articles, it is said, *That the Body of Christ is given and received after a Spiritual manner; and the means by which it is received, is Faith.* But in the Original Copy of these Articles, which I have seen subscribed by the hands of all that sat in either House of Convocation, there is a further addition made. The Articles were subscribed with that Precaution which was requisite in a matter of such consequence; for before the Subscriptions, there is set down the number of the Pages, and of the Lines in every Page of the Book, to which they set their hands. M.SS. C. Cor. Christ. *Cant.*

In that Article of the Eucharist, these words are added, *Christus in Cœlum ascendens, corpori suo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit: Humanæ enim naturæ veritatem, juxta scripturas perpetuo retinet, quam in uno & definito loco esse, & non in multa vel omnia simul loca diffundi, oportet: Quum igitur Christus in Cœlum sublatus, ibi usque ad finem Sæculi sit permansurus, atque inde, non aliunde, (ut loquitur Augustinus) venturus sit ad judicandum vivos & mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium, Carnis ejus & Sanguinis realem & corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam in Eucharistia, vel credere vel profiteri.* In English thus; 'Christ, when 'he ascended into Heaven, made his Body Immortal, but took not from 'it the nature of a Body: For still it retains, according to the Scrip'tures, the verity of a humane Body; which must be always in one 'definite place, and cannot be spread into many, or all places at once. 'Since then Christ being carried up to Heaven, is to remain there to 'the end of the World, and is to come from thence, and from no place 'else, An Explanation of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament.

1559. 'else, (as says St. *Austin*) to judg the Quick and the Dead; None of 'the Faithful ought to believe or profess the real, or (as they call it), 'the corporal Presence of his Flesh and Blood in the Eucharist.

But this in the Original is dasht over with *minium*; yet so, that it is still legible. The Secret of it was this; The Queen and her Council studied, (as hath been already shewn) to unite all into the Communion of the Church: and it was alleaged, that such an express definition against a Real Presence, might drive from the Church many who were still of that Perswasion; and therefore it was thought to be enough to condemn Transubstantiation, and to say, that Christ was present after a Spiritual manner, and received by Faith; to say more, as it was judged superfluous, so it might occasion Division. Upon this, these words were, by common consent, left out: And in the next Convocation, the Articles were subscribed without them, of which I have also seen the Original.

But 'tis suppressed.

This shews that the Doctrine of the Church, subscribed by the whole Convocation, was at that time contrary to the belief of a Real or Corporal Presence in the Sacrament; only it was not thought necessary or expedient to publish it. Though from this silence, which flowed not from their Opinion, but the Wisdom of that Time, in leaving a Liberty for different Speculations, as to the manner of the Presence; some have since inferred, that the chief Pastors of this Church, did then disapprove of the Definition made in King *Edward's* Time, and that they were for a Real Presence.

For the Translating of the Bible, it was divided into many Parcels. The *Pentateuch* was committed to *William Alley* Bishop of *Exeter*. The Books from that, to the second of *Samuel*, were given to *Richard Davis*, who was made Bishop of St. *Davids*, when *Young* was removed to *York*. All from *Samuel*, to the second Book of *Chronicles*, was assigned to *Edwin Sandys*, then Bishop of *Worcester*. From thence to the end of *Job*, to one whose Name is marked *A. P. C.* The Book of the *Psalms* was given to *Thomas Bentham*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. The *Proverbs* to one who is marked *A. P.* The *Song of Solomon* to one Marked *A. P. E.* All from thence to the *Lamentations of Jeremy*, was given to *Robert Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*. *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, to *Bentham*. From thence to *Malachi*, to *Grindal* Bishop of *London*. The *Apocripha* to the Book of *Wisdom*, was given to *Barlow* Bishop of *Chichester*, and the rest of it, to *Parkhurst* Bishop of *Norwich*. The *Gospels*, *Acts*, and *Epistle* to the *Romans*, were given to *Richard Cox* Bishop of *Ely*. The *Epistles* to the *Corinthians*, to one marked G. G. I know not to whom the rest of the *New Testament* was assigned. All these Allotments I gather from the Bible it self, as it was afterwards set out by *Parker*. What Method they followed in this Work, I cannot discover; unless the Rules afterwards given in King *James* his Time, when the Translation was revived, were copied from what was now done: which Rules, for the curiosity of the thing, I shall put in the *Collection*, as I copied it from *B. Ravis's* Paper. They were given with that care that such a matter required. There were many Companies appointed for every parcel of the Scripture, and every one of a Company was to translate the whole Parcel: then they were to compare these together; and when any Company had finished their Part, they were

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to

to communicate it to the other Companies. So it is like, that at this Time those several Bishops that had undertaken the Translation, did associate to themselves Companies, with whose assistance they perfected it afterwards; and when it was set out, at the end of every Section, the initial Letters of his Name, that had translated it, were printed, as *W. E. E. W.* for *Will. Exon*, and *Edwin Wigorn*; and so in the rest. In what Year this was first printed, I am not so well assured. For I have not seen the first Impression of it, but I believe it was in the Year 1561, or soon after it; for the Almanack prefixed for the Moveable Feasts, begins with that Year. 1559.

As for the Canons and Rules of the Church Goverment, they were not so soon prepared. There came out some in the Year 1571, and more in the Year 1597, and a far larger Collection of them in the first Year of King *James*'s Reign. But this Matter has yet wanted its chief force; for Penitentiary Canons have not been set up, and the Government of the Church is not yet brought into the Hands of Church-men. So that in this Point the Reformation of the Church wants some part of its finishing, in the Government and Discipline of it.

The Beginnings of the Divisions of this Church.

Thus did Queen *Elizabeth* again recover the Reformation of Religion: and it might have been expected, that under such moderate and wise Councils, things should have been carried with that Temper, that this Church should have united in its endeavours to support it self, and become the Bulwark of the Reformation, and the Terror of *Rome*. But that Blessing was, by the Sins of the Nation, the Passions of some, the Interests of others, and the Weakness of the greatest part, in a great measure denied us. The Heats that had been raised beyond Sea, were not quite forgotten; and as some Sparks had been kindled about Clergy-mens Habits in K. *Edward*'s Reign; so, though *Hooper* and *Ridley* had buried that Difference in their Ashes, it broke out again concerning the Vestments of the Inferior Clergy. Other things were also much contested. Some were for setting up Ecclesiastical Courts in every Parish, for the exercising of Discipline against scandalous Persons; others thought this might degenerate into Faction. These lesser Differences were craftily managed by some who intended to improve them so far, that they might have the Church-Lands divided among them, and they carried these Heats further in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, then one would imagine, that considers the temper of that Government. But since that, still by many Degrees, and many Accidents in the Civil Government, they are now grown to that height; that, though considering the Grounds on which they have been, and still are maintained, they appear to be of no great force or moment: Yet if the Animosities and Heats that are raised by them, are well examined, there is scarce any probable hopes left of composing those Differences, unless our Law-givers do vigorously apply themselves to it.

The Reformation in Scotland.

Having giving this Account of the Establishment of the Reformation here in *England* under Queen *Elizabeth*: I have, in some sort, discharged my self of the Design of my Engagement in this Work: but since the Settlement of Religion in *Scotland* was made the same Year, I shall next

1559. give some account of that; which I do with the more assurance, having met with several important things relating to it in *Melvill's Memoires*, that are in none of the printed Books. When the Treaty began for a Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, the secret Reason of making it, was, to root out Heresy, so much was expressed in the Preamble to it, that to extirpate Heresy, to have a General Council called, and the Church fully Reformed, both from Errors and Abuses, those Princes had entred into a firm Peace.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* writ to his Sister the Queen, Regent of *Scotland*; that now, since they were making Peace, they were resolved to purge the World of Heresy. He also writ to the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* to the same Effect. The Queen Regent was much confounded at this. She was now forced to break her Faith with those who had served her Interests hitherto; and to whom she had often promised, that they should not be troubled for their Consciences. The danger was also very great from their Combination, since the Queen of *England* would certainly assist them; both because the Religion was the same in both Countries; and because, by dividing that Kingdom, she would secure the North of *England* from the mischief *Scotland* could do it, if moved and set on to it by *France*. But the Bishops in *Scotland*, shutting their Eyes upon all Dangers, resolved by some signal Instance, to strike a Terror into the People.

The Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, having gathered a meeting of many Bishops, Abbots, and Divines, brought before them one *Walter Mill*, an old decrepit Priest, who had long given over saying Mass, and had preached in several places of the Country. They had in vain dealt with him to recant; so now he was brought to his Trial. They objected Articles to him, about his asserting the lawfulness of Priests Marriages; denying the Seven Sacraments; saying the Mass was Idolatry; denying the Presence of Christ's Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament; and condemning the Office of Bishops; speaking against Pilgrimages; and teaching privately in Houses.

Mils Martyrdom.

To these he answered beyond all their Expectation; for he was so old and infirm, that they thought he could say nothing. He said, 'He 'esteemed Marriage a blessed Bond, and free for all Men to enter into 'it; and that it was much better for Priests to marry, than to vow 'Chastity and not keep it, as they generally did. He said, He knew 'no Sacraments, but Baptism and the Lord's Supper; the rest he left 'to them. He said, The Priests sole communicating was, as if a Lord 'should invite many to Dinner, and ring a Bell for them to come; but 'when they came, should turn his back on them, and eat all himself. 'He said, That Christ was only spiritually in the Sacrament; and that 'there was no other Sacrifice, but that which he offered on the Cross. 'He held, That they were Bishops indeed, who did the Work of a 'Bishop; and not they who sought only their sensual Pleasures, and 'neither regarded the Word of God, nor their Flocks. He knew 'Pilgrimages had been much abused, and great Uncleanness was committed, under the colour of going to them; but there was no ground 'for them in Scripture.

Upon these Answers he was required to Recant; but he said, he knew he was to die once, and what they intended to do with him, he

wished

wished they would do it soon.' Upon this, he was declared an obstinate Heretick. But the Country was so alienated from them, that they could not find a Man to burn him; and he that had the Jurisdiction in that Regality, refused to execute the Sentence. Yet at last, one of the Arch-Bishops Servants was gotten to undertake it; but in the whole Town, they could find none that would sell them a Cord to tie him to the Stake; so they were forced to put it off till the next day; and then, since none other could be had, the Arch-Bishop sent the Cords of his own Pavilion for that use. When *Mill* was brought to the Stake, he said, he would not go up of his own accord, because he would not be accessary to his own Death; but if they would put their hand to him, they should see how chearfully he should do it. That being done, he went up, and said, *I will go in to the Altar of God.* He exhorted the People to be no more seduced by the Lyes of their Priests, but to depend upon Christ and his Mercy; for whose Doctrine, as many Martyrs had offered up their Lives, so he blessed God that had so honoured him to call him to give this Testimony, for whose Glory he most willingly offered up his Life. When the Fire was set to him, he called to the People to pray for him, and continued to cry, *Lord have mercy on me*, till he could speak no more. 1559.

His Suffering was much resented by the Inhabitants of St. *Andrews*, who raised a great heap of Stones in the place where he was burnt, for a Memorial of it; and though the Priests scattered them often, they renewed them still, till a Watch was set about it. The Nation was much provoked by it.

In all parts of *Scotland*, and especially in the Towns, and in the Families of the Nobility and Gentry, the Reformation had been received, and secretly professed. So they began now to consult what to do. They had many meetings in several places; and finding their Interest was great over the Kingdom, they entred into Confederacies to maintain the true Religion.

Before the Parliament met last Year, they had sent a Petition to the Queen Regent, 'That the Worship of God might be in the Vulgar 'Tongue, and the Communion might be given in both Kinds: That 'there should be great care taken in the Election of Ministers, that it 'might be according to the Custom of the Primitive Church; and 'that scandalous Ministers might be removed, and more worthy Men 'put in their Places.

But the Queen Regent, to keep them in hopes till the Dolphin should be acknowledged *King of Scotland*, promised they should not be hindred to have Prayers in their own Tongue, so they would keep no publick Assemblies in *Edinburgh* and *Leith*.

In the Parliament, they proposed the abrogating of the Laws for Church-mens proceedings against Hereticks; and that none should be condemned of Heresy, but according to the Word of God; with some other Limitations of the Severities against them. But the Queen still gave them good hopes; only she said, she could not agree to those things, by reason of the opposition that would be made by the Spiritual Estate: But she suffered them to read a Protestation in Parliament, declaring their desires of a Reformation; and that if, upon the denial of it, Abuses were removed violently, they were not to be blamed, who had begun thus in a modest way to Petition for it.

 This

1559. This Year it was become visible that she resolved to proceed to extremities. She ordered all the reformed Preachers to appear at *Sterling* the 10*th* of *May*. When this was done, the Earl of *Glencarn* went to her in the Name of the rest, and asked her the reason of that way 'of proceeding. She answered him in passion, 'That maugre them and 'all that would take part with them, the Ministers should be banish-'ed *Scotland*, though they preached as soundly as St. *Paul* did. Upon this, he remembred her of the Promises she had often made them: to 'which she answered, 'That the Promises of Princes should be no fur-'ther strained then seem'd convenient to them to perform. *Glencarn* 'replied, 'if she would keep no Promises, they would acknowledge 'her no more, but renounce their Obedience to her.

A Revolt gan at St. *Johnstoun*. That very night she heard that in the Town of St. *Johnstoun*, the People had Sermons openly in their Churches. Upon that she ordered the Lord *Ruthven* to go and reduce that Town: He answered, he could not govern their Consciences: Upon which, she vowed she would make him and them both repent it. The Ministers were coming from all parts, accompanied with many Gentlemen, to appear on the Day to which they were cited. The Queen hearing that, sent word to them to go home, for she would not proceed in the Citation. Many of them upon that returned to their homes, but others went to St. *Johnstoun*: Yet upon their not appearing, she made them all be declared Rebells, contrary to her Promise: This made many leave her, and go over to them at St. *Johnstoun*. The People began there first to break Images; and then they fell into the Houses of the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, where they found much more Wealth than agreed with their pretended Poverty. They also pulled down a great House of the *Carthusians*, with so much Hast, that within two days there was not one Stone left to shew where it had stood: but yet the Prior was suffered to carry away the Plate. All that was found in these Houses, besides what the Monks carried away, was given to the Poor. The Queen, hearing this, resolved to make that Town an Example; and sent over all the Kingdom to gather the French Souldiers together, with such others as would joyn with her in this Quarrel. But the Earl of *Glencarn* with incredible hast came to their assistance, with 2500 Men: And there were gathered in all, in and about the Town, 7000 Men. The Queen, seeing it now turned to an open Rebellion, employed the Earl of *Argile* and the Prior of St. *Andrews* to treat with them. An Oblivion for what was past was agreed on: The Queen was to come to St. *Johnstoun*, without her French-men: and the matters of Religion were to be referred to a Parliament. Upon this, she went thither; but carried French-men with her, and put a Garrison in the Town; and proceeded to the Fining of many, and the Banishing of others. Being pressed with her Promise, she said, 'The Promises 'of Princes ought not to be strictly urged; and those were not to be 'kept that were made to Hereticks; she declared that she would 'take it on her Conscience, to kill and undo all that Sect, and make 'the best excuse she could when it was done. Upon this, all the Nation forsook her: and in many other places they went on to cleanse the Churches, and pull down Monasteries.

When the News of this came to the Court of *France*, it was at first not

rightly understood. The Queen Regent represented it, as if it had been a Design to shake off the French Power; and desired a great Force to reduce them. The King then saw too late, that the Constable had given him good Advice, in diswading the Match with *Scotland*: and fearing to be intangled in a long chargeable War, he resolved to send one thither to know the true occasion of these Stirrs. So the Constable proposed to him the sending of *Melvil*, by whom he had understood, that the Reason of all their disorders was the Queen's breaking her Word to them in the matters of Religion. He carried *Melvil* to the King, and in his presence gave him Instructions, to go to *Scotland*, and see what was the true cause of all these disorders; and particularly, how farre the Prior of St. *Andrews*, (afterwards the Earl of *Murray*,) was engaged in them; and if he, by secret Ways, could certainly find there was nothing in it but Religion, that then he should give them Assurances of the free Exercise of it, and press them not to engage any further till he was returned to the French Court, where he was promised to find a great Reward for so important a Service: but he was not to let the Queen Regent understand his business. He found upon his going into *Scotland*, that it was even as he had formerly heard; that the Queen Regent was now much hated and distasted by them: but that upon an Oblivion of what was passed, and the free Exercise of their Religion for the future, all might be brought to peace and quiet. But before he came back, the King of *France* was dead, the Constable in disgrace, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* governed all: So he lost his Labour, and Reward, which he valued much less, being a generous and vertuous Man, than the Ruine that he saw coming on his Country.

1559.

The French King intends to grant Liberty of Religion.

But is killed.

The Lords that were now united against the Queen Mother came and took St. *Johnstoun*. From thence they went to *Stirling*, and *Edinburgh*: and every where they pulled down Monasteries; all the Country declared on their side; so that the Queen Regent was forced to fly to *Dunbar*-Castle. The Lords sent to *England* for Assistance, which the Queen readily granted them. They gave out, that they desired nothing but to have the French driven out, and Religion settled by a Parliament. The Queen Regent, seeing all the Country against her, and apprehending that the Q. of *England* would take advantage from these Stirrs to drive her out of *Scotland*, was content to agree to a Truce; & to summon a Parliament to meet on the 10th of *January*. But the new King of *France* sent over Mr. de *Croque*, with a high threatning Message, that he would spend the whole Revenue of *France* rather then not be revenged on them that raised these Tumults in *Scotland*. The Lords answered, that they desired nothing but the Liberty of their Religion: and that being obtained, they should be in all other things his most obedient Subjects. The Queen Regent, having gotten about 2000 Men from *France*, fortified *Leith*; and in many other things broke the Truce. There came over also some Doctors of the *Sorbonne* to dispute with the Ministers, because they heard the Scotish Clergy were scarce able to defend their own Cause. The Lords gathered again, and seeing the Queen Regent had so often broke her Word to them, they entred into Consultation to deprive her of her Regency. Their Queen was not yet of Age; and in her Minority, they pretended that the Government of the Kingdom belonged to the States: and therefore

A Truce agreed to in Scotland.

1559 fore they gathered together many of her Maleadministrations, for which they might the more colorably put her out of the Government. The things they charged on her were chiefly these: 'That she had without Law begun a War in the Kingdom, and brought in Strangers to 'subdue it; had governed without the consent of the Nobility, embased the Coin to maintain her Souldiers; had put Garrisons in five 'Towns; and had broke all Promises and Terms with them. Thereupon they declared her to have fallen from her Regency, and did suspend her Power, till the next Parliament. So now it was an irreconciliable Breach. The Lords lay first at *Edinburgh*, and from thence retired afterwards to *Sterling*: Upon which, the French came and possessed themselves of the Town, and set up the Mass again in the Churches. Greater Supplies came over from *France* under the Command of the Marquess of *Elbeuf*, one of the Queen Regent's Brothers; who, though most of his Fleet were dispersed, yet brought to *Leith* 1000 Foot, so that there were now above 4000 French Souldiers in that Town. But what Accession of strength soever the Queen Regent received from these, she lost as much in *Scotland*; for now almost the whole Country was united against her; and the French were equally heavie to their Friends and Enemies. They marched about by *Sterling* to waste *Fife*, where there were some small Engagements between them and the Lords of the Congregation.

The Queen Regent is deposed.

But the *Scots*, seeing they could not stand before that force that was expected from *France* the next Spring, sent to Queen *Elizabeth* to desire her Aid openly; for the secret Supplies of Mony and Ammunition, with which she hitherto furnished them, would not now serve the Turn. The Counsel of *England* apprehended that it would draw on a War with *France*: yet they did not fear that much; for that Kingdom was falling into such Factions, that they did not apprehend any great Danger from thence till their King was of Age. So the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent to *Berwick*, to treat with the Lords of the Congregation; who were now headed by the Duke of *Chattelherhault*. On the 27*th* of *February* they agreed on these Conditions: 'They were 'to be sure Allies to the Queen of *England*; and to assist her, both 'in *England* and *Ireland*, as she should need their help. She was now 'on the other hand, to assist them to drive the *French* out of *Scotland*: 'after which, they were still to continue in their obedience to their Na-'tural Queen. This League was to last, during their Queen's Marriage 'to the *French* King, and for a Year after: and they were to give the 'Queen of *England* Hostages, who were to be changed every six Months.

The Scots implore the Q. of *Englands* Aid.

This being concluded, and the Hostages given, the Lord *Gray* marched into *Scotland* with 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot. Upon that, the Lords sent and offered to the Queen Regent, that if she would send away the *French* Forces, the *English* should likewise be sent back, and they would return to their Obedience.

This not being accepted, they drew about *Leith* to besiege it. In one Sally which the French made, they were beaten back with the loss of 300 Men. This made the English more secure, thinking the French would no more come out: but they understanding the ill order that was kept, sallied out again, and killed near 500 of the English. This made them more watchful for the future. So the Seige being

Leith is besieged by the English.

formed, a Fire broke out in *Leith*, which burnt down the greatest part of the Town: the English playing all the while on them, distracted them so, that the Souldiers being obliged to be on the Walls, the Fire was not easily quenched. Hereupon the English gave the Assault, and were beaten off with some loss: but the Duke of *Norfolk* sent a supply of 2000 Men more, with the assurance of a great Army, if it was necessary; and charged the Lord *Gray*, not to quit the Seige till the French were gone. Ships were also sent to lye in the *Frith*, to block them up by Sea. The French apprehending the total loss of *Scotland*, sent over *Monluc* Bishop of *Valence* to *London*, to offer to restore *Calais* to the Queen of *England*, if she would draw her Forces out of *Scotland*. She gave him a quick Answer on the sudden her self, that she did not value that Fish-Town, so much as she did the quiet of *Brittain*. But the French desiring that she could mediate a Peace between them and the Scots, she undertook that, and sent Secretary *Cecil* and D. *Wotton* into *Scotland* to conclude it. As they were on the Way, the Queen Regent died in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, on the 10*th* of *June*. She sent for some of the chief Lords before her Death, and desired to be reconciled to them; and asked them pardon for the Injuries she had done them. She advised them to send both the French and English Souldiers out of *Scotland*; and prayed them to continue in their Obedience to their Queen. She also sent for one of their Preachers, *Willock*, and discoursed with him about her Soul, and many other things, and said unto him, that she trusted to be saved only by the Death and Merits of *Jesus Christ*: and so ended her Days; which if she had done a Year sooner, before these last Passages of her Life, she had been the most universally lamented Queen that had been in any time in *Scotland*. For she had governed them with great Prudence, Justice, and Gentleness; and in her own Deportment, and in the order of her Court, she was an Example to the whole Nation: but the Directions sent to her from *France*, made her change her Measures, break her Word, and engage the Kingdom in War; which rendred her very hateful to the Nation. Yet she was often heard to say, that if her Counsels might take place, she doubted not to bring all things again to perfect Tranquillity and Peace. 1559

The Queen Regent of *Scotland* dies.

The Treaty between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*, was soon after concluded. The French were to be sent away within Twenty Days; an Act of Oblivion was to be confirmed in Parliament; the Injuries done to the Bishops and Abbots were referred to the Parliament; Strangers and Church-men were no more to be trusted with the chief Offices; & a Parliament was to meet in *August* for the confirming of this. During the Queen's absence the Nation was to be governed by a Council of Twelve: of these the Queen was to name seven, and the States five: the Queen was neither to make Peace nor War, but by the Advice of the Estates, according to the Ancient Custom of the Kingdom. The English were to return, as soon as the French were gone: and for the matter of Religion, that was referred to the Parliament: and some were to be sent from thence to the King and Queen, to set forth thier desires to them: and the Queen of *Scotland* was no more to use the Arms and Title of *England*. All these Conditions were agreed to on the 8*th* of *July*; and soon after, both the French and English left the Kingdom.

A Peace is concluded.

1559. In *August* thereafter the Parliament met, where four Acts passed; one for the abolishing of the Pope's Power. A second, For the repealing of all Laws made in favour of the former Superstition. A third, For the punishing of those that said or heard Mass. And the fourth was, A Confirmation of the Confession of Faith; which was afterwards ratified, and inserted in the Acts of Parliament, held *Anno* 1567. It was penned by *Knox*, and agrees, in almost all things, with the *Geneva* Confession.

Reformation is settled in Scotland by Parliament.

Of the whole Temporalty, none but the Earl of *Athol*, and the Lords, *Somervile* and *Borthick*, dissented to it: They said, they would believe as their Fathers had done before them. The Spiritual Estate said nothing against it. The Abbots struck in with the Tyde, upon assurance, that their Abbies should be converted to Temporal Lordships, and be given to them. Most of the Bishops, seeing the Stream so strong against them, complied likewise; and to secure themselves, and enrich their Friends or Bastards, did dilapidate all the Revenues of the Church, in the strangest manner that has ever been known; and yet, for most of all these Leases and Alienations, they procured from *Rome* Bulls to confirm them; pretending at that Court, that they were necessary for making Friends to their Interest in *Scotland*.

Great numbers of these Bulls I my self have seen and read: So that after all the noise that the Church of *Rome* had made of the Sacriledge in *England*, they themselves confirmed a more entire waste of the Churches Patrimony in *Scotland*; of which there was scarce any thing reserved for the Clergy. But our Kings have since that time, used such effectual endeavours there, for the recovery of so much as might give a just encouragement to the Labours of the Clergy; that universally the inferior Clergy is better provided for in no Nation than in *Scotland*; for in Glebe and Tythes, every Incumbent is by the Law provided with at least 50 *l. Sterling* a Year; which, in proportion to the cheapness of the Country, is equal to twice so much in most parts of *England*. But there are not among them such Provisions for encouraging the more Learned and deserving Men, as were necessary. When these Acts of the Scotish Parliament were brought into *France* to be confirmed, they were rejected with much scorn; so that the Scots were in fear of a new War. But the King of *France* dying in the beginning of *December*, all that Cloud vanished; their Queen being now only Dowager of *France*, and in very ill tearms with her Mother-in-Law Queen *Katherine de Medici*, who hated her, because she had endeavoured to take her Husband out of her Hands, and to give him up wholly to the Counsels of her Uncles. So she being ill used in *France*, was forced to return to *Scotland*, and govern there in such manner, as the Nation was pleased to submit to.

Francis the 2d died.

Thus had the Queen of *England* separated *Scotland* entirely from the Interests of *France*, and united it to her own: And being engaged in the same Cause of Religion, she ever after this, had that influence on all Affairs there, that she never received any disturbance from thence, during all the rest of her glorious Reign. In which, other Accidents concurred to raise her to the greatest Advantages in deciding Forreign Contests, that ever this Crown had.

In *July* after she came to the Crown, *Henry* the Second of *France*, was unfortunately wounded in his Eye at a Tilting, the Beaver of his Helmet not being let down; so that he died of it soon after. His Son *Francis* the Second succeeding, was then in the 16*th* Year of his Age, and assumed the Government in his own Name; but put it into the hands of his Mother, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Guise*. The Constable was put from the Court, the Princes of the Blood were not regarded, but all things were carried by the Cardinal and his Brother; between whom, and the Queen-Mother, there arose great misunderstandings, which proved fatal to the Queen of *Scotland*; for she, being much engaged with her Uncles, and having an Ascendant over her Husband, did so divide him from his Mother, that before he died, she had only the shadow of the Government. This she remembred ever after against her Daughter-in-Law, and took no care of her afterwards in all her Miseries. 1559. The Civil Wars of France.

But the Prince of *Conde*, with the Admiral, and many others, resolving to have the Government in their Hands, engaged some Lawyers to examine the point of the King's Majority: These writ several Books on that Subject, to prove that two and twenty was the soonest that any King had been ever held to be of Age to assume the Government: and that no Strangers, nor Women, might be admitted to it by the Law of *France*, but that it belonged to the Princes of the Blood, during the King's Minority; who were to manage it by the Advice of the Courts of Parliament, and the three Estates. So that the Design now concerted between these great Lords, to take the King out of their hands who disposed of him, was grounded on their Laws: Yet as this Design was laying all over *France*, Papists and Protestants concurring in it, it was discovered by a Protestant, who thought himself bound in Conscience to reveal it. Upon this, the Prince of *Conde* and many others were seized on; and had not the King's Death, in the beginning of *December* 1560, saved him, the Prince himself, and all the Heads of that Party, had suffered for it.

But upon his Death, *Charles* the Ninth that succeeded him, being but eleven Years Old, the King of *Navarre* was declared Regent; and the Queen Mother, who then hated the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, united her self to him and the Constable, and drew the weak Regent into her Interests. Upon this, some Lawyers examining the Power of the Regents, found that the other Princes of the Blood were to have their share of the Government with him; and that he might be checkt by the Courts of Parliament, and was subject to an Assembly of the three Estates.

In *July*, the next Year, there was a severe Edict passed against the Protestants, to put down all their Meetings, and banish all their Preachers. The Execution of it was put into the hands of the Bishops; but the greater part of the Nation would not bear it.

So in *January* thereafter, another Edict passed, in a great Assembly of the Princes of the Blood, the Privy Counsellors, and eight Courts of Parliament, for the free exercise of that Religion; requiring the Magistrates to punish those who should hinder or disturb their Meetings. Soon after this the Duke of *Guise*, and his Brother, reconciled themselves to the Queen Mother, and resolved to break that Edict. This

was

1559. was begun by the Duke of *Vassy*; where a Meeting of the Protestants, being gathered, his Servants disturbed them; they began with reproachful Words, from these it went to Blows, and throwing of Stones; and by one of them the Duke was wounded: for which his Men took a severe Revenge, for they killed sixty of them, and wounded two hundred, sparing neither Age nor Sex. After this, the Edict was every-where broken. Many Lawyers were of Opinion, that the Regent could not do it, and that the People might lawfully follow the next Prince of the Blood in defence of the Edict.

Upon this, his Brother, the Prince of *Conde* gathered an Army. In the beginning of the War, the King of *Navarre* was killed at the Siege of *Roan*; so that, by the Law, the Prince of *Conde* ought to have succeeded him in the Regency; and thus the Wars that followed after this, could not be called Rebellion; since the Protestants had the Law and the first Prince of the Blood of their side, to whom the Government did of right belong.

Thus began the Civil Wars of *France*, which lasted above thirty Years; in all which time, the Queen of *England*, by the Assistance she sent them, sometimes of Men, but for the most part, of Mony and Ammunition, did support the Protestant Interest with no great Charge to her self. And by that, she was not only secured from all the Mischief which so powerful a Neighbour could do her, but had almost the half of that Kingdom depending on her.

The Wars of the *Netherlands*.

The State of the *Netherlands* afforded the like Advantages in those Provinces; where the King of *Spain*, finding the Proceedings of the Bishops were not effectual for the Extirpation of Heresy, their Sees being so large, intended to have founded more Bishopricks, and to have set up the Courts of Inquisition in those Parts; and apprehending some opposition from the Natives, he kept Garrisons of *Spaniards* among them, with many other things, contrary to the *Latus Introitus*, that had been agreed to, when he was received to be their Prince.

The People finding all Terms broken with them, and that by that Agreement they were disengaged from their Obedience, if he broke those Conditions, did shake off his Yoke. Upon which followed the Civil Wars of the *Netherlands*, that lasted likewise above thirty Years. To them the Queen gave assistance; at first more secretly, but afterwards more openly: and as both they and the French Protestants were assisted with Men out of *Germany*, which were generally led by the brave, but seldom fortunate, *Casimir*, Brother to the Elector Palatine; so the mony that payed them, was for most part furnished from *England*.

And thus was Queen *Elizabeth* the Arbiter of all the Neighbouring parts of Christendom. She at Home brought the Coin to a true Standard: Navigation prospered; Trade spread, both in the Northern Seas to *Arch-Angel*, and to the East and West *Indies*; and in her long Wars with *Spain*, she was always Victorious. That great *Armada*, set out with such assurance of Conquest, was, what by the Hand of Heaven in a Storm, what by the unweildiness of their Ships, and the nimbleness of Ours, so shattered and sunk, that the few remainders of it returned with irrecoverable shame and loss to *Spain* again. She reigned in the Affections of her People, and was admired for her Knowledg,

Vertues,

Vertues, and Wisdom, by all the World. She always ordered her Councils so, that all her Parliaments were ever ready to comply with theirs; for in every thing she followed the true Interest of the Nation. She never asked Subsidies, but when the necessity was visible; and when the Occasions, that made her demand any, vanished, she discharged them. 1559.

She was admired even in *Rome* it self, where *Sixtus* the Fifth used to speak of her, and the King of *Navarre*, as the only Princess that understood what it was to Govern; and profanely wished, he might enjoy her but one night, hoping they would beget a New *Alexander* the Great between them. But if that had been, and the Child had taken after the Father, it would have been more like *Alexander* the Sixth. *Vita de Sisto 5.*

Notwithstanding all the Attempts of *Rome* against her Person and Government, she still lived and triumphed. In the first ten Years of her Reign, all things were carried with such moderation, that there was no stir about Religion. Pope *Pius* the Fourth, reflecting on the capricious and high Answer his mad Predecessor had made to her Address, sent one *Parpalia* to her, in the second Year of her Reign, to invite her to join her self to that See, and he would disanul the Sentence against her Mothers Marriage; confirm the English Service, and the use of the Sacrament in both Kinds. But she sent the Agent word to stay at *Brussels*, and not to come over. The same Treatment met Abbot *Martinengo*, who was sent the Year after with the like Message. From that Time, all Treaty with *Rome* was entirely broken off. *Pius* the Fourth proceeded no further; but his Successor, *Pius* the Fifth, resolved to contrive her Death, as he that writ his Life relates. *Catena.*

The unfortunate Queen of *Scotland*, upon the Wars in her Country, was driven to seek shelter in *England*, where it was at first resolved to use her well, and to restore her to her Crown and Country; as will appear by two Papers, which for their Curiosity, being Originals, I have put into the *Collection*. The one is the Advice that Sir *Henry Mildmay* gave about it: the other is a long Letter written concerning it by the Earl of *Leicester* to the Earl of *Sussex*. They were given me by that most ingenious and vertuous Gentleman, Mr. *Evelyn*, who is not satisfied to have advanced the knowledg of this Age, by his own most useful and successful Labours, about Planting, and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute every thing in his Power to perfect other Mens Endeavours. *Coll.* Numb. 11.

But while the English Council intended to have used the Queen of *Scotland* well, her own officious Friends, by the frequent Plots that were in a succession of many Years carried on, sometimes by open Rebellion, as in the North of *England*, and in *Ireland*, but more frequently by secret Attempts, brought on her the Calamities of a long Imprisonment, and Death in the Conclusion.

Her Death was the greatest blemish of this Reign, being generally censured by all the Age, except by Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, who was a Man that delighted in cruel Executions, and so concluded her to be a happy Woman that had the pleasure to cut off a Crowned Head. But Queen Elizabeth's own preservation from the many Designs that were *Vita de Sisto 5.*

1559. against her Life, made it in some sort, if not necessary, yet more excusable in her: especially that unfortunate Queen having her self cherished the Plot of *Babington* and *Ballard*, and having set her hand to the Letters that were written to them about it, though she still denied that, and cast the blame of it on her Secretaries, who (as she said) had gotten her hand to them without her Knowledg. The Pope had deposed the Queen (as will appear by his Sentence, which I have put in the Collection;) and the Queen of *Scotland* being the next Heir to the Crown, and a zealous Papist, those of that Religion hoped, by destroying the Queen, to set her in her room; which put *England* in no small disorder, by Associations, and other means that were used for preserving the Queen, and destroying the Popish Interest. The Rebellions and Plots in *England* and *Ireland*, were not a little supported by the Assistance of King *Philip* of *Spain*, who did all he could to embroil the Queen's Affairs at home, though still without Success. But the steps of the Queen's Proceedings, both against Papists and Puritans, are so set out by her great and wise Secretary, Sir *Francis Walsingham* in so clear a manner, that I shall set it down here as a most important piece of History; being written by one of the wisest and most vertuous Ministers that these latter Ages have produced. He wrote it in French to one Monsieur *Critoy* a French-man, of which I have seen an English Copy, taken (as is said) from the Original.

Coll. Num. 13.

S I R,

Walsingham's Letter concerning the Queen's proceedings against both Papists and Puritans.

'WHereas you desire to be advertized, touching the proceedings 'here in Ecclesiastical Causes, because you seem to note in them 'some Inconstancy and Variation, as if we inclined sometimes to one 'side, and sometimes to another; and as if that Clemency and Lenity 'were not used of late, that was used in the beginning: all which you 'imputed to your own superficial understanding of the Affairs of this 'State, having, notwithstanding her Majesty's doings in singular Reverence, as the real Pledges which she hath given unto the World of her 'Sincerity in Religion, and of her Wisdom in Government well meriteth. I am glad of this Occasion, to impart that little I know in that 'matter unto you, both for your own Satisfaction, and to the end you 'may make use thereof, towards any that shall not be so modestly and so 'reasonably minded, as you are. I find therefore her Majesty's Proceedings to have been grounded upon two Principles.

'The one, that Consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and 'reduced by force of Truth, with the aid of Time, and the use of all good 'means of Instruction and Perswasion.

'The other, that Causes of Consciences when they exceed their 'bounds, and grow to be matter of Faction, loose their Nature, and 'that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish their Practices 'and Contempt, though coloured with the pretence of Conscience 'and Religion.

'According to these Principles, her Majesty at her coming to the 'Crown, utterly disliking the Tyranny of *Rome*, which had used by 'Terror and Rigour to settle Commandments of Mens Faiths and 'Con-

1559.

'Consciences. Though as a Princess of great Wisdom and Magnanimity, 'she suffered but the exercise of one Religion; yet her proceedings towards the Papists, was with great Lenity: expecting the good Effects 'which time might work in them; and therefore her Majesty revived 'not the Laws made in the 28th and 35th of her Fathers Reign, whereby the Oath of Supremacy might have been offered at the King's Pleasure to any Subject, so he kept his Conscience never so modestly to 'himself, and the refusal to take the same Oath, without further Circumstances was made Treason. But contrariwise, her Majesty not 'liking to make Windows into Mens Hearts and secret Thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express Acts, 'or Affirmations, tempered her Law so, as it restraineth every manifest 'disobedience, in impugning and impeaching, advisedly and maliciously, 'her Majesties supreme Power, maintaining and extolling a Forreign 'Jurisdiction: And as for the Oath, it was altered by her Majesty into 'a more grateful Form; the hardness of the Name and Appellation of '*Supreme Head*, was removed; and the Penalty of the refusal thereof, 'turned only to disablement to take any Promotion, or to exercise any 'Charge, and yet of liberty to be reinvested therein, if any Man should 'accept thereof, during his Life. But after, when *Pius Quintus* excommunicated her Majesty, and the Bulls of Excommunication were 'published in *London*, whereby her Majesty was in a sort proscribed, 'and that thereupon, as upon a principal Motive or Preparative, followed the Rebellion in the North; yet because the ill Humours of 'the Realm were by that Rebellion partly purged, and that she feared 'at that time no Foreign Invasion, and much less the Attempt of any 'within the Realm, not back'd by some potent Power and Succour from 'without, she contented her self to make a Law against that special 'case of bringing in and publishing of any Bulls, or the like Instruments; 'Whereunto was added a Prohibition upon pain, not of Treason, but 'of an inferior degree of Punishment, against the bringing of the '*Agnus Dei's*, and such other Merchandice of *Rome*, as are well known 'not to be any essential part of the Romanish Religion, but only to 'be used in practice, as Love-Tokens, to inchant and bewitch the 'peoples Affections, from their Allegiance to their Natural Soveraign. 'In all other Points, her Majesty continued her former Lenity: but 'when about the 20*th* Year of her Reign, she had discovered in the 'King of *Spain*, an intention to Invade her Dominions; and that a 'principal part of the Plot, was to prepare a Party within the Realm, 'that might adhere to the Forreigner; and that the Seminaries began 'to blossom, and to send forth daily, Priests, and professed Men, who 'should by Vow taken at *Shrift*, reconcile her Subjects from their Obedience, yea, and bind many of them to attempt against her Majesty's 'Sacred Person; and that, by the Poison which they spread, the Humours of most Papists were altered, and that they were no more Papists in Conscience, and of Softness, but Papists in Faction: Then 'were there new Laws made, for the punishment of such as should 'submit themselves to such Reconcilements, or Renunciation of Obedience: And because it was a Treason carried in the Clouds, and in 'wonderful secrecy, and come seldom to light; and that there was no

 'presuppi-

1559. 'presuspicion thereof so great, as the Recusancy to come to Divine 'Service, because it was set down by their Decrees, that to come to 'Church before Reconciliation, was to live in Schism; but to come to 'Church after Reconcilement, was absolutely heretical and damnable. 'Therefore there were added Laws containing Punishment pecuniary, '*videlicet*, such as might not enforce Consciences, but to enfeeble and 'impoverish the means of those about whom it resteth indifferent and 'ambiguous, whether they were reconciled or not: and when, not-'withstanding all this Provision, the Poison was dispersed so secretly, 'as that there was no means to stay it, but by restraining the Mer-'chants that brought it in. Then lastly, There was added a Law, 'whereby such seditious Priests, of new Erection, were exiled; and 'those that were at that time within the Land, shipped over, and so 'commanded to keep hence upon pain of Treason. This hath been 'the proceeding, though intermingled, not only with sundry Exam-'ples of her Majesty's Grace towards such as in her Wisdom she knew 'to be Papists in Conscience, and not Faction and Singularity, but al-'so with extraordinary mitigation towards the Offenders in the highest 'Degree, committed by Law, if they would but protest, that if in 'case this Realm should be invaded with a Forreign Army, by the Pope's 'Authority, for the Catholick Cause, as they tearm it, they would 'take part with her Majesty, and not adhere to her Enemies.

'For the other Party, which have been offensive to the State, though 'in another Degree, which named themselves *Reformers*, and we com-'monly call *Puritans*, this hath been the proceeding towards them: A 'great while, when they enveighed against such Abuses in the Church, 'as Pluralities, Non-residence, and the like, their Zeal was not condem-'ned, only their Violence was sometime censured. When they refu-'sed the use of some Ceremonies and Rites, as Superstitious, they were 'tolerated with much connivancy and gentleness; yea, when they cal-'led in question the superiority of Bishops, and pretended to a Demo-'cracy into the Church; yet their Propositions were here considered, 'and by contrary Writings debated and discussed. Yet all this while, it 'was perceived that their Course was dangerous, and very popular: as 'because Papistry was odious, theretofore it was ever in their Mouths, 'that they sought to purge the Church from the Reliques of Papistry; 'a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one ex-'tream to another.

'Because multitude of Rogues, and Poverty was an Eye-sore, and a 'dislike to every Man; therefore they put into the peoples head, that 'if Discipline were planted, there should be no Vagabonds nor Beg-'gars, a thing very plausible: and in like manner they promised the 'people many of the impossible Wonders of their Discipline; besides, 'they opened to the people a way to Government, by their Consistory 'and Presbytery; a thing, though in consequence no less prejudicial to 'the Liberties of private Men, than to the Soveraignty of Princes; yet 'in first shew very popular. Neverthele§s this, except it were in some 'few that entred into extream contempt, was born with, because they 'pretended in dutiful manner to make Propositions, and to leave it to 'the Providence of God, and the Authority of the Magistrate.

'But

'But now of late Years, when there issued from them that affirmed, 1559.
'the consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended; when under
'pretence of a Confession, to avoid Slander and Imputations, they
'combined themselves by Classes and Subscriptions, when they de-
'scended into that vile and base means of defacing the Government of
'the Church, by ridiculous Pasquills, when they begun to make many
'Subjects in doubt to take Oaths which is one of the Fundamen-
'tal parts of Justice in this Land, and in all Places; when they began
'both to vaunt of their strength, and number of their Partizans and
'Followers, and to use Cominations that their Cause would prevaile,
'though Uproar and Violence, then it appeared to be no more Zeal,
'no more Conscience, but meer Faction and Division: And there-
'fore though the State were compelled to hold somewhat a hard-
'er hand to restrain them than before, yet was it with as great
'moderation, as the Peace of the State or Church could permit.
'And therefore, Sir, to conclude, consider uprightly of these Matters,
'and you shall see, her Majesty is no more a Temporizer in Religion: It
'is not the Success Abroad, nor the Change of Servants here at Home,
'can alter her; only as the things themselves alter, she applyed her Re-
'ligious Wisdom to Methods correspondent unto them; still retaining
'the two Rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with Conscien-
'ces, and yet in discovering Faction from Conscience, and Softness
'from Singularity. Farewel.

Your loving Friend,

F. Walsingham.

THUS I have prosecuted what I at first undertook, the Progress of the *Reformation*, from its first and small beginnings in *England*, till it came to a compleat settlement in the time of this Queen. Of whose Reign, if I have adventured to give any Account, it was not intended so much for a full Character of Her and her Councils, as to set out the great and vissible Blessings of God that attended on her; the many Preservations she had, and that by such signal Discoveries, as both sav'd her Life, and secured her Government; and the unusual happiness of her whole Reign, which raised her to the Esteem and Envy of that Age, and the Wonder of all Posterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a Virgin Queen could rule such a Kingdom, for above 44 Years, with such constant success, in so great tranquility at Home, with a vast encrease of Wealth, and with such Glory abroad. All which may justly be esteem-to have been the Rewards of Heaven, crowning that Reign with so much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Reformation of Religion.

The end of the third Book; and of the History of the Reformation of the Church of *England.*

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FINIS.

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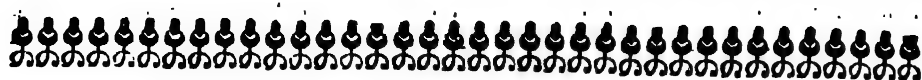
OF THE

History of the Reformation

OF THE

Church of England.

LONDON, Printed by *J. D.* for *Richard Chiswell*. 1680.



The Journal of King EDWARD's Reign, written with his own Hand.

The Original is in the Cotton *Library.* Nero *C.* 10.

THe Year of our Lord 1537, was a Prince born to King *Henry* the 8*th*, by *Jane Seimour* then Queen; who within few days after the Birth of her Son, died, and was buried at the Castle of *Windsor*. This Child was Christned by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. Afterwards was brought up till he came to six Years old among the Women. At the sixth Year of his Age he was brought up in Learning by Master Doctor *Cox*, who was after his Almoner, and *John Cheeke* Master of Arts, two well-learned Men, who sought to bring him up in learning of Tongues, of the Scripture, of Philosophy, and all Liberal Sciences. Also *John Bellmaine* Frenchman, did teach him the *French* Language. The tenth Year not yet ended, it was appointed he should be created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Count Palatine of *Chester*: At which time, being the Year of our Lord 1547, the said King died of a Dropsie as it was thought. After whose Death incontinent came *Edward* Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, to convoy this Prince to *Enfield*, where the Earl of *Hartford* declared to him, and his younger Sister *Elizabeth*, the Death of their Father.

Here he begins anew again.

AFter the Death of King *Henry* the 8*th*, his Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, was come to at *Hartford*, by the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse; for whom before was made great preparation that he might be created Prince of *Wales*, and afterward was brought to *Enfield*, where the Death of his Father was first shewed him; and the same day the Death of his Father was shewed in *London*, where was great lamentation and weeping: and suddenly he proclaimed King. The next day, being the of He was brought to the *Tower* of *London*, where he tarried the space of three weeks; and in the mean season the Council sat every day for the performance of the Will, and at length thought best that the Earl of *Hartford* should be made Duke of *Somerset*, Sir *Thomas Seimour* Lord *Sudley*, the Earl of *Essex* Marquess of *Northampton*, and divers Knights should be made Barons, as the Lord *Sheffield*, with divers others. Also they thought best to chuse the Duke of *Somerset* to be Protector of the Realm, and Governour of the King's Person during his Minority; to which all the Gentlemen and Lords did agree, because he was the King's Uncle on his Mothers side. Also in this time the late King was buried at *Windsor* with much solemnity, and the Officers broke their Staves,

 hurling

hurling them into the Grave; but they were restored to them again when they came to the *Tower.* The Lord *Lisle* was made Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord Great Chamberlainship was given to him; and the Lord *Sudley* made Admiral of *England* : all these things were done, the King being in the *Tower.* Afterwards all things being prepared for the Coronation, the King being then but nine Years old, passed through the City of *London*, as heretofore hath been used, and came to the Palace of *Westminster*; and the next day came into *Westminster-Hall.* And it was asked the People, Whether they would have him to be their King? Who answered; Yea, yea: Then he was crowned King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and all the rest of the Clergy and Nobles; and Anointed, with all such Ceremonies as were accustomed, and took his Oath, and gave a General Pardon,and so was brought to the Hall to Dinner on *Shrove-sunday*,where he sat with the Crown on his Head, with the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Protector; and all the Lords sat at Boards in the Hall beneath, and the Lord Marshal's Deputy,(for my Lord of *Somerset* was Lord Marshal) rode about the Hall to make room; then came in Sir *John Dimock* Champion, and made his Challenge, and so the King drank to him, and he had the Cup. At night the King returned to his Palace at *Westminster*, where there was Justs and Barriers; and afterward Order was taken for all his Servants being with his Father, and being with the Prince, and the Ordinary and Unordinary were appointed. In the mean season Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Brother to my Lord of *Warwick*, being in the *Paunsie*, met with the *Lion*, a principal Ship of *Scotland*, which thought to take the *Paunsie* without resistance; but the *Paunsie* approached her, and she shot, but at length they came very near, and then the *Paunsie* shooting off all one side, burst all the overlop of the *Lion*, and all her Tackling, and at length boarded her and took her; but in the return, by negligence, she was lost at *Harwich-Haven*, with almost all her Men.

* Should be *March.*

In the month of * *May* died the French King called *Francis*,and his Son called *Henry*, was proclaimed King. There came also out of *Scotland* an Ambassador,but brought nothing to pass,and an Army was prepared to go into *Scotland.*Certain Injunctions were set forth,which took away divers Ceremonies, and Commissions sent to take down Images, and certain Homilies were set forth to be read in the Church. Dr.*Smith* of *Oxford* recanted at *Pauls* certain Opinions of the Mess, and that Christ was not according to the Order of *Melchisedeck*. The Lord *Seimour* of *Sudley* married the Queen, whose name was *Katherine*, with which Marriage the Lord Protector was much offended.

There was great preparation made to go into *Scotland*, and the Lord Protector, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Gray*, and Mr. *Brian*, went with a great number of Nobles and Gentlemen to *Barwick*; where the first day after his coming, he mustered all his Company, which were to the number of 13000 Footmen, and 5000 Horsemen. The next day he marched on into *Scotland*, and so passed the *Pease*; then he burnt two Castles in *Scotland*,and so passed a streight of a Bridg, where 300 Scots Light-Horsemen set upon him behind him, who were discomfited. So he passed to *Musselburgh*, where the first day after he came, he went up to the Hill, and saw the Scots, thinking

them,

them, as they were indeed at least, 36000 Men; and my Lord of *Warwick* was almost taken, chasing the Earl of *Huntley*, by an Ambush; but he was rescued by one *Bertivell*, with twelve Hagbuttiers on Horseback, and the Ambush ran away.

The 10*th* day of *September*, the Lord Protector thought to get the Hill, which the Scots seeing, passed the Bridg over the River of *Musselburgh*, and strove for the higher Ground, and almost got it; but our Horsemen set upon them, who although they stayed them, yet were put to flight, and gathered together again by the Duke of *Somerset*, Lord Protector, and the Earl of *Warwick*, and were ready to give a new Onset. The Scots being amazed with this, fled theirwayes, some to *Edinburgh*, some to the Sea, and some to *Dalkeith*; and there were slain 10000 of them, but of Englishmen 51 Horsemen, which were almost all Gentlemen, and but one Footman. Prisoners were taken, the Lord *Huntley* Chancellor of *Scotland*, and divers other Gentlemen; and slain of Lairds 1000. And Mr. *Brian*, *Sadler*, and *Vane*, were made Bannerets.

After this Battel *Broughtie-craig* was given to the Englishmen, and *Hume*, and *Roxburgh*, and *Heymouth*, which were Fortified, and Captains were put in them, and the Lord of *Somerset* rewarded with 500 *l.* Lands. In the mean season, *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, was, for not receiving the Injunctions, committed to Ward. There was also a Parliament called, wherein all Chaunteries were granted to the King, and an extream Law made for Vagabonds, and divers other things. Also the Scots besieged *Broughty-craig*, which was defended against them all by Sir *Andrew Dudley* Knight, and oftentimes their Ordnance was taken and marred.

YEAR II.

A Triumph was, where six Gentlemen did challenge all Comers, at Barriers, Justs, and Tournay; and also that they would keep a Fortress with thirty, with them against an hundred, or under, which was done at *Greenwich*.

Sir *Edward Bellingam* being sent into *Ireland* Deputy, and Sir *Anthony St. Leiger* revoked, he took *O-Canor*, and *O-Mor*, bringing the Lords that rebelled into subjection; and *O-Canor* and *O-Mor* leaving their Lordships, had apiece an 100 *l.* Pension.

The Scots besieged the Town of *Haddington*, where the Captain, Mr. *Willford*, every day made issues upon them, and slew divers of them. The thing was very weak, but for the Men, who did very manfully. Oftentimes Mr. *Holcroft* and Mr. *Palmer* did Victual it by force, passing through the Enemies; and at last the *Rhinegrave* unawares set upon Mr. *Palmer*, which was there with near a thousand and five hundred Horsemen, and discomfited him, taking him, Mr. *Bowes* Warden of the West-Marches, and divers other, to the number of 400, and slew a few. (Upon St. *Peter's* day the Bishop of *Winchester* was committed to the *Tower*.) Then they made divers brags, and they had the like made to them. Then went the Earl of *Shrewsbury* General of the Army, with 22000 Men, and burnt divers Towns and Fortresses, which the Frenchmen and Scots hearing, levied their Siege in the

the month of *September*; in the levying of which, there came one to *Tiberio*, who as then was in *Haddington*, and setting forth the weakness of the Town, told him, That all Honour was due to the Defenders, and none to the Assailers; so the Siege being levied, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* entred it, and victualled, and reinforced it. After his departing by night, there came into the Outer Court, at *Haddington*, 2000 Men armed, taking the Townsmen in their Shirts; who yet defended them, with the help of the Watch, and at length, with Ordnance, issued out upon them, and slew a marvellous number, bearing divers Assaults, and at length drove them home, and kept the Town safe.

A Parliament was called, where an Uniform Order of Prayer was institute, before made by a number of Bishops and learned Men gathered together in *Windsor*. There was granted a Subsidy, and there was a notable Disputation of the Sacrament in the Parliament-House. Also the Lord *Sudley*, Admiral of *England*, was condemned to Death, and died in *March* ensuing. Sir *Thomas Sharington* was also condemned for making false Coin, which he himself confessed. Divers also were put in the *Tower*.

YEAR III.

Hume-Castle was taken by Night, and Treason, by the Scots. Mr. *Willford*, in a Skirmish, was left of his Men, sore hurt and taken. There was a Skirmish at *Broughty-craig*, wherein Mr. *Lutterell*, Captain after Mr. *Dudley*, did burn certain Villages, and took *Monsieur de Toge* Prisoner. The Frenchmen by night assaulted *Boulingberg*, and were manfully repulsed, after they had made Faggots with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, Powder, and Wildfire, to burn the Ships in the Haven of *Bollein*, but they were driven away by the *Bollonors*, and their Faggots taken.

In Mr. *Bowes* Place, who was Warden of the West-Marches, was put the Lord *Dacres*; and in the Lord *Gray*'s Place, the Earl of *Rutland*; who after his coming entred *Scotland*, and burnt divers Villages, and took much Prey. The People began to rise in *Wiltshire*, where Sir *William Herbert* did put them down, over-run, and slew them. Then they rose in *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, *Kent*, *Glocestershire*, *Suffolk*, *Warwickshire*, *Essex*, *Hartfordshire*, a piece of *Leicestershire*, *Worcestershire*, and *Rutlandshire*, where by fair Persuasions, partly of honest Men among themselves, partly by Gentlemen, they were often appeased; and because certain Commissions were sent down to pluck down Inclosures, they did rise again. The French King perceiving this, caused War to be proclaimed; and hearing that our Ships lay at *Jersey*, sent a great number of his Galleys, and certain Ships, to surprise our Ships; but they being at anchor, beat the French, that they were fain to retire with the loss of 1000 of their Men.

At the same time the French King passed by *Bullein* to *New-Haven*, with his Army, and took *Blackness*, by Treason, and the *Almain* Camp; which done, *New-Haven* surrendered. There were also in a Skirmish, between 300 English Footmen, and 300 French Horsemen, six Noblemen slain. Then the French King came with his Army to *Bollein*.

'*Bollein*, which they seeing, razed '*Boulingberg*; but because of the Plague, he was compelled to retire, and *Chastilion* was left behind, as Governour of the Army. In the mean season, because there was a rumour that I was dead, I passed through *London*.

After that they rose in *Oxfordshire*, *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkshire*. To *Oxford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* was sent with 1500 Horsemen and Footmen, whose coming, with the assembling of the Gentlemen of the Country, did so abash the Rebels, that more than half of them ran theirways, and other that tarried, were some slain, some taken, and some hanged. To *Devonshire*, the Lord Privy-Seal was sent, who with his Band, being but small, lay at *Honington*, whiles the Rebels besieged *Exeter*, who did use divers pretty Feats of War, for after divers Skirmishes, when the Gates were burnt, they in the City did continue the Fire till they had made a Rampier within; also after, when they were undermined, and Powder was laid in the Mine, they within drowned the Powder and the Mine, with Water they cast in; which the Lord Privy-Seal having thought to have gone to inforce them a by-way, of which the Rebels having spial, cut all the Trees betwixt St. *Mary Outrye* and *Exeter*; for which cause the Lord Privy-Seal burnt that Town, and thought to return home: The Rebels kept a Bridg behind his Back, and so compelled him, with his small Band, to set upon them, which he did, and overcame them, killing 600 of them, and returning home without any loss of Men. Then the Lord *Gray*, and *Spinola*, with their bands, came to him, and afterward *Gray*, with 200 of *Redding*, with which Bands he being reinforced, came to raise the Siege at *Exeter*, for because they had scarcity of Victual; and as he passed from *Honington*, he came to a little Town of his own, whither came but only two ways, which they had reinforced with two Bullwarks made of Earth, and had put to the defence of the same about 2000 Men; and the rest they had laid, some at a Bridg called *Honington-Bridg*, partly at a certain Hedg in a High-Way, and the most part at the Siege of *Exeter*. The Rereward of the Horsemen, of which *Travers* was Captain, set upon the one Bullwark, the Waward and Battail on the other; *Spinola*'s Band kept them occupied at their Wall: At length *Travers* drove them into the Town, which the Lord Privy-Seal burnt. Then they ran to a Bridg thereby, from whence being driven, there were in a Plain about 900 of them slain.

The next day they were met about other 2000 of them, at the entry of a High-Way, who first desired to talk, and in the mean season fortified themselves; which being perceived, they ran theirways, and that same Night the City of *Exeter* was delivered of the Siege. After that they gathered at *Launston*, to whom the Lord Privy-Seal, and Sir *Will. Herbert* went, and overthrew them, taking their chief Heads and executing them. Nevertheless some sailed to '*Bridgwater*, and went about Sedition, but were quickly repressed. Hitherto of *Devonshire*. At this time the Black Gally was taken. Now to *Norfolk*; The People suddenly gathered together in *Norfolk*, and increased to a great number, against whom the Lord Marquess of *Northampton* was sent, with the number of 1060 Horsemen, who winning the Town of *Norwich*, kept it one day and one night; and the next day in the morning, with the loss of 100 Men, departed out of the Town, among whom the

the Lord *Sheffield* was slain. There were taken divers Gentlemen, and Servingmen, to the number of thirty; with which Victory, the Rebels were very glad; but afterward hearing that the Earl of *Warwick* came against them, they began to stay upon a strong plot of Ground upon a Hill near to the Town of *Norwich*, having the Town confederate with them. The Earl of *Warwick* came with the number of 6000 Foot, and 1500 Horsemen, and entred into the Town of *Norwich*, which having won, it was so weak that he could scarcely defend it; and oftentimes the Rebels came into the Streets, killing divers of his Men, and were repulsed again; yea, and the Townsmen were given to Mischief themselves: So having endured their Assaults three days, and stopped their Victuals, the Rebels were constrained, for lack of Meat, to remove; whom the Earl of *Warwick* followed with 1000 Almains, and his Horsemen, leaving the English Footmen in the Town, and overcame them in plain Battel, killing 2000 of them, and taking *Ket* their Captain, who in *January* following was hang'd at *Norwich*, and his Head hanged out; *Ket*'s Brother was taken also, and punished alike. In the mean season *Chastilion* besieged the Peer of *Bollein* made in the Haven, and after long Battery, 20000 shot or more, gave assault to it, and were manfully repulsed; nevertheless they continued the Siege still, and made often Skirmishes, and false Assaults, in which they won not much. Therefore seeing they profited little that way, they planted Ordnance against the Mouth of the Haven that no Victual might come to it; which our Men seeing, set upon them by night and slew divers Frenchmen, and dismounted many of their Peeces; nevertheless the French came another time and planted their Ordnance toward the Sand-side of the Sand-Hills, and beat divers Ships of Victualers at the Entry of the Haven, but yet the Englishmen, at the King's Adventure, came into the Haven and refreshed divers times the Town. The Frenchmen seeing they could not that way prevail, continued their Battery but smally, on which before they had spent 1500 Shot in a day, but loaded a Galley with Stones and Gravel, which they let go in the Stream to sink it; but or ere it sunk, it came near to one Bank, where the *Bulloners* took it out, and brought the Stones to reinforce the Peer. Also at *Gunes* was a certain Skirmish, in which there was about an 100 Frenchmen slain, of which some were Gentlemen and Noblemen. In the mean season in *England* rose great Stirs, like to increase much if it had not been well foreseen. The Council, about nineteen of them, were gathered in *London*, thinking to meet with the Lord Protector, and to make him amend some of his Disorders. He fearing his state, caused the Secretary, in My Name, to be sent to the Lords, to know for what Cause they gathered their Powers together; and if they meant to talk with him, that they should come in a peaceable manner. The next morning, being the *6th* of *October* and *Saturday*, he commanded the Armour to be brought down out of the Armoury of *Hampton-Court*, about 500 Harnesses, to Arm both his and My Men, with all the Gates of the House to be Rampeir'd, People to be raised: People came abundantly to the House. That night, with all the People, at nine or ten of the Clock of the night, I went to *Windsor*, and there was Watch and Ward kept every night. The Lords sat in open Places of *London*, calling for Gentlemen before them, and

declaring

declaring the Caufes of Accufation of the Lord Protector, and caufed the fame to be proclaimed. After which time few came to *Windfor*, but only Mine own Men of the Guard, whom the Lords willed, fearing the Rage of the People fo lately quieted. Then began the Protector to treat by Letters, fending Sir *Philip Hobbey*, lately come from his Ambaffage in *Flanders*, to fee to his Family, who brought in his return a Letter to the Protector, very gentle, which he delivered to him, another to Me, another to my Houfe, to declare his Faults, Ambition, Vain-Glory, entring into rafh Wars in my Youth, negligent lookin on *New-Haven*, enriching of himfelf of my Treafure, following his own Opinion, and doing all by his own Authority, *&c.* Wh Letters were openly read, and immediately the Lords came to *Windf* took him, and brought him through *Holborn* to the *Tower*. Afterward I came to *Hampton-Court*, where they appointed, by My confent, fix Lords of the Council to be Attendant on Me, at leaft two and four Knights; Lords, the Marquefs of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, the Lords, *Ruffel St. John*, and *Wentworth*; Knights, Sir *Andr.Dudley*,Sir *Edw.Rogers*,Sir *Tho.Darcy*,and Sir *Tho.Wroth*. After I came through *London* to *Weftminfter*. The Lord of *Warwick* made Admiral of *England*. Sir *Thomas Cheiney* fent to the Emperor for Relief, which he could not obtain. Mafter *Wotton* made Secretary. The Lord Protector, by his own Agreement and Submiffion, loft his Protectorfhip, Treafurefhip, Marfhalfhip, all his Moveables, and more, 2000 *l.* Land,by Act of Parliament. The Earl of *Arundel* committed to his Houfe, for certain Crimes of fufpicion againft him, as plucking down of Bolts and Locks at *Weftminfter*, giving of My Stuff away, &c. and put to fine of 12000 *l.* to be paid 1000 *l.* Yearly; of which he was after relieved.

Alfo Mr. *Southwell* committed to the *Tower* for certain Bills of Sedition, written with his Hand, and put to fine of 500 *l.* Likewife Sir *Tho.Arundel*, and fix, then committed to the *Tower* for Confpiracies in the Weft Places. A Parliament, where was made a manner to Confecrate, Priefts, Bifhops, and Deacons. Mr. *Paget* furrendring his Comptrolerfhip, was made Lord *Paget* of *Beaudefert*, and cited into the Higher Houfe by a Writ of Parliament. Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, before Vicechamberlain, made Comptroller. Sir *Thomas Darcy* made Vicechamberlaine. *Guidotty* made divers Errands from the Conftable of *France* to make Peace with us; upon which were appointed four Commiffioners to Treat,and they after long Debatement made a Treaty as followeth.

Anno 1549. *Mart.* 24.

Peace concluded between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*; By our Englifh fide, *John* Earl of *Bedford*, Lord Privy Seal, Lord *Paget de Beaudefert*, Sir *William Petre* Secretary, and Sir *John Mafon*. On the French fide, *Monfieur de Rochepot*, *Monfieur Chaftilion*, *Guillnart de Mortier*, and *Boucherel de Sany*, upon thefe Conditions, That all Titles, Tribute, and Defences, fhould remain; That the Faults of one Man, except he be punifhed, fhould not break the League. That the Ships of Merchandize fhall pafs to and fro: That Pirats fhall be called

back, and Ships of War. That Prisoners shall be delivered of both sides. That we shall not War with *Scotland*. That *Bollein*, with the pieces of New Conquest, and two Basilisks, two Demy-Cannons, three Culverines, two Demy-Culverins, three Sacres, six Faulcons, 94 Hagbutts, a Crook, with Wooden Tailes, and 21 Iron Pieces; and *Lauder*, and *Dunglass*, with all the Ordnance save that that came from *Haddington*, shall, within six months after this Peace proclaimed, be delivered; and for that the French to pay 200000 Scutes within three days after the delivery of *Bollein*, and 200000 Scutes on our *Lady Day* in Harvest next ensuing; and that if the Scots raizd *Lauder*, and we should raze *Roxburg* and *Heymouth*. For the performance of which, on the 7*th* of *April*, should be delivered at *Guisnes* and *Ardres*, these Hostages.

Marquess *de Means*.	My Lord of *Suffolk*.
Monsieur *Trimoville*.	My Lord of *Hartford*.
Monsieur *D'anguien*.	My Lord *Talbot*.
Monsieur *Montmorency*.	My Lord *Fitzwarren*.
Monsieur *Henandiere*.	My Lord *Martavers*.
Vicedam de Chartres.	My Lord *Strange*.

Also that at the delivery of the Town, Ours should come home, and at the first Payment three of theirs; and that if the Scots raze *Lauder* and *Dunglass*, We must raze *Roxburgh* and *Heymouth*, and none after fortify them, with comprehension of the Emperor.

25. This Peace, *Anno* 1550, proclaimed at *Calais* and *Bollein*.

29. In *London*, Bonefires.

30. A Sermon in Thanksgiving for Peace, and *Te Deum* sung.

31. My Lord *Somerset* was delivered of his Bonds, and came to Court.

April.

2. The Parliament prorogued to the second day of the Term in *October* ensuing.

3. *Nicholas Ridley*, before of *Rochester*, made Bishop of *London*, and received his Oath.

Thomas Thirlby, before of *Westminster*, made Bishop of *Norwich*, and received his Oath.

4. The Bishop of *Chichester*, before a vehement affirmer of Transubstantiation, did preach against it at *Westminster* in the preaching place.

Removing to *Greenwich* from *Westminster*.

6. Our Hostages passed the Narrow Seas between *Dover* and *Calais*.

7. Monsieur *de Fermin*, Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, passed from the French King by *England* to the Scotch Queen, to tell her of the Peace.

An Ambassador came from *Gustave* the Swedish King, called *Andrew*, for a surer Amity touching Merchandize.

9. The Hostages delivered on both the sides, for the Ratification of the League with *France* and *Scotland*; for because some said to Monsieur *Rochfort* Lieutenant, that Monsieur *de Guise*, Father to the Marquess of *Means*, was dead, and therefore the delivery was put over a day.

8. My

8. My Lord *Warwick* made General Warden of the North, and Mr. *Herbert* President of *Wales*; and the one had granted to him 1000 Marks Land, the other 500; and Lord *Warwick* 100 Horsemen at the King's Charge.

9. Licences signed for the whole Council, and certain of the Privy Chamber to keep among them 2340 Retainers.

10. My Lord *Somerset* taken into the Council. *Guidotti* the beginner of the talk for Peace, recompensed with Knightdom, 1000 Crowns Reward, 1000 Crowns Pension, and his Son with 250 Crowns Pension.

Certain Prisoners for light Matters dismissed; agreed for delivery of French Prisoners taken in the Wars. *Peter Vane* sent Ambassador to *Venice*. Letters directed to certain Irish Nobles, to take a blind Legat coming from the Pope, calling himself Bishop of *Armagh*. Commissions for the delivery of *Bulloin*, *Lauder*, and *Dunglass*.

6. The *Flemings* Men of War would have passed our Ships without vailing Bonet; which they seeing, shot at them, and drove them at length to vail Bonet, and so depart.

11. Monsieur *Trimaul*, Monsieur *Vicedam de Char*, and Monsieur *Henaudie*, came to *Dover*, the rest tarried at *Calais* till they had leave.

13. Order taken, that whosoever had Benefices given them, should preach before the King in or out of Lent, and every *Sunday* there should be a Sermon.

16. The three Hostages aforesaid came to *London*, being met at *Debtford* by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Lord *Bray*, with divers other Gentlemen, to the number of 20, and Servingmen an 100, and so brought into the City, and lodged there, and kept Houses every Man by himself.

18. Mr. *Sidney* and Mr. *Nevel* made Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Commission given to the Lord *Cobham* Deputy of *Calais*, *William Petre* chief Secretary, and Sir *John Mason* French Secretary, to see the French King take his Oath, with certain Instruction; and that Sir *John Mason* should be Ambassador Leigier.

Commission to Sir *John Davies*, and Sir *VVilliam Sharington*, to receive the first Paiment, and deliver the Quittance.

19. Sir *John Mason* taken into the Privy Council, and *VVilliam Thomas* made Clerk of the same.

Whereas the Emperors Ambassador desired leave, by Letters Patents, that my Lady *Mary* might have Mass; it was denied him. And where he said we broke the League with him, by making Peace with *Scotland*, it was answered, That the French King, and not I, did comprehend them, saving that I might not invade them without occasion.

10. *Lauther* being besieged of the Scots, the Captain hearing that the Peace was Proclaimed in *England*, delivered it, as the Peace did will him, taking Sureties, that all the Bargains of the Peace should be kept.

18. Monsieur *de Guise* died.

20. Order taken for the Chamber, that three of the Outer Privy-Chamber Gentlemen should always be here, and two lie in the Palace, and fill the Room of one of the four Knights; that the Squires should be diligent in their Office; and five Grooms should be always pre-

ſent, of which one to watch in the Bed-Chamber.

21. The Marqueſs *de Means*, the Duke *de Anguien*, and the Conſtable's Son, arrived at *Dover*.

23. Monſieur *Trimoville*, and the *Vicedam* of *Chartres*, and Monſieur *Henaudy*, came to the Court, and ſaw the Order of the Garter, and the Knights, with their Sovereign, receive the Communion.

24. Certain Articles touching a ſtreighter Amity in Merchandize ſent to the King of *Sweeden*, being theſe.

Firſt; *If the King of* Sweden *ſent Bullion, he ſhould have our Commodities and pay no Toll.*

Secondly; *He ſhould bring* Bullion *to none other Prince.*

Thirdly; *If he brought Ozymus, and Steel, and Copper,* &c. *he ſhould have our Commodities, and pay Cuſtom as an Engliſhman.*

Fourthly; *If he brought any other, he ſhould have free entercourſe, paying Cuſtom as a Stranger,* &c.

It was anſwered, to the Duke of *Brunſwick*, that whereas he offered Service with 10000 Men of his Land, that the War was ended; and for the Marriage of my Lady *Mary* to him, there was talk for her Marriage with the Infant of *Portugal*, which being determined, he ſhould have anſwer.

25. Lord *Clinton* Captain of *Bulloin*, having ſent away before all his Men ſaving 1800, and all his Ordnance, ſaving that the Treaty did reſerve, iſſued out of the Town with theſe 1800, delivering it to Monſieur *Chaſtilion*, receiving of him the ſix Hoſtages Engliſh, an Acquittance for delivery of the Town, and ſafe Conduct to come to *Calais*; whither when he came, he placed 1800 in the Emperors Frontiers.

27. The Marqueſs *du Means Count d' Anguien*, and the Conſtable's Son, were received at *Black-Heath* by my Lord of *Rutland*, my Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, my Lord *Bray*, my Lord *Liſle*, and divers Gentlemen, with all the Penſionaries, to the number of an hundred, beſide a great number of Servingmen.

It was granted, that my Lord of *Somerſet* ſhould have all his moveable Goods and Leaſes, except thoſe that be already given.

The King of *Sweden*'s Ambaſſador departed home to his Maſter.

29. The Count *d' Anguien*, Brother to the Duke of *Vendoſme*, and next Heir to the Crown after the King's Children; the Marqueſs *de Means*, Brother to the Scotch Queen; and Monſieur *Montmorency*, the Conſtable's Son came to the Court, where they were received with much Muſick at Dinner.

26. Certain were taken that went about to have an Inſurrection in *Kent*, upon *May* day following; and the Prieſt, who was the chief Worker, ran away into *Eſſex*, where he was laid for.

30. *Dunglaſs* was delivered as the Treaty did require.

May.

2. *Joan Bocher*, otherways called *Joan of Kent*, was burnt for holding, *That Chriſt was not Incarnate of the Virgin* Mary; being condemned the Year before, but kept in hope of Converſion; and the 30*th* of *April*, the Biſhop of *London*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*, were to perſwade her, but ſhe withſtood them, and reviled the Preacher that preached at her Death.

The

The first payment was payed at *Calais*, and received by Sir *Thomas Dennis*, and Mr. *Sharington*.

4. The Lord *Clinton*, before Captain of *Bollein*, came to Court, where after Thanks, he was made Admiral of *England*, upon the Surrender of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Patent: He was also taken into the Privy-Council, and promised further Reward. The Captain also, and Officers of the Town, were promised Rewards. Monsieur *de Brisay* passed also by the Court to *Scotland*, where at *Greenwich* he came to the King, telling him, That the French King would see that if he lacked any Commodity that he had, he would give it him; and likewise would the Constable of *France*, who then bore all the Swing.

5. The Marquess *de Means* departed to *Scotland* with Monsieur *de Brisay*, to acquaint the Queen of the death of the Duke of *Guise*.

6. The Master of *Ayrskin*, and Monsieur *Merret*'s Brother came out of *Scotland* for the Acceptation of the Peace, who after had Passport to go into *France*.

7. The Council drew a Book for ever Shire, who should be Lieutenants in them, and who should tarry with Me; but the Lieutenants were appointed to tarry till *Chastilions*, *Sarcy*, and *Beuckerels* coming, and then to depart.

9. Proclamation was made, That the Souldiers should return to their Mansions; and the Mayor of *London* had charge to look through all the Wards, to take them and send them to their Countries.

The Debt of 30000 *l.* and odd Money, was put over an Year, and there was bought 2500 Cinquetales of Powder.

11. Proclamation was made, That all Wooll-winders should take an Oath that they would make good Cloth there, as the Lord Chancellor would appoint them, according to an Act of Parliament made by *Edward* the Third.

7. The Lord *Cobham*, the Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *John Mason* came to the French King to *Amiens*, going on his Journey, where they were received of all the Nobles, and so brought to their Lodgings, which were well dressed.

10. The French King took the Oath for the Acceptation of the Treaty.

12. Our Ambassadors departed from the French Court, leaving Sir *John Mason* as Legier.

14. The Duke of *Somerset* was taken into the Privy-Chamber, and likewise was the Lord Admiral.

15. It was appointed that all the Light-Horsemen of *Bollein*, and the Men of Arms, should be payed their Wages, and be led by the Lord Marquess of *Northampton*, Captain of the Pensioners; and all the Guard of *Bollein* under the Lord Admiral. Also that the chiefest Captains should be sent, with 600 with them, to the strengthning of the Frontiers of *Scotland*.

The comprehension of Peace with *Scotland* was accepted so far as the League went, and Sealed.

16. The Master of *Ayrskin* departed into *France*.

17. Removing from *Westminster* to *Greenwich*.

18. The French King came to *Bollein* to visit the Pieces lately delivered to him, and to appoint an Order, and staying things there; which done he departed.

19. *Peter*

19. *Peter Vane* went as Ambaſſador to *Venice*, and departed from the Court with his Inſtructions.

20. The Lord *Cobham* and Sir *William Petre*, came home from their Journey, delivering both the Oath, and the Teſtimonial of the Oath, witneſſed by divers Noblemen of *France*; and alſo the Treaty ſealed with the Great Seal of *France*: and in the Oath was confeſſed, That I was Supream Head of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*, and alſo King of *Ireland*.

23. Monſieur *Chaſtilion*, and *Mortier*, and *Boucherel*, accompanied with the Rhinegrave, *Dandelot* the Conſtable's ſecond Son, and *Chenault* the Legier, came to *Dureſm* Place, where in their Journey they were met by Mr. Treaſurer, and ſixty Gentlemen, at *Woollwich*, and alſo ſaluted with great Peals, at *Woollwich*, *Debtford*, and the *Tower*.

24. The Ambaſſador came to me preſenting the Legier; and alſo delivering Letters of Credence from the French King.

25. The Ambaſſadour came to the Court, where they ſaw Me take the Oath for the Acceptation of the Treaty; and afterwards dined with Me: and after Dinner ſaw a Paſtime of ten againſt ten at the Ring, whereof on the one ſide were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Vicedam, the Lord *Liſle*, and ſeven other Gentlemen apparallel'd in Yellow. On the other, the Lord *Strange*, Monſieur *Hennadoy*, and the eight other in blew.

26. The Ambaſſador ſaw the baiting of the Bears and Bulls.

27. The Ambaſſadors, after they had hunted, ſat with me at Supper.

28. The ſame went to ſee *Hampton-Court*, where they did Hunt, and the ſame night return'd to *Dureſm-place*.

25. One that by way of Marriage had thought to aſſemble the People, and ſo to make an Inſurrection in *Kent*, was taken by the Gentlemen of the Shire, and afterward puniſhed.

29. The Ambaſſadors had a fair Supper made them by the Duke of *Somerſet*; and afterward went into the *Thames*, and ſaw both the Bear hunted in the River, and alſo Wild-fire caſt out of Boats, and many pretty Conceits.

30. The Ambaſſadors took their leave, and the next day departed.

June.

3. The King came to *Shein*, where was a Marriage made between the Lord *Liſle* the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son, and the Lady *Ann* Daughter to the Duke of *Somerſet*; which done, and a fair Dinner made, and Dancing finiſhed, the King and the Ladies went into two Anti-Chambers made of Boughs, where firſt he ſaw ſix Gentlemen of one ſide, and ſix of another, run the courſe of the Field twice over. Their names here do follow.

The Lord *Edward*. Sir *John Apleby*, &c.

And afterwards came three Maſters of one ſide, and two of another, which ran four Courſes apiece. Their Names be;

Laſt

Laſt of all came the Count of *Regunete*, with three *Italians*, who ran with all the Gentlemen four Courſes, and afterwards fought at Tournay; and ſo after Supper he returned to *Weſtminſter*.

4. Sir *Robert Dudley* third Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, married Sir *John Robſarts* Daughter; after which Marriage, there were certain Gentlemen that did ſtrive who ſhould firſt take away a Gooſes Head which was hanged alive on two croſs Poſts.

5. There was Tilt and Tournay on foot, with as great Staves as they run withal on Horſeback.

6. Removing to *Greenwich*.

8. The Geſts of My Progreſs were ſet forth, which were theſe; From *Greenwich* to *Weſtminſter*, from *Weſtminſter* to *Hampton-Court*, from *Hampton-Court* to *Windſor*, from *Windſor* to *Guilford*, from *Guilford* to *Oatland*, from *Oatland* to *Richmond*, &c.

Alſo the Vicedam made a great Supper for the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, with divers Maſques and other Conceits.

9. The Duke of *Somerſet*, Marqueſs of *Northampton*, Lord Treaſurer, *Bedford*, and the Secretary *Petre*, went to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to know to what he would ſtick. He made anſwer, That he would obey and ſet forth all things ſet forth by Me and my Parliament; and if he were troubled in Conſcience, he would reveal it to the Council, and not reaſon openly againſt it.

The firſt Payment of the Frenchmen, was laid up in the *Tower* for all Chances.

10. The Books of my Proceedings were ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to ſee whether he would ſet his Hand to it, or promiſe to ſet it forth to the People.

11. Order was given for Fortifying and Victualling *Cales* for four [illegible]; and alſo Sir *Henry Palmer*, and Sir — *Alee*, were ſent to the Frontiers of *Scotland*, to take a view of all the Forts there, and to report to the Council where they thought beſt to fortify.

12. The Marqueſs *de Means* came from *Scotland* in Poſt, and went his way into *France*.

13. Commiſſions were ſigned to Sir *William Herbert*, and thirty other, to Intreat of certain Matters in *Wales*, and alſo Inſtructions to the ſame, how to behave himſelf in the Preſidentſhip.

14. The Surveyor of *Calais* was ſent to *Calais*, firſt to raze the Walls of *Risbank* toward the Sand-hills, and after to make the Wall maſſy again, and the round Bullwark to change to a pointed one, which ſhould run twenty foot into the Sea, to beat the Sand-hills, and to raze the Mount. Secondly, To view *Maubeug*, to make an high Bullwark in the midſt, with Flankers, to beat through all the ſtreight; and alſo four Sluces to make *Calais* Haven better. Afterwards he was bid to go to *Guiſnes*, where firſt he ſhould take away the three-corn'd Bullwark to make the outward Wall of the Keep, and to fill the ſpace between the Keep and the ſaid outward Wall with the foreſaid Bullwark, and to raiſe the Old Keep that it might defend the Town. Alſo he was bid to make *Parſon's* Bullwark, where it is now, round, without Flankers, both pointed, and alſo with ſix Flankers to bear hard to the Keep.

Atwood

Atwood and *Lambert* were ſent to take view of *Alldeny*, *Silly*, *Jerſey*, *Gernſey*, and the Iſle of *Gitto*.

The Duke of *Somerſet*, with five others of the Council, went to the Biſhop of *Winchester*; to whom he made this Anſwer; *I having deliberately ſeen the Book of* Common-Prayer, *although I would not have made it ſo my ſelf, yet I find ſuch things in it as ſatisfieth my Conſcience, and therefore I will both execute it my ſelf, and alſo ſee other my Pariſhioners to do it.*

This was ſubſcribed by the foreſaid Counſellors, that they heard him ſay theſe words.

16. The Lord Marqueſs, Mr. *Herbert*, the Vicedam *Henandie*, and divers other Gentlemen, went to the Earl of *Warwick's*, where they were honourably received; and the next day they ran at the Ring a great number of Gentlemen.

19. I went to *Debtford*, being bidden to Supper by the Lord *Clinton*; where before Supper I ſaw certain Men ſtand upon the end of a Boat, without holding of any thing, and ran one at another, till one was caſt into the Water. At Supper Monſieur *Vicedam* and *Henandie* ſupped with me. After Supper was there a Fort made upon a great Lighter on the *Thames* which had three Walls, and a Watch-Tower; in the midſt of which Mr. *Winter* was Captain, with forty or fifty other Souldiers in Yellow and Black. To the Fort alſo appertained a Gallery of Yellow Collour, with Men and Ammunition in it for defence of the Caſtle: Wherefore there came four Pinaces with their Men in White, handſomely dreſſed; which intending to give aſſault to the Caſtle, firſt drove away the Pinace, and after with Clods, Squibs, Canes of Fire-Darts made for the nonce, and Bombards, aſſaulted the Caſtle; and at length came with their Pieces, and burſt the outer Walls of the Caſtle, beating them off the Caſtle into the ſecond Ward, who after iſſued out and drove away the Pinaces, ſinking one of them, out of which, all the Men in it, being more than twenty, leaped out and ſwam in the *Thames*; Then came the Admiral of the Navy, with three other Pinaces, and won the Caſtle by Aſſault, and burſt the top of it down, and took the Captain and under Captain. Then the Admiral went forth to take the Yellow Ship, and at length claſped with her, took her, and aſſaulted alſo her top, and won it alſo by compulſion, and ſo returned home.

20. The Mayor of *London* cauſed the Watches to be encreaſed every night, becauſe of the great Frays, and alſo one Alderman to ſee good Rule kept every night.

22. There was a privy ſearch made through all *Suſſex* for all Vagabonds, Gipſies, Conſpirators, Propheſiers, all Players, and ſuch like.

24. There were certain in *Eſſex* about *Rumford*, went about a Conſpiracy, which were taken, and the Matter ſtayed.

25. Removing to *Greenwich*.

23. Sir *John Yates*, Sheriff of *Eſſex*, went down with Letters to ſee the Biſhop of *London's* Injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of Superaltaries, Altars, and ſuch like Ceremonies and Abuſes.

29. It

29. It was appointed that the *Germans* should have the *Austin-Friars* for their Church to have their Service in, for avoiding of all Sects of *Anabaptists*, and such-like.

17. The French Queen was delivered of a third Son, called *Monsieur d' Angoulesme*.

13. The Emperor departed from *Argentin* to *Augusta*.

30. *John Poynet* made Bishop of *Rochester*, and received his Oath.

July.

5. There was Mony provided to be sent into *Ireland*, for payment of the Souldiers there; and also Orders taken for the dispatch of the Strangers in *London*.

7. The Master of *Arskin* passed into *Scotland* coming from *France*. Also the *French* Ambassador did come before Me, first after shewing the Birth of *Monsieur d' Angoulesme*; afterward declaring, That whereas the French King had for my sake let go the Prisoners at St. *Andrews*, who before they were taken, had shamefully murdered the Cardinal, he desidered that all Scots that were Prisoners might be delivered. It was answered, That all were delivered. Then he moved for one called the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*; who since the Peace, came disguised without Pasport, and so was taken. It was answered, That we had no Peace with *Scotland*, such, that they might pass our Countrey, and the Master of *Erskin* affirmed the same.

8. It was agreed that the 200 that were with Me, and 200 that were with Mr. *Herbert*, should be sent into *Ireland*; Also that the Mint should be set a set a work that it might coin 24000 *l.* a Year, and so bear all my Charges in *Ireland* for this Year, and 10000 *l.* for my Coffers.

9. The Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord Treasurer, Sir *William Herbert*, and the Secretary *Petre*, went to the Bishop of *Winchester* with certain Articles signed by Me and the Council, containing the confessing of his Fault, the Supremacy, the establishing of Holy Days, the abolishing of six Articles, and divers other, whereof the Copy is in the Council-Chest; whereunto he put his Hand, saving to the Confession.

10. Sir *William Herbert* and Secretary *Petre* were sent unto him, to tell him, I marvelled, that he would not put his Hand to the Confession. To which he made answer, That he would not put his Hand to the Confession, for because he was Innocent, and also the Confession was but the Preface of Articles.

11. The Bishop of *London*, the Secretary *Petre*, Mr. *Cecil*, and *Goderick*, were commanded to make certain Articles according to the Laws, and to put in the Submission.

12. It was appointed, That under the Shadow of preparing for the Sea-Matters, there should be sent 5000 *l.* to the Protestants to get their good Will.

14. The Bishop of *Winchester* did deny the Articles that the Bishop of *London* and the other had made.

13. Sir *John Yates* was sent into *Essex* to stop the going away of the Lady *Mary*, because it was credibly informed that *Scipperus* should steal her away to *Antwerp*; divers of her Gentlemen were there, and *Scipperus* a little before came to see the Landing-places.

16. It was appointed that the two hundred with the Duke of *Somerset*, and two hundred with the Lord Privy-Seal, and four hun-

dred with Master *St. Legier*, should be sent to the Sea-Coast.

17. It was agreed, that on *Wednesday* next, We should go in one day to *Windsor* and dine at *Sion*.

18. It was thought best that the Lord *Bowes* should tarry in his Wardenship still, and the Earl of *Warwick* should tarry here and be recompensed.

19. The Bishop of *VVinchester* was sequestred from his Fruits for three months.

20. *Hooper* was made Bishop of *Glocester*. The Merchants were commanded to stay as much as they could their Vent into *Flanders*, because the Emperour had made many streight Laws against them that professed the Gospel.

21. A Muster was made of the *Boullonois*, who were fully payed for all past, and a month to come. Sir *John VVallop*, *Francis Hall*, and Doctor *Coke*, were appointed Commissioners to appoint the Limits between Me and the French King.

23. Removing to *VVindsor*.

22. The Secretary *Petre*, and the Lord Chancellour, were appointed to go to the Lady *Mary*, to cause her to come to *Oking*, or to the Court.

25. It was appointed, that half the French King's Paiment should be bestowed on paying 10000 *l.* at *Calais*, 9000 *l.* in *Ireland*, 10000 *l.* in the North, 2000 *l.* in the Admiralty, so that every Crown might go for one of our Nobles.

27. Because the Rumour came so much of *Scipperus* coming, it was appointed that they of the Admiralty should set my Ships in readiness.

26. The Duke of *Somerset* went to set Order in *Oxfordshire*, *Sussex*, *Wiltshire*, and *Hampshire*.

28. The Lady *Mary*, after long communication, was content to come to *Leez* to my Lord Chancellour, and then to *Hunsden*; but she utterly denied to come to the Court or *Oking* at that time.

31. The Earl of *Southampton* died.

14. *Andrew Dory* took the City of——— in *Africa*, from the Pirat *Dragutte*, who in the mean season burnt the Country of *Genoa*.

8. The Emperour came to *Ausburg*.

August.

4. Mr. *St. Legier* was appointed, by Letters Patents, to be Deputy there; and had his Commission, Instructions, and Letters to the Nobles of *Ireland* for the same purpose.

5. The same Deputy departed from the Castle of *Windsor*.

6. The Duke of *Somerset* departed to *Redding* to take an Order there.

7. It was appointed, that of the Mony delivered to Me by the French King, there should be taken 100000 Crowns to pay 10000 *l.* at *Calais*, 10000 in the North, and 2000 in the Admiralty, and 8000 in *Ireland*.

8. *Monsieur Henaudy* took his leave to depart to *Calais*, and so upon the Paiment, to be delivered Home; and *Tremoville* being sick, went in a Horse-Litter to *Dover*.

9. The French Ambassador came to *VVindsor*, to sue for a Passport for the Dowager of *Scotland*; which being granted, so she came like

a Friend; he required 300 Horſe to paſs, with 200 Keepers, which was not wholly granted, but only that 200 Horſe, with an 100 Keepers in one Company, coming into this Realm, as ſhould be appointed, ſhould, without let, paſs into *France*, and not return this way.

11. The *Vicedam* of *Chartres* ſhewed his Licence to tarry here, with a Letter written to the ſame purpoſe.

10. The Ambaſſadour of *France* departed not a little contented with his gentle Anſwers.

12. Removing to *Guilford*.

13. The Parliament was Prorogued to the 20*th* of *February* next following.

Mr. *Cook* Maſter of Requeſts, and certain other Lawyers, were appointed to make a ſhort Table of the Laws and Acts that were not wholly unprofitable, and preſent it to the Board.

The Lord Chancellor fell ſore ſick, with forty more of his Houſe, ſo that the Lady *Mary* came not thither at that time.

14. There came divers Advertiſements from *Chamberlain*, Ambaſſadour with the Queen of *Hungary*, that their very Intent was to take away the Lady *Mary*, and ſo to begin an Outward War, and an Inward Conſpiracy; inſomuch that the Queen ſaid *Scipperus* was but a Coward, and for fear of one Gentleman that came down, durſt not go forth with his Enterpriſe to my Lady *Mary*.

16. The Earl of *Maxwell* came down to the North-Border with a good Power to overthrow the *Gremes*, who were a certain Family that were yielded to Me; but the Lord *Dacre* ſtood before his Face with a good Band of Men, and ſo put him from his Purpoſe, and the Gentlemen, called *Gremes*, skirmiſhed with the ſaid Earl, ſlaying certain of his Men.

17. The Council appointed, among themſelves, That none of them ſhould ſpeak in any Man's behalf for Land to be given, Reverſion of Offices, Leaſes of Manours, or extraordinary Annuities, except for certain Captains who ſerved at *Bollein*, their Anſwer being deferred till *Michaelmaſs* next.

18. A Proclamation that till *Michaelmaſs* all Strangers that ſued for Penſions ſhould go their way.

20. Removing to *Oking*.

15. The ſecond Paiment of the French was paied, and *Henaudie* and *Tremoville* delivered.

21. 8000 *l.* of the laſt Payment was appointed to be payed to the Diſpatch of *Calais*, and 5000 at the North.

24. 10000 *l.* was appointed to be occupied to win Mony to pay the next Year, pay the outward Pays; and it was promiſed that the Mony ſhould double every month.

26. Removing to *Oatlands*.

27. *Andrea Doria* gave a hot Aſſault to the Town of ——— in *Africa* kept by the Pirat called *Drogute*, but was repulſed by the Townſmen.

29. The Pirat gave a hot Aſſault to *Andrea Dorea* by Night, and ſlew the Captain of *Thames*, with divers other notable Men.

31. The Duke *Maurice* made anſwer to the Emperour, That if the Council were not free, he would not come at it.

September.

2. *Maclamore* in *Ireland* before a Rebel, by the means of Mr. *Baberson*, surrendred himself and gave Pledges.

6. Mr. *VVotton* gave up his Secretaryship, and Mr. *Cecil* got it of him.

8. Removing from *Nonsuch*.

13. Removing to *Oatlands*.

22. A Proclamation was set forth, by the which it was commanded; 1. That no kind of Victual, no Wax, Tallow, Candles, nor no such thing should be carried over, except to *Calais*, putting in Sureties to go thither. 2. That no Man should buy or sell the self-same things again except Broakers, who should not have more than ten quarters of Grain at once. 3. That all Justices should divide themselves into Hundreds, Rapes, and Wapentakes, to look in their Quarters what superfluous Corn were in every Barn, and appoint it to be sold at a reasonable price. Also that one of them must be in every Market to see the Corn brought. Furthermore, whoever shipped over any Thing aforesaid to the Parts beyond Sea, or *Scotland*, after eight days following the publication of the Proclamation, should forfeit his Ship, and the Ware therein, half to the Lord of the Franchize, and half to the finder thereof; whoso bought to sell again after the day aforesaid, should forfeit all his Goods, Farms, and Leases, to the use, one half of the Finder, the other of the King; whoso brought not in Corn to Market as he was appointed, should forfeit 10 *l.* except the Purveyours took it up, or it were sold to his Neighbours.

25. Letters sent out to the Justices of the Peace for the due execution thereof.

* *Afrodisium* 18. *Andrea Doria* had a repulse from the Town of * in *Africa*, and lost many of his Men, and the Captain of *Thames*, and nevertheless left not yet the Siege.

24. Order was given for the Victualing of *Calais*.

26. The Lord *Willoughby*, Deputy of *Calais*, departed and took his journey thitherward.

28. The Lord Treasurer sent to *London* to give Order for the preservation of the City, with help of the Mayor.

Whereas the Emperor required a Council, they were content to receive it, so it were free and ordinary, requiring also that every Man might be restored to his Right, and a general Peace proclaimed. They desired also, that in the mean season no Man might be restrained to use his fashion of Religion.

18. The Emperor made Answer, That the Council should be to the Glory of God, and Maintenance of the Empire at *Trent*; He knew no Title to any of his Territories, Peace he desired, and in the mean season would have them observe the Interim and last Council of *Trent*; he would also that they of *Breme* and *Hamburgh*, with their Associates, should leave their Seditions, and obey his Decrees.

21. *George* Duke of *Mecklenburgh* came with 8000 Men of War to the City of *Magdeburgh*, being Protestant; against whom went forth the Count of *Mansfield*, and his Brother, with 6000 Men, and eight Guns, to drive him from Pillage; but the other abiding the Battel, put the Count to flight, took his Brother Prisoner, and slew 3000 Men, as it is reported.

October.

October.

4. Removing to *Richmond.*

5. The Parliament Prorogued to the 20*th* of *January.*

6. The French King made his entry into *Roan.*

10. It was agreed that *York*, Master of one of the *Mints* at the *Tower*, should make his Bargain with Me; *viz.* To take the Profit of Silver rising of Bullion that he himself brought, should pay all my Debts, to the Sum of 1200000 *l.* or above, and remain accountable for the Overplus, paying no more but 6 *s.* and 6 *d.* the ounce, till the Exchange were equal in *Flanders*, and after 6 *s.* and 2 *d.* Also that he should declare all his Bargains to any should be appointed to oversee him, and leave off when I would: For which I should give him 15000 *l.* in Prest, and leave to carry 8000 *l.* over-Sea to abase the Exchange.

16. Removing to *Westminster.*

19. Prices were set of all kind of Grains, Butter, Cheese, and Poultry-Ware, by a Proclamation.

20. The Frenchmen came to *Sandefield* and *Fins-wood*, to the number of 800, and there on my Ground did spoil my Subjects that were relieved by the Wood.

26. The French Ambassadour came to excuse the foresaid Men, saying, They thought it not meet that that Wood should be spoiled of us, being thought and claimed as theirs, and therefore they lay there.

24. There were 1000 Men embarqued to go to *Calais*, and so to *Guisnes*, and *Hammes*, *Risbumbee*, *Newmanbridge*, the Causie and the Bullwarks, with Victual for the same.

November.

19. There were Letters sent to every Bishop to pluck down the Altars.

20. There were Letters sent down to the Gentlemen of every Shire, for the observation of the last Proclamation touching Corn, because there came none to the Markets, commanding them to punish the Offenders.

29. Upon the Letters written back by the same, the second Proclamation was abolished.

December.

15. There was Letters sent for the taking of certain Chaplains of the Lady *Mary* for saying Mass, which she denied.

19. *Borthwick* was sent to the King of *Denmark*, with privy Instructions for the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* to his Son.

20. There was appointed a Band of Horsemen divided amongst the Nobles.

An 100 to the Duke of *Somerset*.
50 to my Lord Marq. *Northampton*.
Lord Marquess of *Dorset*.
Earl of *Wiltshire*.
Lord *Wentworth*.
Lord Admiral.
Lord *Paget*.
Mr. *Sadler*.
Mr. *Darcy*.

To the Earl of *Warwick*.
Lord Privy-Seal.
Mr. *Herbert*.
Mr. Treasurer.

24. Removing

24. Removing to *Greenwich*.

26. Peace concluded between the Emperor and the Scots.

January.

6. The Earl of *Arundel* remitted of 8000 *l.* which he ought to have payed for certain Faults he had committed within 12 Years.

7. There was appointed, for becauſe the Frenchmen did go about practice in *Ireland*, that there ſhould be prepared four Ships, four Barques, four Pinaces, and twelve Victualers, to take three Havens; of which two were on the South-ſide toward *France*, and one in *James Cannes* the Scottiſh Country, and alſo ſend and break the foreſaid Conſpiracies.

10. Three Ships being ſent forth into the Narrow Seas, took certain Pirats, and brought them into *England*, where the moſt part was hanged.

27. *Monſieur de Lanſac* came from the French King by way of requeſt, to aſk that *Coumilis*, the fiſhing of the *Tweed*, *Edrington*, the Ground debatable, and the Scotch Hoſtages that were put here in the King my Father's days, ſhould be delivered to the Scots, that they might be ſuffered to Traffique, as though they were in Peace, and that all Intereſt of the foreſaid Houſes ſhould be delivered to the Scots. Alſo that thoſe Priſoners which were bound to pay their Ranſoms before the Peace laſt concluded, ſhould not enjoy the benefit of the Peace.

18. The Lord *Cobham* was appointed to be General Lieutenant in *Ireland*.

30. Letters written to Mr. *St. Lieger* to repair to the South parts of *Ireland* with his Force.

February.

3. Mr. *Croftis* appointed to go into *Ireland*, and there with *Rogers* and certain Artificers, to take the Havens aforeſaid, and begin ſome Fortification.

5. Divers Merchants of *London* were ſpoken withal for proviſion of Corn out of *Danſick*, about 40000 Quarters.

10. *Mountford* was commanded to go to provide for certain proportions of Victual for the Ships that ſhould go into *Ireland*.

11. Alſo for Proviſion to be ſent to *Barwick* and the North parts.

16. *Whaley* was examined, for perſwading divers Nobles of the Realm to make the Duke of *Somerſet* Protector at the next Parliament, and ſtood to the denial, the Earl of *Rutland* affirming it manifeſtly.

13. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, after a long Trial, was depoſed of his Biſhoprick.

20. Sir *William Pickering* Kt. was diſpatched to the French King for Anſwer to *Monſieur de Lanſac*, to declare, That although I had right in the foreſaid Places, yet I was content to ſurrender them, under Conditions to be agreed on by Commiſſioners on both ſides; and for the laſt Articles I agreed without condition.

25. The Lord Marqueſs *Dorſet* appointed to be Warden of the North-Borders, having three Sub-Wardens, the Lord *Ogle*, &c. in the Eaſt, and the Lord *Coniers* in the Weſt. Alſo Mr. *Anger* had the charge for victualling *Calais*.

28. The Learned Man *Bucerus* died at *Cambridg*; who was two days

after

after buried in St. *Mary's* Church at *Cambridg*; all the whole University, with the whole Town, bringing him to the Grave, to the number of 3000 Persons. Also there was an Oration of Mr. *Haddon* made very eloquently at his Death, and a Sermon of * after that Master *Redman* made a third Sermon; which three Sermons made the People wonderfully to lament his Death. Last of all, all the Learned Men of the University made their Epitaphs in his praise, laying them on his Grave.

* Dr. *Parker.*

March.

3. The Lord *Wentworth* Lord Chamberlain, died about ten of the Clock at Night, leaving behind him sixteen Children.

1. Sir *John York* made great loss about 2000 *l.* weight of Silver, by Treason of English Men which he brought for Provision of the Mints. Also *Judd* 1500, and also *Tresham* 500; so the whole came to 4000 *l.*

February.

20. The Frenchmen came with a Navy of 160 Sail into *Scotland*, loaden with provision of Grain, Powder, and Ordnance; of which sixteen great Ships perished on *Ireland* Coast, two loaden with Artillery, and fourteen with Corn.

Also in this month the Deputy there set at one, certain of the West Lords that were at variance.

March.

10. Certain new Fortifications were devised to be made at *Calais*; That at *Graveling* the Water should be let in in my Ground, and so should fetch a compass by the six Bulwarks to *Guisnes*, *Hammes*, and *Newnambridg*; and that there should be a Wall of eight foot high, and six broad of Earth, to keep out the Water, and to make a great Marsh about the Territories of *Calais* 37 miles long. Also for Flankers at the Keep of *Guisnes*, willed to be made a three-cornered Bullwark at the Keep to keep it. Furthermore, at *Newnambridg*, a massy Wall to the French-side there, as was a Green. Besides, at the West Gittie there should be another Gittie, which should defend the Victuallers of the Town always from Shot from the Sand-hills.

5. Mr. *Archer* had 2000 *l.* in Mony, wherewith he provided out of *Flanders* for *Calais* 2000 Quarters of Barley, 500 of Wheat.

18. The Lady *Mary*, my Sister, came to me to *Westminster*, where after Salutations, she was called, with my Council, into a Chamber; where was declared how long I had suffered her Mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and how now being no hope, which I perceived by her Letters, except I saw some short amendment I could not bear it. She answered, That her Soul was God's, and her Faith she would not change, nor dissemble her Opinion with contrary doings. It was said, I constrained not her Faith, but willed her not as a King to Rule, but as a Subject to obey; and that her Example might breed too much inconvenience.

19. The Emperor's Ambassador came with a short Message from his Master of War, if I would not suffer his Cousin, the Princess, to use her Mass. To this was no answer given at this time.

20. The Bishops of *Canterbury*, *London*, *Rochester*, did consider to give licence to sin, was sin; to suffer and wink at it for a time might be born, so all haste possible might be used.

23. The

23. The Council having the Bishops Answers, seeing my Subjects taking their vent in *Flanders*, might put the whole Realm in danger. The *Flemings* had Cloth enough for a Year in their hand, and were kept far under the danger of the Papists; the 1500 Cinquetales of Powder I had in *Flanders*, the Harness they had for preparation of the Gendarmory, the Goods my Merchants had there at the *Woolfleet*, decreed to send an Ambassadour to the Emperor, Mr. *Wotton*, to deny the matter wholly, and perswade the Emperor in it, thinking, by his going, to win some time for a preparation of a Mart, convenience of Powder, Harness, &c. and for the Surety of the Realm. In the mean season to punish the Offenders, first of my Servants that heard Mass, next of hers.

24. Sir *Anthony Brown* sent to the *Fleet* for hearing Mass, with Serjeant *Morgan*, Sir *Clement Smith*, which a Year before heard Mass, chidden.

25. The Ambassadour of the Emperor came to have his Answer, but had none, saving that one should go to the Emperor within a month or two to declare the Matter.

22. Sir *William Pickering* came with great thanks from the French King.

27. Removing to *Greenwich*.

31. A Challenge made by Me, that I, with sixteen of my Chamber, should run at Base, Shoot, and run at the Ring with any seventeen of my Servants Gentlemen in the Court.

Mr. *Crofted* arrived in *Ireland*, and came to *Waterford* to the Deputy, consulting for Fortification of the Town.

April.

1. The first day of the Challenge at Base, or Running, the King won.

3. *Monsieur de Lansac* came again from the French King to go to *Scotland*, for appointing his Commissioners on the Scotch side, who were the French Ambassador in *Scotland*, the Bishop of —— the Master of *Erskin*, &c.

Thomas Darcy made Lord *Darcy* of *Chich.* and Lord Chamberlain; for maintenance whereof he had given 100 Merks to his Heirs generally, and 300 to his Heirs Males.

6. I lost the Challenge of Shooting at Rounds, and won at Rovers.

7. There were appointed Commissioners on my side, either the Bishop of *Litchfield* if he had no Impediment, or *Norwich*, Mr. *Bowes*, Mr. *Bekwith*, and Sir *Thomas Chaloner*.

8. Sir *John Yates* made Vicechamberlain, and Captain of the Guard, and 120 *l.* Land.

5. *Poinet* Bishop of *Rochester* received his Oath for the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, having 2000 Merk Land appointed to him for his Maintenance.

7. A certain *Arrian* of the Strangers, a Dutch Man, being excommunicated by the Congregation of his Countrymen, was after long disputation condemned to the Fire.

9. The Earl of *Wiltshire* had 50 more in my Lord Marquess *Dorset's* Place, Warden in the North, and my Lord of *Rutland* in my Lord *Wentworth's* Place other fifty.

10. Mr.

10. Mr. *Wotton* had his Instructions made to go withal to the Emperor, to be as Ambassador Legier in Mr. *Morison's* place, and to declare this Resolution, That if the Emperor would suffer my Ambassadour with him, to use his Service, then I would his; if he would not suffer Mine, I would not suffer his. Likewise, that my Sister was my Subject, and should use my Service appointed by Act of Parliament.

Also it was appointed to make 20000 pound weight for necessity somewhat baser, to get gains 16000 *l.* clear, by which the Debt of the Realm might be payed, the Country defended from any sudden Attempt, and the Coin amended.

11. Mr. *Pickering* had his Instructions and Dispatch to go into *France* as Ambassadour Legier there, in Mr. *Mason's* Place, who desired very much to come home; and Mr. *Pickering* had Instructions to tell the French King of the appointing of my Commissioners in *Scotland* aforesaid.

12. They of *Magdeburg* having in *January* last past taken in a conflict the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, and three other Earls, did give an Onset on Duke *Maurice* by Boats on the River, when it overflowed the Country, and slew divers of his Men, and came home safe, receiving a great portion of Victual into the Town.

15. A Conspiracy opened of the *Essex*-men, who within three days after minded to declare the coming of Strangers, and so to bring People together to *Chelmsford*, and then to spoil the Rich Men's Houses if they could.

16. Also of *Londoners*, who thought * *Woodcock* to rise on *May*-day against the Strangers of the City, and both the Parties committed to Ward.

* Here the sense is not perfect.

23. The French King, and the Lord *Clinton*, chosen into the Order of the Garter; and appointed that the Duke of *Somerset*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Wiltshire*, and the Earl of *Warwick* should peruse and amend the Order.

24. The Lords sat at *London*, and banqueted one another this day, and three days after, for to shew agreement amongst them, whereas Discord was bruited, and somewhat to look to the punishment of Tale-bearers, and apprehending of evil Persons.

25. A Bargain made with the Foulcare for about 60000 *l.* that in *May* and *August* should be payed for the defraying of it. 1. That the Foulcare should put it off for 10 in the 100. 2. That I should buy 12000 Marks weight, at 6 *s.* the ounce, to be delivered at *Antwerp*, and so conveyed over. 3. I should pay 100000 Crowns for a very fair Jewel of his, four Rubies marvelous big, one Orient and great Diamond, and one great Pearl.

27. *Mallet*, the Lady *Mary's* Chaplain, apprehended and sent to the *Tower* of *London*.

30. The Lord Marquess of *Northampton* appointed to go with the Order, and further Commission of Treaty, and that in Post; having joined with him in Commission, the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hobbey*, Sir *William Pickering*, and Sir *John Mason* Knights, and two other Lawyers, *Smith* that was Secretary, *&c.*

May.

2. There was appointed to go with my Lord Marquess, the Earls of *Rutland*, *Worcester*, and *Ormond*; the Lords *Lisle*, *Fitzwater*, and *Bray*, *Barguenny*, and divers other Gentlemen, to the number of thirty in all.

3. The Challenge at running at the Ring performed; at the which first came the King, sixteen Footmen, and ten Horsemen, in black Silk Coats, pulled out with white Taffety; then all the Lords, having three Men likewise apparelled; and all Gentlemen their Footmen in white Fustian, pulled out with black Taffety. The other side came all in yellow Taffety; at length the yellow Band took it thrice in 120 courses, and my Band touched often, which was counted as nothing, and took never, which seemed very strange, and so the Prize was of my Side lost. After that Tournay followed, between six of my Band, and six of theirs.

4. It was appointed that there should be but four Men to wait on every Earl that went with my Lord Marquess of *Northampton*, three on every Lord, two on every Knight or Gentleman: Also that my Lord Marquess should in his Diet be allowed for the loss in his Exchange.

5. The Muster of the Gendarmoury appointed to be the first of *June* if it were possible, if not the 8*th*.

6. The Testourn cried down from 12 *d.* to 9 *d.* and the Groat from 4 *d.* to 3 *d.*

9. One *Stewart* a Scotchman meaning to poison the young Queen of *Scotland*, thinking thereby to get Favour here, was, after he had been a while in the *Tower* and *Newgate*, delivered on my Frontiers at *Calais* to the French, for to have him punished there according to his deserts.

10. Divers Lords and Knights sent for to furnish the Court at the coming of the French Ambassadour, that brought hither the Order of St. *Michael.*

12. A Proclamation proclaimed, to give warning to all those that keep any Farms, multitudes of Sheep, above the number limited in the Law, *viz.* 2000; decayed Tenements and Towns, Regratters, Forestalling Men that sell dear, having plenty enough, and put Plough Ground to Pasture, and Carriers over-Sea of Victual, That if they leave not these Enormities, they shall be streightly punished very shortly, so that they should feel the smart of it; and to command execution of Laws made for this purpose before.

14. There mustered before Me an hundred Archers, two Arrows apiece, all of the Guard; afterward shot together, and they shot at an inch Board, which some pierced quite, and stuck in the other Board; divers pierced it quite thorow with the Heads of their Arrows, the Boards being very well-seasoned Timber. So it was appointed there should be ordinarily 100 Archers, and 100 Halbertiers, either good Wrestlers, or casters of the Bar, or Leapers, or Runners, or tall Men of Personage.

15. Sir *Philip Hobbey* departed toward *France*, with ten Gentlemen of his own, in Velvet Coats and Chains of Gold.

16. Likewise did the Bishop of *Ely* depart with a Band of Men well furnished.

20. A Proclamation made, That whosoever found a Seditious Bill, and did not tear and deface it, should be a partaker of the Bill, and punished as the Maker.

21. My Lord Marquess of *Northampton* had Commission to deliver the Order, and to treat of all things, and chiefly of Marriage for Me to the Lady *Elizabeth* his Daughter. First, To have the Dote 12000 Marks a Year, and the Dowry at least 800000 Crowns. The Forfeiture 100000 Crowns at the most if I performed not, and paying that to be delivered; and that this should not impeach the former Covenants with *Scotland*, with many other Branches.

22. He departed himself in Post.

24. An Earthquake was at *Croidon* and *Blechinglee*, and in the most part of *Surrey*, but no harm was done.

30. Whereas before Commandment was given that 160000 *l.* should be Coined of three ounces in the Pound fine, for discharge of Debts, and to get some Treasure, to be able to alter all, now was it stopped, saving only 80000 *l.* to discharge my Debts, and 10000 Mark weight that the *Foulcare* delivered in the last Exchange, at four ounces in the pound.

31. The Musters defered till after *Midsummer.*

June.

2. It was appointed that I should receive the Frenchmen that came hither at *Westminster*, where was made preparation for the purpose, and four garnish of new Vessels taken out of Church Stuff, as Miters, and Golden Missals, and Primers, and Crosses, and Reliques of *Plessy.*

4. Provision made in *Flanders* for Silver and Gold Plate, and Chains to be given to these Strangers.

7. A Proclamation set forth, that Exchange, or Re-exchange, should be made under the Punishment set forth in King *Henry* the Seventh's Time, duly to be executed.

10. *Monsieur Marceschal* departed from the Court to *Bulloigne* in Post, and so hither by Water in his Galleys and Foists.

In this Month, and the Month before, was great Business for the City of *Parma*, which Duke * *Horatio* had delivered to the French King, for the Pope ascited him, as holding it *in capite* of him, whereby he could not alienate it without the Pope's Will; but he came not at his Day, for which cause the Pope and Imperialists raised 8000 Men, and took a Castle on the same River side. Also the French King sent *Monsieur de Thermes*, who had been his General in *Scotland*, with a great piece of his Gendarmory into *Italy*, to help Duke *Horatio.* Furthermore the Turks made great preparation for War, which some feared would at length burst out.

* It should be *Octavio.*

21. I was elected of the Company of St. *Michael* in *France* by the French King and his Order.

13. Agreement made with the Scots for the Borders, between the Commissioners aforesaid, for both the Parties.

In this month *Dragute*, a Pirat, escaped (*Andrea Doria*, who had closed him in a Creek) by force of his Galley-Slaves, that digged another way into the Sea, and took two of *Andrea*'s Galleys that lay far into the Sea.

14. Pardon given to those Irish Lords that would come in before a

certain day limited by the Deputy; with Advertiſement to the Deputy to make ſharp War with thoſe that would reſiſt; and alſo ſhould adminiſter my Laws every-where.

18. Becauſe of my Charges in Fortifications at *Calais* and *Barwick* ſhould be payed, it was agreed, that beſide the Debt of the Realm 80000 *l.* there ſhould be 40000 *l.* coined, three ounces Fine, nine of Allay; and 5000 pound weight ſhould be coined in a Standard of ſeven ounces Fine at the leaſt.

17. *Soperantio* came as Ambaſſadour from *Venice*, in *Daniel Barbaro's* Place.

16. I accepted the Order of *Monſegnieur Michael* by promiſe to the French Ambaſſador.

17. My Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton* came to *Nants* with the Commiſſioners, and all thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen that came over-Sea with him.

20. Upon Advertiſement of *Scipperus* coming, and rigging of certain Ships in *Holland*; alſo for to ſhew the Frenchmen pleaſure at their coming, all the Navy that lay in *Gillingham-water* was appointed to be rigged, and furniſhed with Ordnance, and lay in the River of *Thames*, to the intent, that if *Scipperus* came afterward, he might be met with, and at leaſt the Frenchmen ſhould ſee the force of my Navy.

22. The Lady *Mary* ſent Letters to the Council, marvelling at the Impriſonment of Dr. *Mallet*, her Chaplain, for ſaying of Maſs before her Houſhold, ſeeing it was promiſed the Emperor's Ambaſſadour ſhe ſhould not be moleſted in Religion, but that ſhe and her Houſhold ſhould have the Maſs ſaid before them continually.

24. They anſwered, That becauſe of their Duties to King, Countrey, and Friends, they were compelled to give her anſwer, That they would ſee, not only him, but alſo all other Maſs-Sayers, and breakers of Order, ſtraitly puniſhed. And that as for promiſe they had, nor would give none to make her free from the puniſhment of the Law in that behalf.

18. *Chaſtilion* came to my Lord Marqueſs, and there banqueted him by the way at two times between *Nantes* and *Chaſteau Brian*, where the King lay.

15. *Mendoza*, a Gentleman of the King's Chamber, was ſent to him to conduct him to the Court.

19. My Lord Marqueſs came to *Chaſteau-Brian*, where half a mile from the Caſtle there met him——with an hundred Gentlemen, and brought him to the Court booted and ſpur'd to the French King.

20. The French King was inveſted with the Order of the Garter in his Bed-Chamber, where he gave a Chain to the Garter worth 200 *l.* and his Gown dreſſed with Auglets worth 25 *l.* The Biſhop of *Ely* making an Oration, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* making him Anſwer. At Afternoon the Lord Marqueſs moved the French King to the Marriage of the Scots Queen to be conſummate, for whoſe hearing he appointed two Commiſſioners.

21. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and of *Chaſtilion*, the Conſtable, the Duke of *Guiſe*, &c. were appointed Commiſſioners on the part of *France*, who abſolutely denied the firſt Motion for the Scotch Queen, ſaying, Both they had taken too much Pains, and ſpent too many Lives

for

for her. Alſo a concluſion was made for her Marriage to the Dolphin. Then was proponed the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, the French King's eldeſt Daughter; to which they did moſt chearfully aſſent. So after they agreed neither Party to be bound in Conſcience nor Honour, till ſhe were twelve Years of Age and upwards. Then they came to the Dote, which was firſt asked 1500000 Scutes of *France*, at which they made a mock; after for *donatio propter nuptias*, they agreed that it ſhould be as great as hath been given by the King my Father to any Wiſe he had.

22. Our Commiſſioners came to 1400000 of Crowns, which they refuſed, then to a Million, which they denied; then to 800000 Crowns, which they ſaid they would not agree to.

23. Then our Commiſſioners asked what they would offer? Firſt they offered 100000 Crowns, then 200000, which they ſaid was the moſt, and more than ever was given. Then followed great Reaſonings, and ſhowing of Preſidents, but no nearer they would come.

24. They went forward unto the Penalties if the Parties miſliked, after that the King's Daughter were twelve and upwards, which the French offered 100000, 50000 Crowns, or promiſe, that ſhe ſhould be brought, at her Father's Charge, three months before ſhe were twelve, ſufficiently Jewelled and ſtuffed. Then Bonds to be delivered alternatively at *London*, and at *Paris*, and ſo forth.

26. The Frenchmen delivered the foreſaid Anſwers written to my Commiſſioners.

July.

1. Whereas certain Flemiſh Ships, twelve Sail in all, ſix tall Men of War, looking for eighteen more Men of War, went to *Diep*, as it was thought, to take *Monſieur le Mareſchal* by the way; order was given, that ſix Ships being before prepared, with four Pinnaces and a Brigantine, ſhould go both to conduct him, and alſo to defend, if any thing ſhould be attempted againſt *England*, by carrying over the Lady *Mary*.

2. A Brigandine ſent to *Diep*, to give knowledg to *Monſieur le Mareſchal* of the *Flemings* coming; to whom all the *Flemings* vailed their Bonnet. Alſo the French Ambaſſador was advertiſed; who anſwered, That he thought him ſure enough when he came into our Streams, terming it ſo.

2. There was a Proclamation ſigned for ſhortning of the fall of the Mony to that day; in which it ſhould be proclaimed, and deviſed, that it ſhould be in all places of the Realm within one day proclaimed.

3. The Lord *Clinton* and *Cobham* was appointed to meet the French at *Graveſend*, and ſo to convoy him to *Dureſme-place*, where he ſhould lie.

4. I was banqueted by the Lord *Clinton* at *Debtford*, where I ſaw the *Primroſe* and the *Mary Willoughby* launched.

The Frenchmen landed at *Rie*, as ſome thought, for fear of the *Flemings* lying at the *Lands-end*, chiefly becauſe they ſaw our Ships were let by the Wind that they could not come out.

6. Sir *Peter Meutas*, at *Dover*, was commanded to come to *Rie* to meet *Monſieur le Mareſchal*, who ſo did; and after he had delivered his Letters, written with Mine own Hand, and made my Recommendations, he

he took order for Horses and Carts for *Monsieur le Mareschal*, in which he made such Provision as was possible to be for the suddain.

7. *Monsieur le Mareschal* set forth from *Rie*, and in his Journey Mr. *Culpepper*, and divers other Gentlemen, and their Men, to the number of 1000 Horse, well furnished, met him, and so brought him to *Maidston* that Night.

Removing to *Westminster*.

8. *Monsieur le Mareschal* came to Mr. *Bakers*, where he was very well feasted and banqueted.

9. The same came to my Lord *Cobhams* to Dinner, and at night to *Gravesend*.

Proclamation made that a Testourn should go at 9 *d.* and a Groat at 3 *d.* in all Places of the Realm at once.

At this time came the Sweat into *London*, which was more vehement than the Old Sweat; for if one took cold, he died within three hours; and if he escaped, it held him but nine hours or ten at the most: also if he slept the first six hours, as he should be very desirous to do, then he roved, and should die roving.

11. It grew so much, for in *London* the 10*th* day there died 100 in the Liberties, and this day 120; and also one of my Gentlemen, another of my Grooms fell sick and died, that I removed to *Hampton-Court* with very few with Me.

The same night came the Mareschal, who was saluted with all my Ships being in the *Thames*, fifty and odd, all with shot well furnished, and so with the Ordnance of the *Tower*. He was met by the Lord *Clinton* Lord Admiral, with forty Gentlemen, at *Gravesend*, and so brought to *Duresme-place*.

13. Because of the Infection at *London*, he came this day to *Richmond*, where he lay with a great Band of Gentlemen, at least 400, as it was by divers esteemed, where that night he hunted.

14. He came to Me at *Hampton-Court* at nine of the Clock, being met by the Duke of *Somerset* at the Wall-end, and so coveied first to Me; where after his Masters Recommendations and Letters, he went to his Chamber on the Queens-side, all hanged with Cloth of Arras, and so was the Hall, and all my Lodging. He dined with Me also. After Dinner, being brought into an Inner-Chamber, he told Me, he was come, not only for delivery of the Order, but also for to declare the great Friendship the King his Master bore Me; which he desired I would think to be such to Me as a Father beareth to his Son, or Brother to Brother. And although there were divers Persuasions, as he thought, to dissuade Me from the King his Master's Friendship, and Witless Men made divers Rumours, yet he trusted I would not believe them. Furthermore, that as good Ministers on the Frontiers do great good, so ill much harm. For which cause he desired no Innovation should be made on things had been so long in controversy by Hand-strokes, but rather by Commissioners talk. I answered him, That I thanked him for his Order, and also his Love, &c. and I would shew like Love in all Points. For Rumours, they were not always to be believed, and that I did sometime provide for the worst, but never did any harm upon their hearing. For Ministers, I said, I would rather appease these Controversies with words, than do any thing by force. So after, he was conveyed to *Richmond* again.

16. He

17. He came to present the Order of *Monsiegneur Michael*; where-after with Ceremonies accustomed, he had put on the Garments, he, and *Monsieur Gye* likewise of the Order, came one at my right Hand, the other at my left to the Chappel, where-after the Communion celebrated, each of them kissed my Cheek. After that they dined with Me, and talked after Dinner, and saw some Pastime, and so went home again.

18. A Proclamation made against Regratters, and Forestallers, and the words of the Statute recited, with the Punishment of the Offenders. Also Letters were sent to all Officers and Sheriffs for the executing thereof.

19. Another Proclamation made for punishment of them that would blow Rumours of abasing and enhaunsing of the Coin to make things dear withal.

The same night *Monsieur le Mareschal St. Andre* supped with Me; after Supper saw a dozen Courses, and after I came and made Me ready.

20. The next Morning he came to Me to mine Arraying, and saw my Bed-Chamber, and went a hunting with Hounds; and saw Me shoot, and saw all my Guards shoot together. He dined with Me, heard Me play on the Lute, Ride; came to Me to my Study, supped with Me, and so departed to *Richmond*.

19. The Scots sent an Ambassador hither for receiving the Treaty, sealed with the Great Seal of *England*, which was delivered him. Also I sent Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, Clerk of my Council, to have the Seal of them, for Confirmation of the last Treaty at *Northampton*.

17. This day my Lord Marquess and the Commissioners coming to treat of the Marriage, offered by later Instructions 600000 Crowns, after 400000 *l.* and so departed for an hour. Then seeing they could get no better, came to the French Offer of 200000 Crowns, half to be paid at the Marriage, half six months after that.

Then the French agreed that her Dote should be but 10000 Marks of Lawful Money of *England*.

Thirdly, It was agreed, that if I died, she should not have the Dote, saying, They did that for Friendships-sake without president.

19. The Lord Marquess having received and delivered again the Treaty sealed, took his leave, and so did all the rest.

At this time was there a bickering at *Parma* between the French and the Papists, for *Monsieur de Thermes*, *Petro Strozi*, and *Fontivello*, with divers other Gentlemen to the number of thirty, with 1500 Souldiers, entred *Parma*, *Gonzaga* with the Emperors and Popes Band lay near the Town. The French made Sallies, and overcame, slaying the Prince of *Macedonia*, and the *Seigniour Baptista* the Pope's Nephew.

22. Mr. *Sidney* made one of the four chief Gentlemen.

23. *Monsieur de Mareschal* came to Me, declaring the King his Masters well-taking my readiness to this Treaty; and also how much his Master was bent that way. He presented *Monsieur Bois Dolphine* to be Ambassador here, as my Lord Marquess the 19*th* day did present Mr. *Pickering*.

26. *Monsieur le Mareschal* dined with Me. After Dinner saw the strength of the English Archers. After he had so done, at his departure

I gave him a Diamond from my finger, worth, by eſtimation, 150 *l.* both for Pains, and alſo for my Memory. Then he took his leave.

27. He came to a hunting to tell me the News, and ſhew the Letter his Maſter had ſent him, and doubtleſs of *Monſieur Termes* and *Marignans* Letters, being Ambaſſador with the Emperor.

28. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* came to Dinner to *Hide-Park*, where there was a fair Houſe made for him, and he ſaw the Courſing there.

30. He came to the Earl of *Warwick's*, lay there one night, and was well received.

29. He had his Reward, being worth 3000 *l.* in Gold, of currant Money. *Monſieur de Gye* 1000 *l.* *Monſieur Chenault* 1000 *l.* *Monſieur Movillier* 500 *l.* the Secretary 500 *l.* and the Biſhop *Peregrueux* 500 *l.*

Auguſt.

3. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* departed to *Bolleign*, and had certain of my Ships to conduct him thither.

9. Four and twenty Lords of the Council met at *Richmond*, to commune of my Siſter *Mary's* matter; who at length agreed, That it was not meet to be ſuffered any longer, making thereof an Inſtrument ſigned with their Hands, and ſealed, to be on Record.

11. The Lord Marqueſs, with the moſt part of his Band, came home, and delivered the Treaty Sealed.

12. Letters ſent for *Rocheſter*, *Ingleſield*, and *Walgrave* to come the 13*th* day, but they came not till another Letter was ſent to them the 13*th* day.

14. My Lord Marqueſs's Reward was delivered at *Paris*, worth 500 *l.* my Lord of *Ely's* 200. Mr. *Hobbey's* 150; the reſt all about one ſcantling.

14. *Rocheſter*, &c. had commandment neither to hear nor to ſuffer any kind of Service, but the Common and Orders ſet forth at large by Parliament, and had a Letter to my Lady's Houſe from my Council for their Credit, another to her ſelf from me. Alſo appointed that I ſhould come and ſit at Council when great Matters were debating, or when I would.

This laſt month *Monſieur de Termes*, with 500 Frenchmen, came to *Parma*, and entred ſafely; afterward certain iſſued out of the Town, and were overthrown, as *Scipiaro*, *Dandelot*, *Petro*, and others, were taken, and ſome ſlain; after they gave a Skirmiſh, entred the Camp of *Gonzaga*, and ſpoiled a few Tents, and returned.

15. Sir *Robert Dudley* and *Barnabe* ſworn two of the ſix ordinary Gentlemen. The laſt month the Turks Navy won a little Caſtle in *Sicily*.

17. Inſtructions ſent to Sir *James Croftes* for divers purpoſes, whoſe Copy is in the Secretary's hands. The Teſtourn cried down from 9 *d.* to 6 *d.* the Groat from 3 *d.* to 2 *d.* the 2 *d.* to 1 *d.* the Penny to an Half-penny, the Half-penny to a Farthing, *&c.*

1. *Monſieur Termes* and *Scipiero* overthrew three Enſigns of Horſemen at three times; took one diſpatch ſent from *Don Fernando* to the Pope concerning this War, and another from the Pope to *Don Fernando*; Diſcomfited four Enſigns of Footmen; took the

Count

Count *Camillo* of *Castilion*, and slew a Captain of the Spaniards.

22. Removing to *Windsor*.

23. *Rochester*, &c. returned, denying to do openly the charge of the Lady *Mary*'s House for displeasing her.

26. The Lord Chancellor, Mr. Comptroller, the Secretary *Petre*, sent to do the same Commission.

27. Mr. *Coverdale* made Bishop of *Exeter*.

28. *Rochester*, &c. sent to the *Fleet*.

The Lord Chancellor, *&c.* did that they were commanded to do to my Sister and her House.

31. *Rochester*, &c. committed to the *Tower*.

The Duke of *Somerset* taking certain that began a new Conspiracy for the destruction of the Gentlemen at *Okingam* two days past, executed them with Death for their Offence.

29. Certain Pinaces were prepared to see that there should be no conveyance over-Sea of the Lady *Mary* secretly done. Also appointed that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chamberlain, the Vice-chamberlain, and the Secretary *Petre* should see by all means they could, whether she used the Mass; and if she did that, the Laws should be executed on her Chaplains. Also that when I came from this Progress to *Hampton-Court*, or *Westminster*, both my Sisters should be with Me, till further Order were taken for this purpose.

September.

3. The French Ambassador came to declare, first how the Emperor wronged divers of his Masters Subjects and Vassals; arrested also his Merchants, and did cloakedly begin War, for he besieged *Mirandula* round about with Forces he had made in the French King's Country. Also he stayed certain French Ships going a fishing to the *New-found-land*. Furthermore he set out a dozen of Ships, which bragged they would take the Dowager of *Scotland*, which thing staied her so long at *Diep*. Whereupon his Master had taken the whole Fleet of *Antwerp*, conveying it to his Countrey into his Ports, by 20 Ships he had set forth under Baron *de la Garde*. Also minded to send more help to *Piedmont* and *Mirandula*. For this cause he desired that on my Coasts the Dowager might have safe passage, and might be secured by my Servants at the Sea-Coast if any chance should happen.

He was willed to put it in writing; he shewed how the Turks Navy, having spoiled a piece of *Sicily*, went to *Malta*, and there took an Isle adjacent called *Gozo*; from thence they went to *Tripoly*. In *Transilvania* *Rosto-Bassa* was leader of the Army, and had spoiled it wholly.

In *Hungary* the Turks had made a Fort by the Mines to get them. *Magdeburg* was freshly victualled, and Duke *Maurice* came his way, being suspected that he had conspired with them there.

4. It was answered, to the French Ambassador, That the Dowager should in all my Ports be defended from Enemies, Tempest, and likewise also Thanks were given for the News.

5. The Emperor's Ambassador came to require, That my Sister *Mary*'s Officers should be restored to their Liberty, and she should have her Mass till the Emperor was certified thereof.

It was answered, That I need not to answer except I list, because he spake without Commission, which was seen by the shortness of the

time ſince the committing of her Officers, of which the Emperor could not be advertiſed. He was willed no more to move theſe Piques, in which he had been often anſwered, without Commiſſion. He was anſwered, That the Emperor was by this time advertiſed, although the Matter pertained not to him. Alſo that I had done nothing but according to a King's Office herein, in obſerving the Laws that were ſo Godly, and in puniſhing the Offenders. The Promiſe to the Emperor was not ſo made as he pretended, affirmed by Sir *Philip Hobbey* being at that time their Ambaſſador.

6. Deliberation touching the Coin. *Memorandum*, That there were divers Standards nine ounces fine, a few eight ounces fine, as ill as four, becauſe although that was fine, yet a Shilling was reckoned for two Shillings, ſix ounces, very many four ounces, many alſo three ounces, 130000 *l.* now of late. Whereupon agreed that the Teſtourn being called to ſix Pence, four with help of ſix ſhould make ten fine, eight fine with help of nine, being fewer than thoſe of eight, ſhould make ten ounces fine, the two ounces of Allay ſhould quit the charges of Minting; and thoſe of three-pence, being but few, ſhould be turned to a Standard of four of Farthings, and Half-pence, and Pence, for to ſerve for the poor People, becauſe the Merchants made no Exchange of it, and the Sum was not great. Alſo to bear the Charges, for becauſe it was thought that few or none were left of nine ounces fine, eight ounces were naught, and ſix ounces were two ways deviſed, one without any craft, the other was not fully ſix, of which Kind was not a few.

9. A Proclamation ſet forth touching the Prices of Cattel, of Hogs, Pigs, Beeves, Oxen, Muttons, Butter, and Cheeſe, after a reaſonable price, not fully ſo good cheap as it was when the Coin was at the perfecteſt, but within a fifth part of it, or thereabouts.

10. I removed to *Farnham.*

12. A Proclamation ſet forth touching the Coin, That whereas it was ſo that Men for Gain melted down the Nine-pence Teſtourn continually, and the Six-pence; alſo there ſhould no Perſon in any wiſe melt it down, upon pain to incur the Penalty of the Laws.

13. A Letter directed to the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Great Maſter, and the Maſter of the Horſe, to meet at *London*, for the ordering of my Coin, and the paiment of my Debts; which done, to return, and make report of their Proceedings.

11. War proclaimed in *Britain* between the Emperor and the French, by theſe Terms, **Charles Roy d'Espaigne, et Duc de Milan**, leaving out Emperor.

10. Four Towns taken by the French Souldiers that were the Emperor's in *Piedmont Guerra:* from *Amiens* alſo the Emperor's Country there was ſpoiled, and 120 Caſtles or Fortreſſes taken.

Proclamation made in *Paris* touching the Bulls, that no Man ſhould go for them to *Rome.*

Other Ships alſo taken by *Prior de Capua* Merchants, to the number of a dozen; *Prior de Capua* had 32 Gallies.

19. The French Ambaſſador ſent this News alſo, That the Turks had taken *Tripoly.*

20. The

20. The Secretary *Cecil*, and Sir *Philip Hobbey*, ſent to *London* to help the Lord Treaſurer, *&c.* in the Matters of the Biſhops of *Chicheſter*, *Worceſter*, aud *Dureſme*, and examination of my Siſters Men.

18. Removing to *Windſor*.

20. The Lords at *London* having tryed all kinds of Stamping, both of the Fineneſs of 9, 8, 6, 4, and 3, proved that without any loſs, but ſufferable, the Coin might be brought to eleven ounces fine: For whereas it was thought before, that the Teſtourn was, through ill Officers and Miniſters corrupted, it was tried, that it had the valuation juſt by eight ſundry kinds of melting, and 400 *l.* of *Sterling* Mony, a Teſtourn being but Six-pence, made 400 *l.* 11 ounces fine of Mony *Sterling*.

22. Whereupon they reported the ſame, and then it was concluded that the Teſtourn ſhould be eleven ounces fine, the proportion of the Pences according to the Gold; ſo that five Shillings of Silver ſhould be worth five of Gold.

23. Removing to *Oatlands*.

24. Agreed that the Stamp of the Shilling and Six-pence ſhould be on one ſide, a King painted to the Shoulders in Parliament-Robes, with a Chain of the Order. Five Shillings of Silver, and half five Shillings, ſhould be a King on Horſe-back, armed with a naked Sword hard to his Breaſt. Alſo that *York*'s Mint, and *Throgmorton*'s in the *Tower*, ſhould go and work the fine Standard. In the City of *York* and *Canterbury* ſhould the ſmall Mony be wrought of a baſer State. Officers for the ſame were appointed.

A piece of *Barwick* Wall fell, becauſe the Foundation was ſhaken by working of a Bullwark.

28. The Lord Marqueſs of *Dorſet* grieved much with the diſorder of the Marches toward *Scotland*, ſurrendered the Wardenſhip thereof to beſtow where I would.

27. The Wardenſhip of the North given to the Earl of *Warwick*. Removing to *Hampton-Court*.

28. Commiſſioners appointed for ſitting on the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* and *Worceſter*; three Lawyers, and three Civilians.

10. The Imperialiſts took the Suburbs of *Heading*, and burnt them.

26. The Paſſport of the Dowager of *Scotland* was made for a longer time, till *Chriſtmaſs*; and alſo if ſhe were driven, to paſs quietly by Land into *Scotland*.

20. *Monſieur d' Angouleſme* was born; and the Duke of *Vendoſme* had a Son by the Princes of *Navarr* his Wife.

30. The Feaſt of *Michaelmaſs* was kept by Me in the Robes of the Order.

October.

1. The Commiſſion for the making of five Shillings, half five Shillings, Groats, and Six-pences, eleven ounces fine, and Pence, with Half-pence, and Farthings, four ounces fine, was followed and ſigned.

5. *Jarnac* came in Poſt for declaration of two things; the one, that the Queen had a third Son of which ſhe was delivered, called *Le Duc d' Angouleſme*, of which the King prayed Me to be God-father. I anſwered, I was glad of the News, and that I thanked him for that I

ſhould be God-father, which was a token of good Will he bare me. Alſo that I would diſpatch for the accompliſhment thereof, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord Admiral of *England*. He ſaid, he came alſo to tell a ſecond Point of the good ſucceſs of his Maſters Wars; He told how the laſt month in *Shampaign*, beſide *Sedan*, 1000 Horſe Imperialiſts, with divers Hungarians, *Martin Vanroſſy* being their Captain and Leader, entred the Country; and the Alarm came, the Skirmiſh began ſo hot, that the French Horſe, about two or three hundred Men of Arms, came out and took *Vanroſſy*'s Brother, and ſlew divers. Alſo how in *Piedmont*, ſince the taking of the laſt four Towns, three other were taken, *Monrechia*, *Saluges*, and the Town of *Burges*. The Turks had come to *Naples*, and ſpoiled the Country, and taken *Oſtium* in the Mouth of *Tyberis*. Alſo in *Sicily* he had taken a good Haven and a Town.

6. *Jarnac* departed, having lying in the Court under my Lodging. The Night before the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter* were depoſed for Contempts.

7. There were appointed to go with the Lord Admiral, Mr. *Nevil*, Mr. *Barnabie*, Gentlemen of the Chamber; Sir *William Stafford*, Sir *Adrian Poinings*, Sir *John Norton*, Sir *John Teri*, Knights; and Mr. *Brook*.

8. Letters directed to the Captains of Gandarms, that they ſhould muſter the 8*th* of *November*, being the *Sunday* after *Hallow-Eve* day.

11. *Henry* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, created Duke of *Suffolk*; *John* Earl of *Warwick*, created Duke of *Northumberland*; *William* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, created Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; Sir *William Herbert*, created Earl of *Pembrook*, and Lord of *Cardiff*; Mr. *Sidney*, Mr. *Nevil*, Mr. *Cheek*, all three of the Privy-Chamber, made Knights; alſo Mr. *Cecil* one of the two Secretaries.

13. Proclamation ſigned touching the calling in of Teſtourns and Groats, that they that liſt might come to the Mint and have fine Silver of Twelve-pence for two Teſtourns.

3. *Prior de Capna* departed the French King's Service, and went to his Order of Knights in *Malta*, partly for diſpleaſure to the Count *Villars* the Conſtable's Brother-in-Law, partly for that *Malta* was aſſailed often by the Turks.

7. Sir *Thomas Palmer* came to the Earl of *Warwick*, ſince that time Duke of *Northumberland*, to deliver him his Chain, being a very fair one (for every Link weighed an ounce) to be delivered to *Jarnac*, and ſo to receive as much; whereupon in my Lords Garden he declared a Conſpiracy, How at St. *George*'s day laſt, my Lord of *Somerſet*, who then was going to the North, if the Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *William Herbert*, had not aſſured him on his Honour that he ſhould have no hurt, went to raiſe the People, and the Lord *Gray* went before to know who were his Friends. Afterward a Device was made to call the Earl of *Warwick* to a Banquet, with the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and divers others, and to cut off their Heads. Alſo he found a bare Company about them by the way to ſet upon them.

11. He declared alſo, that Mr. *Vane* had 2000 Men in readineſs; Sir *Thomas Arundel* had aſſured my Lord, that the *Tower* was ſafe; Mr. *Partridge* ſhould raiſe *London*, and take the Great Seal with the Apprentices of *London*; *Seymour* and *Hammond* ſhould wait

upon

upon him, and all the Horse of the Gandarms should be slain.

13. Removing to *Westminster*, because it was thought this Matter might easilier and surelier be dispatched there, and likewise all other.

14. The Duke sent for the Secretary *Cecil* to tell him he suspected some ill. Mr. *Cecil* answered, That if he were not guilty, he might be of good courage; if he were, he had nothing to say, but to lament him. Whereupon the Duke sent him a Letter of Defiance, and called *Palmer*, who after denial made of his Declaration, was let go.

16. This morning none was at *Westminster* of the Conspirators. The first was the Duke, who came later than he was wont of himself. After Dinner he was apprehended. Sir *Thomas Palmer* on the Tarras walking there, *Hammond* passing by Mr. Vice-chamberlain's Door, was called in by *John Piers* to make a match at Shooting, and so taken. *Nudegates* was called for as from my Lord his Master, and taken; likewise were *John Seimour* and *David Seimour*. *Arundel* also was taken, and the Lord *Gray* coming out of the Country. *Vane* upon two sendings of my Lord in the morning, fled at the first sending; he said, My Lord was not stout, and if he could get home, he cared for none of them all he was so strong. But after he was found by *John Piers* in a Stable of his Mans at *Lambeth* under the Straw. These went with the Duke to the *Tower* this Night, saving *Palmer*, *Arundel*, and *Vane*, who were kept in Chambers here apart.

17. The Dutches, *Crane* and his Wife, with the Chamber-keeper, were sent to the *Tower* for devising these Treasons. *James Wingfield* also for casting of Bills seditiously; also Mr. *Partridge* was attaqued, and Sir *James Holcroft*.

18. Mr. *Banister* and Mr. *Vaughan* were attaqued and sent to the *Tower*, and so was Mr. *Stanhope*.

19. Sir *Thomas Palmer* confessed that the Gandarms, on the Muster-day, should be assaulted by 2000 Footmen of Mr. *Vane*'s, and my Lord's hundred Horse; besides his Friends which stood by, and the idle People which took his part. If he were overthrown, he would run through *London*, and cry, **Liberty, Liberty**, to raise the Apprentices, and R; if he could, he would go to the *Isle of Wight*, or to *Pool*.

22. The Dowager of *Scotland* was by Tempest driven to Land at *Portsmouth*, and so she sent word she would take the benefit of the safe Conduct to go by Land and to see Me.

23. She came from *Portsmouth* to Mr. *Whites* House.

24. The Lords sat in the *Star-Chamber*, and there declared the Matters and Accusations laid against the Duke, meaning to stay the minds of the People.

25. Certain German Princes, in the beginning of this month, desired Aid in Cause of Religion 400000 Dollars, if they should be driven to make shift by necessity, and offered the like also, if I entred into any War for them; whereupon I called the Lords, and considered, as appeareth by a Scroll in the Board at *Westminster*, and thereupon appointed that the Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *William Cecil* another Secretary, should talk with the Messenger to know the matter precisely, and

the

the Names of those would enter the Confederacy.

28. The *Dowager* came to Sir *Richard Cotton*'s House.

29. She came from Sir *Richard Cotton*'s to the Earl of *Arundel* to Dinner, and brought to Mr. *Brown*'s House, where met her the Gentlemen of *Sussex*.

30. She came and was conveied by the same Gentlemen to *Guilford*, where the Lord *William Howard*, and the Gentlemen of *Surrey* met her.

All this month the Frenchmen continued spoiling of the Emperor's Frontiers, and in a Skirmish at *Ast* they slew 100 *Spaniards*.

31. A Letter directed to Sir *Arthur Darcy* to take the charge of the *Tower*, and to discharge Sir *John Markham* upon this, that without making any of the Council privy, he suffered the Duke to walk abroad, and certain Letters to be sent and answered between *David Seimour* and Mrs. *Poinings*, with other divers Suspicions.

17. There were Letters sent to all Emperors, Kings, Ambassadors, Noblemen, Men, and Chief Men, into Countries, of the late Conspiracy.

31. She came to *Hampton-Court*, conveied by the same Lords and Gentlemen aforesaid; and two miles and an half from thence, in a Valley, there met her the Lord Marquess of *Northampton*, accompanied with the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Son and Heir to the Lord High Treasurer; Marquess of *Winchester*; the Lord *Fitzwater*, Son to the Earl of *Sussex*; The Lord *Evers*, the Lord *Bray*, the Lord *Robert Dudley*, the Lord *Garet*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, and divers other Gentlemen, besides all the Gentlemen Pensioners, Men of Arms and Ushers, Sewers and Carvers, to the number of 120 Gentlemen, and so she was brought to *Hampton-Court*. At the Gate thereof met her the Lady Marquess of *Northampton*, the Countess of *Pembrook*, and divers other Ladies and Gentlewomen, to the number of sixty; and so she was brought to her Lodging on the Queen-side, which was all hanged with Arras, and so was the Hall, and all the other Lodgings of Mine in the House very finely dressed; and for this night, and the next day, all was spent in Dancing and Pastime, as though it were a Court, and great presence of Gentlemen resorted thither.

26. Letters were written, for because of this Business, to defer the Musters of Gendarmory till the——day of *December*.

November.

1. The Dowager perused the House of *Hampton-Court*, and saw some coursing of Deer.

2. She came to the Bishop's Palace at *London*, and there she lay, and all her Train lodged about her.

3. The Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Warwick*, *Wiltshire*, and many other Lords and Gentlemen were sent to her to welcome her, and to say, on My behalf, That if she lacked any thing she should have it for her better Furniture; and also I would willingly see her the day following.

The

The *26th* of *October*.

Crane confessed the most part, even as *Palmer* did before, and more also, how that the place where the Nobles should have been banqueted, and their Heads striken off, was the Lord *Paget*'s House, and how the Earl of *Arundel* knew of the Matter as well as he, by *Stanhop* who was a Messenger between them; also some part, how he went to *London* to get Friends once in *August* last, feigning himself sick. *Hammond* also confessed the Watch he kept in his Chamber at Night. *Bren* also confessed much of this matter. The Lord *Strange* confessed how the Duke willed him to stir me to marry his third Daughter, the Lady *Jane*, and willed him to be his Spie in all Matters of my Doings and Sayings, and to know when some of my Council spoke secretly with Me; this he confessed of himself.

November.

4. The Duke of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Bray*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, accompanied with his Wife the Lady *Francis*, the Lady *Margaret*, the Dutchesses of *Richmond* and of *Northumberland*, the Lady *Jane* Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*; the Marquess of *Northampton* and *Winchester*; the Countesses of *Arundel*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, and *Rutland*; with 100 other Ladies and Gentlewomen went to her, and brought her through *London* to *Westminster*. At the Gate there received her the Duke of *Northumberland*, Great Master, and the Treasurer, and Comptroller, and the Earl of *Pembrook*, with all the Sewers, and Carvers, and Cup-bearers, to the number of thirty. In the Hall I met her, with all the rest of the Lords of my Council, as the Lord Treasurer, the Marquess of *Northampton*, &c. and from the outer-Gate up to the Presence-Chamber, on both sides, stood the Guard. The Court, the Hall, and the Stairs, were full of Servingmen; the Presence-Chamber, Great-Chamber, and her Presence-Chamber, of Gentlemen. And so having brought her to her Chamber, I retired to Mine. I went to her to Dinner; she dined under the same Cloth of State, at my left Hand; at her rereward dined my Cousin *Francis*, and my Cousin *Margaret*; at Mine sat the French Ambassadour. We were served by two Services, two Sewers, Cup-bearers, Carvers, and Gentlemen. Her Master *Hostell* came before her Service, and my Officers before Mine. There were two Cupboards, one of Gold four Stages high, another of massy Silver six Stages: In her great Chamber dined at three Boards the Ladies only. After Dinner, when she had heard some Musick, I brought her to the Hall, and so she went away.

5. The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Marquess of *Northampton*, the Lord Privy-Seal, and divers others, went to see her, and to deliver a Ring with a Diamond, and two Nags, as a Token from Me.

6. The Duke of *Northumberland*, with his Band of a hundred, of which forty were in Black-Velvet, white and black Sleeves, sixty in Cloth, The Earl of *Pembrook* with his Band, and fifty more, The Earl of *Wiltshire*, with 58 of his Father's Band, all the Pensioners, Men of Arms, and the Country, with divers Ladies, as my Cousin *Margaret*, the Dutchesses of *Richmond* and *Northumberland*, brought the Queen to *Shoreditch*, through *Cheap-side* and *Cornhill*; and there met

her

her Gentlemen of *Middlesex* an 100 Horse, and so she was conveied out of the Realm, met in every Shire with Gentlemen.

8. The Earl of *Arundel* committed to the *Tower*, with Master *Stroadly*, and St. *Alban* his Men, because *Crane* did more and more confess of him.

7. A Frenchman was sent again into *France*, to be delivered again to the eight Frenchmen at the Borders, because of a Murder he did at *Diep*, and thereupon he fled hither.

14. Answer was given to the *Germans*, which did require 400000. Dollars, if need so required, for maintenance of Religion.

First, That I was very well inclined to make Peace, Amity, or Bargain with them I knew to be of mine Religion; for because this Messenger was sent only to know my Inclination and Will to enter, and not with full Resolution of any Matters.

Secondly, I would know whether they could get unto them any such strength of other Princes as were able to maintain the War, and to do the Reciprogue to Me if need should require; and therefore willed those three Princes, Duke *Maurice* of *Saxon*, the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and the Marquess *John* of *Brandenburgh*, from which he was sent, to open the Matter to the Duke of *Prussia*, and to all Princes about them, and somewhat to get the good Will of *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, &c. shewing them an inkling of the matter.

Thirdly, I would have the matter of Religion made more plain, lest when War should be made for other Quarrels, they should say it were Religion.

Fourthly, He should come with more ample Commission from the same States to talk of the sum of Mony, and other Appurtenances. This Answer was given, lest if I assented wholly at the first, they would declare mine Intent to the Stadts and whole Senates, and so to come abroad, whereby I should run into danger of breaking the League with the Emperor.

16. The Lord Admiral took his leave to go into *France* for christening of the French King's Son.

18. *Fossey*, Secretary to the Duke *Maurice*, who was here for matter above-specified.

20. A Proclamation appointed to go forth, for that there went one before this time, that set prices of Beef, Oxen, and Muttons, which was meant to continue but to *November*; when-as the Parliament should have been to abbrogate that, and to appoint certain Commissioners to cause the Grasiers to bring to the Market, and to sell at prices reasonable. And that certain Overseers should be besides to certify of the Justices doings.

23. The Lord Treasurer appointed High-Steward for the Arraignment of the Duke of *Somerset*.

At this time Duke *Maurice* began to show himself a Friend to the Protestants, who before that time had appeared their Enemy.

21. The foresaid Proclamation proclaimed.

17. The Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Henry Sidney*, Sir *Henry Nevil*, and Sir *Henry Yates*, did challenge all Commers at Tilt the third of *January*, and at Tornay the sixth of *January*; and this Challenge was proclaimed.

28. News

28. News came that *Maximilian* was coming out of *Spain*, nine of his Galleys with his Stuff, and 120 Gennets, and his Treasure, was taken by the French.

24. The Lord Admiral entred *France*, and came to *Bulloign*.

26. The Captain of *Portsmouth* had word and commandment to bring the Model of the Castle and Place, to the intent it might be fortified, because *Baron de la Gard* had seen it, having an Engineer with him, and as it was thought had the Plott of it.

30. 22 Peers and Nobles, besides the Council, heard Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Crane*, and *Nudigate*, swear that their Confessions were true; and they did say, that that was said without any kind of Compulsion, Force, Envy, or Displeasure, but as favourably to the Duke as they could swear to with safe Consciences.

24. The Lord Admiral came to *Paris*.

December.

1. The Duke of *Somerset* came to his Trial at *Westminster-Hall*; The Lord-Treasurer sat as High-Steward of *England*, under the Cloth of State, on a Bench between two Posts, three degrees high. All the Lords to the number of 26, *viz.*

Dukes.

Suffolk.
Northumberland.

Marquess.

Northampton.

Earls.

Derby.
Bedford.
Huntingdon.
Rutland.
Bath.
Sussex.
Worcester.
Pembrook.
Visc. *Hereford.*

Barons.

Burgaveny.
Audley.
Wharton.
Evers.
Latimer.
Bourough.
Souch.
Stafford.
Wentworth.
Darcy.
Sturton.
Windsor.
Cromwell.
Cobham.
Bray.

These sat a degree under, and heard the Matter debated.

First, After the Indictments were read, five in number, the Learned Counsel laid to my Lord of *Somerset*, *Palmer*'s Confession. To which he answered, That he never minded to raise the North, and declared all the ill he could devise of *Palmer*, but he was afraid for Bruites, and that moved him to send to Sir *William Herbert*. Replied it was again, that the worse *Palmer* was, the more he served his purpose. For the Banquet, he swore it was untrue, and required more Witnesses. Whence *Crane*'s Confession was read, He would have had him come Face to Face. For *London*, he meant nothing for hurt of any Lord but for his own Defence. For the Gendarmoury, it were but a mad matter for him to enterprise with his 100 against 900. For having Men in his Chamber at *Greenwich*, confessed by *Partridg*, it seemed he meant no harm, because when he could have done harm he did it not. My Lord *Strange*'s Confession, he swore it was untrue, and the Lord *Strange* took his Oath it was true. *Nudigate*'s, *Hammond*'s, and *Alexander*

Seimour's Confessions he denied, because they were his Men.

The Lawyers rehearsed, how to raise Men at his House for an ill Intent, as to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, was Treason, by an Act, *Anno tertio* of my Reign, against Unlawful Assemblies, for to devise the Death of the Lords was Felony. To mind resisting his Attachment was Felony; To Raise *London* was Treason, and to Assault the Lords was Felony. He answered, He did not intend to raise *London*, and swore, that the Witnesses were not there. His assembling of Men was but for his own defence. He did not determine to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquess, *&c.* but spoke of it, and determined after the contrary, and yet seemed to confess he went about their Death.

The Lords went together. The Duke of *Northumberland* would not agree that any searching of his Death should be Treason. So the Lords acquitted him of High-Treason, and condemned him of Treason Fellonious, and so he was adjudged to be hang'd.

He gave thanks to the Lords for their open Trial, and cried Mercy of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembrook*, for his ill-meaning against them, and made suit for his Life, Wife, Children, Servants, and Debts, and so departed without the Ax of the *Tower*. The People knowing not the Matter, shouted half a dozen of times so loud, that from the Hall-Door it was heard at *Charing-Cross* plainly, and rumours went that he was quit of all.

2. The Peace concluded by the Lord Marquess, was ratified by Me before the Ambassadour, and delivered to him Signed and Sealed.

3. The Duke told certain Lords that were in the *Tower*, that he had hired *Bertivill* to kill them; which thing *Bertivill* examined on, confessed, and so did *Hammond* that he knew of it.

4. I saw the Musters of the new Band-men of Arms; 100 of my Lord Treasurers; 100 of *Northumberland*, 100 *Northampton*, 50 *Huntingtoun*, 50 *Rutland*, 120 of *Pembrook*, 50 *Darcy*, 50 *Cobham*, 100 Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, and 180 of the Pensioners and their Bands, with the old Men of Arms, all well-armed Men; some with Feathers, Staves, and Pensils of their Colours; some with Sleeves and half-Coats; some with Bards and Staves, *&c.* The Horses all fair and great, the worst would not have been given for less than 20 *l.* there was none under fourteen handfull and an half the most part, and almost all Horses with their Guider going before them. They passed twice about St. *James's* Field, and compassed it round, and so departed.

15. Then were certain Devices for Laws delivered to my Learned Council to Pen, as by a Schedule appeareth.

18. It was appointed I should have six Chaplains ordinary, of which two ever to be present, and four always absent in preaching: one Year two in *Wales*, two in *Lancashire* and *Darby*; next Year two in the Marches of *Scotland*, two in *Yorkshire*; the third Year, two in *Devonshire*, two in *Hampshire*; fourth Year, two in *Norfolk* and *Essex*, and two in *Kent* and *Sussex*, &c. These six to be *Bill*, *Harle*, *Perne*, *Grindall*, *Bradford**.

* The other name dasht.

20. The Bishop of *Duresme* was for concealment of Treason written to him, and not disclosed at all till the Party did open him, committed to the *Tower*.

21. *Richard*

21. *Richard* Lord *Rich* Chancellor of *England*, confidering his ficknefs, did deliver his Seal to the Lord-Treafurer, the Lord great Mafter, and the Lord Chamberlain, fent to him for that purpofe during the time of his ficknefs, and chiefly of the Parliament.

5. The Lord Admiral came to the French King, and after was fent to the Queen, and fo conveied to his Chamber.

6. The Lord Admiral chriftned the French King's Child, and called him, by the King's commandment, *Edward Alexander.* All that day there was Mufick, Dancing, and Playing with Triumph in the Court; but the Lord Admiral was fick of a double *Quartane*, yet he prefented *Barnabe* to the French King, who took him to his Chamber.

7. The Treaty was delivered to the Lord Admiral, and the French King read it in open Audience at Mafs, with Ratification of it. The Lord Admiral took his leave of the French King, and returned to *Paris* very fick.

The fame day the French King fhewed the Lord Admiral Letters that came from *Parma*, how the French Men had gotten two Caftles of the Imperialifts; and in the defence of the one, the Prince of *Macedonia* was flain on the Walls, and was buried with triumph at *Parma.*

22. The Great Seal of *England* delivered to the Bifhop of *Ely*, to be Keeper thereof during the Lord *Rich*'s ficknefs.

The Band of 100 Men of Arms, which my Lord of *Somerfet* of late had, appointed to the Duke of *Suffolk.*

23. Removing to *Greenwich.*

24. I began to keep Holy this *Chriftmafs*, and continued till *Twelve-tide.*

26. Sir *Anthony St. Legier*, for Matters laid againft him by the Bifhop of *Dublin*, was banifhed my Chamber till he had made anfwer, and had the Articles delivered him.

28. The Lord Admiral came to *Greenwich.*

30. Commiffion was made out to the Bifhop of *Ely*, the Lord Privy-Seal, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, for calling in my Debts.

January.

1. Orders were taken with the Chandlers of *London*, for felling their Tallow-Candles, which before fome denied to do; and fome were punifhed with Imprifonment.

3. The Challenge that was made in the laft Month, was fulfilled.

The Challengers were.

Sir *Henry Sidney.*

Sir *Henry Nevel.*

Sir *Henry Gates.*

Defendants.

The Lord *Williams.*	Mr. *Digby.*
The Lord *Fitzwater.*	Mr. *Warcop.*
The Lord *Ambrose.*	Mr. *Courtney.*
The Lord *Roberts.*	Mr. *Knolls.*
The Lord *Fitzwarren.*	The Lord *Bray.*
Sir *George Howard.*	Mr. *Paston.*
Sir *William Stafford.*	Mr. *Cary.*
Sir *John Parrat.*	Sir. *Anthony Brown.*
Mr. *Norice.*	Mr. *Drury.*

These in all ran six Courses a-piece at Tilt against the Challengers, and accomplished their Courses right-well, and so departed again.

5. There were sent to *Guisnes* Sir *Richard Cotton*, and Mr. *Bray*, to take view of *Calais*, *Guisnes*, and the Marches; and with the advice of the Captain and Engineers, to devise some amendment, and thereupon to make me Certificate, and upon mine Answer to go further to the Matter.

4. It was appointed, that if Mr. *Stanhop* left *Hull*, then that I should no more be charged therewith, but that the Town should take it, and should have 40 *l.* a Year for the repairing of the Castle.

2. I received Letters out of *Ireland*, which appear in the Secretary's Hand, and thereupon the Earldom of *Thowmount* was by Me given from *O-Brians* Heirs, whose Father was dead, and had it for term of Life, to *Donnas* Baron of *Ebrecan*, and his Heirs Males.

3. Also Letters were written of Thanks to the Earls of *Desmond* and *Clanrikard*, and to the Baron of *Dunganan*.

3. The Emperor's Ambassador moved me several times that my Sister *Mary* might have Mass, which with no little reasoning with him was denied him.

6. The foresaid Challengers came into the Tournay, and the foresaid Defendants entred in after, with two more with them, Mr. *Terill*, and Mr. *Robert Hopton*, and fought right-well, and so the Challenge was accomplished.

The same Night was first of a Play, after a Talk between one that was called *Riches*, and the other *Youth*, whether of them was better. After some pretty Reasoning, there came in six Champions of either side.

On *Youth's* side came.	On *Riches* side.
My Lord *Fitzwater.*	My Lord *Fitzwarren.*
My Lord *Ambrose.*	Sir *Robert Stafford.*
Sir *Anthony Brown.*	Mr. *Courtney.*
Sir *William Cobham.*	*Digby.*
Mr. *Cary.*	*Hopton.*
Mr. *Warcop.*	*Hungerford.*

All these fought two to two at Barriers in the Hall. Then came in two apparalled like *Almains*, the Earl of *Ormond* and *Jaques Granado*, and two

two came in like Friars, but the *Almains* would not ſuffer them to paſs till they had fought; the Friars were Mr. *Drury* and *Thomas Cobham.* After this followed two Maſques, one of Men, another of Women. Then a Banquet of 120 Diſhes. This day was the end of *Chriſtmaſs.*

7. I went to *Debtford* to dine there, and broke up the Hall.

8. Upon a certain Contention between the Lord *Willowby*, and Sir *Andrew Dudley* Captain of *Guiſnes*, for their Juriſdiction, the Lord *Willowby* was ſent for to come over, to the intent the Controverſy might ceaſe, and Order might be taken.

12. There was a Commiſſion granted to the Earl of *Bedford*, to Mr. Vicechamberlain, and certain others, to call in my Debts that were owing Me, and the days paſt; and alſo to call in theſe that be paſt when the days be come.

17. There was a Match run between ſix Gentlemen of a ſide at Tilt.

Of one Side.	Of the other Side.
The Earl of *Warwick.*	The Lord *Ambroſe.*
The Lord *Roberts.*	The Lord *Fitzwater.*
Mr. *Sidney.*	Sir *Francis Knollis.*
Mr. *Novel.*	Sir *Anthony Brown.*
Henry Gates.	Sir *John Parrat.*
Anthony Digby.	Mr. *Courtney.*

Theſe wan by four Taintes.

18. The French Ambaſſador moved, That We ſhould deſtroy the Scotch part of the Debatable Ground as they had done Ours. It was anſwered: 1. The Lord *Coniers* that made the Agreement, made it none otherwiſe but as it ſhould ſtand with his Superiour's Pleaſure: whereupon the ſame Agreement being miſliked, becauſe the Scotch part was much harder to overcome, word was ſent to ſtay the Matter. Nevertheleſs the Lord *Maxwell* did, upon malice to the Engliſh Debatablers, over-run them; whereupon was concluded, That if the Scots will agree it, the Ground ſhould be divided; if not, then ſhall the Scots waſte their Debatablers, and we Ours, commanding them by Proclamation to depart.

This day the Stiliard put in their Anſwer to a certain Complaint that the Merchant-Adventurers laid againſt them.

19. The Biſhop of *Ely*, *Cuſtos Sigilli*, was made Chancellor, becauſe as *Cuſtos Sigilli*, he could execute nothing in the Parliament that ſhould be done, but only to Seal ordinary things.

21. Removing to *Weſtminſter.*

22. The Duke of *Somerſet* had his Head cut off upon *Tower-hill*, between eight and nine a Clock in the morning.

16. Sir *William Pickering* delivered a Token to the Lady *Elizabeth*, a fair Diamond.

18. The Duke of *Northumberland* having under him 100 Men of Arms, and 100 Light-Horſe, gave up the keeping of 50 Men at Arms to his Son the Earl of *Warwick.*

23. The Seſſions of Parliament began.

24. *John*

24. *John Gresham* was sent over into *Flanders*, to shew to the *Foulcare*, to whom I owed Mony, that I would defer it ; or if I paied it, pay it in English, to make them keep up their French Crowns, with which I minded to pay them.

25. The Answer of the Stiliard was delivered to certain of my Learned Council to look on and oversee.

27. Sir *Ralph Vane* was condemned of Felony in Treason, answering like a Ruffian.

Paris arrived with Horses, and shewed how the French King had sent Me six Cortalls, two Turks, a Barbary, two Gennets, a stirring Horse, and two littles Mules, and shewed them to Me.

29. Sir *Thomas Arundel* was likewise cast of Felony in Treason, after long controversie, for the Matter was brought in Trial by seven of the Clock in the morning.

28. At noon the Inquest went together ; they sat shut up in a House together, without Meat or Drink, because they could not agree all that Day, and all that Night.

29. This day in the morning they did cast him.

February.

2. There was a King of Arms made for *Ireland*, whose Name was *Ulster*, and his Province was all *Ireland* ; and he was the fourth King of Arms, and the first Herauld of *Ireland*.

The Emperor took, the last month and this, a Million of pounds in *Flanders*.

6. It was appointed that Sir *Philip Hobbey* should go to the Regent, upon pretence of ordering of Quarrels of Merchants, bringing with him 63000 *l.* in French Crowns to be paid in *Flanders* at *Antwerp*, to the *Schortz* and their Family, of Debts I owed them, to the intent he might dispatch them both under one.

5. Sir *Miles Partridge* was condemned of Felony for the Duke of *Somerset*'s Matter, for he was one of the Conspirators.

8. Fifty Men at Arms appointed to Mr. *Sadler*.

9. *John Beaumont*, Master of the *Rolls*, was put in Prison for forging a false Deed from *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, to the Lady *Ann Powis*, of certain Lands and Leases.

10. Commission was granted out to 32 Persons, to examine, correct, and set forth the Ecclesiastical Laws.

The Persons Names were these.

The Bishops.	The Divines.	Civilians.
Canterbury.	*Taylor* of *Lincoln.*	Mr. Secretary *Petre.*
Ely.	*Tylor* of *Hadlee.*	Mr. Secretary *Cicil.*
London.	Mr. *Cox*, Almoner.	Mr. *Traherne.*
Winchester.	Sir *John Cheek.*	Mr. *Red.*
Exeter.	Sir *Anthony Cook.*	Mr. *Coke.*
Bath.	*Petrus Martyr.*	*May*, Dean of *Pauls.*
Glocester.	*Joannes Alasco.*	*Skinner.*
Rochester.	*Parker* of *Cambridge.*	

Lawyers.

Lawyers.

Justice *Broomley.*	*Goodrick.*	*Lucas.*
Justice *Hales.*	*Stamford.*	*Gawdy.*
Gosnald.	*Carel.*	

10. Sir *Philip Hobbey* departed with somewhat more Crowns than came to 53500 and odd Livers, and had authority to borrow, in my Name, of *Lazarus Tuker* 10000 *l.* Flemish, at 7 *per Cent.* for six months, to make up the Pay, and to employ that that was in Bullion, to bring over with him; also to carry 3000 Merks weight upon a Licence the Emperor granted the *Scheitz* which they did give me. After that to depart to *Bruges*, where the Regent lay, and there to declare to her the Griefs of my Subjects.

11. There was delivered of Armour, by *John Gresham* Merchant, 1100 pair of Corslets and Horsemen-harnesses, very fair.

14. It was appointed that the *Jesus* of *Lubeck*, a Ship of 800 Tun, and the *Mary Gouston* of 600 Tun, should be let out for a Voyage to Merchantmen for a 1000 *l.* they at the Voyage to *Levants-end* to answer the Tackling, the Ship, the Ordnance, Munition, and to leave it in that case they took it. Certain others of the worst of my Ships were appointed to be sold.

9. Proclamation was made at *Paris*, that the Bands of the *Dolphine*, the Duke of *Vendosme*, the Count *d' Anguien*, the Constable of *France*, the Duke *de Guise*, and *d' Aumale*, the Count *de Sancerres*, the Mareschal S. *Andrew*, *Monsieur de Jarnac* and *Tavennes*, should, the 15*th* day of *March*, assemble at *Troyes* in *Champaign* to resist the Emperor. Also that the French King would go thither in Person, with 200 Gentlemen of his Houshold, and 400 Archers of his Guard.

16. The French King sent his Secretary *de Lausbespine* to declare this Voyage to him, * and to desire him to take pains to have Mr. *Pickering* with him, and to be a Witness of his Doings. * This is imperfect.

19. Whereupon it was appointed, that he should have 2000 Crowns for his Furnishment, besides his Diet, and *Barnabe* 800.

20. The Countess of *Pembrook* died.

18. The Merchant-Adventurers put in their Replication to the Stiliards Answer.

23. A Decree was made by the Board, that upon knowledg and information of their Charters, they had found: First, That they were no sufficient Corporation. 2. That their Number, Names, and Nation, was unknown. 3. That when they had forfeited their Liberties, King *Edward* the 4*th* did restore them on this condition, That they should colour no Strangers Goods, which they had done. Also that whereas in the beginning they shipped not past 8 Clothes, after 100, after 1000, after that 6000; now in their Name was shipped 44000 Clothes in one Year, and but 1100 of all other Strangers. For these Considerations sentence was given, That they had forfeited their Liberties, and were in like case with other Strangers.

28. There came Ambassadors from *Hamburgh*, and *Lubeck*, to speak on the behalf of the Stiliard Merchants.

29. A Flemming would have searched the *Falcon* for Frenchmen, the *Falcon* turned, shot off, boarded the Fleming, and took him.

Paiment was made of 63500 *l.* Flemish to the *Foulcare*, all saving 6000 *l.* which he borrowed in French Crowns by Sir *Philip Hobbey.*

March.

2. The Lord of *Burgaveny* was committed to Ward for striking the Earl of *Oxford* in the Chamber of presence.

The Answer for the Ambassadours of the Stiliard was committed to the Lord Chancellor, the two Secretaries, Sir *Robert Bowes*, Sir *John Baker*, Judge *Montague*, *Griffith* Sollicitor, *Gosnald*, *Goodrick*, and *Brooks*.

3. It was agreed, for better dispatch of things, certain of the Council, with others joined with them, should over-look the Penal Laws, and put certain of them in execution. Others should answer Suitors; Others should oversee my Revenues, and the Order of them; also the superfluous Paiments heretofore made. Others should have Commission for taking away superfluous Bullwarks.

First, Order was given for defence of the Merchants, to send four Barques and two Pinaces to the Sea.

4. The Earl of *Westmoreland*, the Lord *Wharton*, the Lord *Coniers*, Sir *Tho. Palmer*, and Sir *Tho. Chaloner*, were appointed in Commission to meet with the Scotch Ambassadors, for equal division of the Ground that was called the *Debatable*.

6. The French Ambassador declared to the Duke of *Northumberland*, how the French King had sent him a Letter of Credit for his Ambassadry. After delivery made of the Letter, he declared how Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, the Count of *Mansfield*, and divers other Princes of *Germany*, made a League with his Master Offensive and Defensive; the French to go to *Strasburg*, with 30000 Footmen, and 8000 Horsemen; the *Almains* to meet with them there the 25*th* of this month, with 15000 Footmen, and 5000 Horsemen. Also the City of *Strasburg* had promised them Victual, and declared how the French would send me Ambassadors to have Me into the same League. Also that the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, and Count of *Mansfield*, had been privately conveied to the French King's Presence, and were again departed to leavy Men; and he thought by this time they were in the Field.

10. He declared the same thing to Me in the same manner.

9. It was consulted touching the Marts, and it was agreed that it was most necessary to have a Mart in *England* for the enriching of the same to make it the more famous, and to be less in other Mens danger, and to make all things better cheap, and more plentiful. The time was thought good to have it now, because of the Wars between the French King and the Emperor. The Places were the meetest, *Hull* for the East parts. *Southampton* for the South Parts of *England*, as appeareth by two Bills in my Study. *London* also was thought no ill place, but it was appointed to begin with the other two.

11. The Bills put up to the Parliament were over-seen, and certain of them were for this time thought meet to pass and to be read, other of them for avoiding tediousness to be omitted, and no more Bills to be taken.

15. Those

15. Those that were appointed Commissioners for the Requests, or for the execution of Penal Laws, or for overseeing of the Courts, received their Commissions at my Hand.

18. It was appointed, that for the paiment of 14000 *l.* in the end of *April*, there should be made an Anticipation of the Subsidy of *London*, and of the Lords of my Council, which should go near to pay the same with good Provision.

20. The French Ambassador brought me a Letter of Credit from his Master, and thereupon delivered me the Articles of the League betwixt the Germans and him, desiring Me to take part of the same League; which Articles I have also in my Study.

23. The Merchants of *England* having been long staied, departed, in all about 60 Sail, the Woolfleet, and all to *Antwerp*. They were countermanded because of the Mart, but it was too late.

24. Forsomuch as the Exchange was stayed by the Emperor to *Lions*, the Merchants of *Antwerp* were sore afraid; and that the Mart could not be without Exchange, liberty was given to the Merchants to exchange and rechange Mony for Mony.

26. *Henry Dudley* was sent to the Sea with four Ships, and two Barks, for defence of the Merchants, which were daily before robbed; who, as soon as he came to the Sea, took two Pirats Ships and brought them to *Dover*.

28. I did deny, after a sort, the Request to enter into War, as appeareth by the Copy of my Answer in the Study.

29. To the intent the Ambassador might more plainly understand My meaning, I sent Mr. *Hobbey* and Mr. *Mason* to him, to declare him mine intent more amply.

31. The Commissioners for the Debatable of the Scotch side, did deny to meet, except a certain Castle, or Pile, might be first razed; whereupon Letters were sent to stay our Commissioners from the Meeting till they had further word.

10. Duke *Maurice* mustered at *Artnstat* in *Saxony* all his own Men, and left Duke *August*, the Duke of *Anhault*, and the Count of *Mansfield*, for defence of his Country, chiefly for fear of the *Bohemians*. The Young *Lansgrave*, *Reiffenberg*, and others, mustered in *Hassen*.

14. The Marquess *Albert* of *Brandenburg* mustered his Men two leagues from *Erdfort*, and after entered the same, receiving of the Citizens, a Gift of 20000 Florins; and he borrowed of them 60000 Florins, and so came to *Steinfurt*, where Duke *Maurice* and all the German Princes were assembled.

April.

2. I fell sick of the Measels and Small Pox.

4. Duke *Maurice*, with his Army, came to *Augusta*; which Town was at the first yielded to him, and delivered into his Hands, where he did change certain Officers, restored their Preachers, and made the Town more free.

5. The Constable, with the French Army, came to *Metz*, which was within two days yielded to him, where he found great provision of Victuals, and that he determined to make the Staple of Victual for his Journey.

8. He came to a Fort wherein was an Abbey called *Gocoza*, and that Fort abide 80 Cannon-shot; at length came to a Parley, where the Frenchmen got in and won it by Assault, slew all, saving 115, with the Captain, whom he hanged.

9. He took a Fort called *Muranges*, and razed it.

12. The French King came to *Nancy* to go to the Army, and there found the Dutchess and the young Duke of *Lorrain*.

13. The *Mareschal St. Andrew*, with 200 Men of Arms, and 2000 Foot-men, carried away the young Duke, accompanied with few of his old Men, toward France, to the *Dolphin*, which lay at *Rhemes*, to the no little discontentation of his Mother the Dutches. He fortified also divers Towns in *Lorrain*, and put in French Garisons.

14. He departed from *Nancy* to the Army which, lay at *Metz*.

7. *Monsieur Senarpon* gave an overthrow to the Captain of St. *Omers*, having with him 600 Foot-men, and 200 Horse-men.

15. The Parliament broke up, and because I was sick, and not able to go well abroad as then, I signed a Bill containing the Names of the Acts which I would have pass; which Bill was read in the House. Also I gave Commission to the Lord Chancellor, two Arch-Bishops, two Bishops, two Dukes, two Marquesses, two Earls, and two Barons, to dissolve wholly this Parliament.

18. The Earl of *Pembrook* surrendred his Mastership of the Horse, which I bestowed on the Earl of *Warwick*.

19. Also he left 50 of his Men of Arms, of which 25 were given to Sir *Philip Hobbey*, and 25 to Sir *John Gates*.

21. It was agreed that Commissions should go out for to take certificate of the superfluous Church Plate to Mine use, and to see how it hath been embezeled.

The French Ambassador desired, That forasmuch as it was dangerous carrying of Victual from *Bolleign* to *Ard* by Land, that I would give licence to carry by Sea to *Calais*, aud from *Calais* to *Ard*, in my Ground.

22. The Lord *Paget* was degraded from the Order of the Garter for divers his Offences, and chiefly because he was no Gentleman of Blood, neither of Father-side nor Mother-side.

Sir *Anthony St. Leiger*, which was accused by the Bishop of *Dublin* for divers brawling Matters, was taken again into the Privy-Chamber, and sat among the Knights of the Order.

23. Answer was given to the French Ambassador, that I could not accomplish his Desire, because it was against my League with the Emperor.

24. The Order of the Garter was wholly altered, as appeareth by the new Statutes. There were elected, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, and the Earl of *Westmoreland*.

26. *Monsieur de Couriers* came from the Regent, to desire that her Fleet might safely, upon occasion, take harbour in my Havens. Also he said, he was come to give order for redressing all Complaints of our Merchants.

25. Whereas it was appointed that the 14000 *l.* that I owed in the last of *April*, should be paied by the anticipation of the Subsidy of *London*, and of the Lords, because to change the same over-Sea, was

loss

loss of the sixth part of the Mony I did so send over. Stay was made thereof, and the paiment appointed to be made over of 20000 *l.* Flemish, which I took up there 14 *per Cent.* and so remained 6000 *l.* to be paid there the last of *May*.

30. Removing to *Greenwich.*

28. The Charges of the Mints were diminished 1400 *l.* and there was left 600 *l.*

18. King *Ferdinando*, *Maximilian* his Son, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, came to *Linx*, to treat with Duke *Maurice* for a Peace; where *Maurice* declared his Griefs.

16. Duke *Maurice*'s Men received an overthrow at *Ulms*; Marquess *Albert* spoiled the Country, and gave them a day to answer.

31. A Debt of 14000 *l.* was paied to the *Foulcare.*

May.

1. The Stilyard-men received their Answer; which was, to confirm the former Judgment of my Council.

2. A Letter was sent to the *Foulcare* from my Council to this effect; That I have paied 63000 *l.* Flemish in *February*, and 14000 in *April*, which came to 77000 *l.* Flemish, which was a fair Sum of Mony to be paied in one Year, chiefly in this busy World, whereas it is most necessary to be had for Princes. Besides this, That it was thought Mony should not now do him so much pleasure as at another time peradventure. Upon these Considerations they had advised Me to pay but 5000 *l.* of the 45000 I now owe, and so put over the rest according to the old Interest, 14 *per Cent.* with which they desired him to take patience.

4. *Monsieur de Couriers* received his Answer, which was, That I had long agoe given order that the Flemish Ships should not be molested in my Havens, as it appeareth, because Frenchmen chasing Flemings into my Havens, could not get them because of the rescue they had, but that I thought it not convenient to have more Ships to come into my Havens than I could well rule and govern. Also a note of divers Complaints of my Subjects was delivered to him.

10. Letters were sent to my Ambassadors, That they should move to the Princes of *Germany*, to the Emperor, and to the French King, That if this Treaty came to any effect or end, I might be comprehended in the same.

Commission was given to Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, the Chancellor of the Augmentation, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Richard Cotton*, to sell some part of the Chauntry Lands, and of the Houses, for the paiment of my Debts, which was 251000 *l. Sterling* at the least.

Taylor, Dean of *Lincoln*, was made Bishop of *Lincoln*.

Hooper, Bishop of *Glocester*, was made Bishop of *Worcester* and *Glocester*.

Story, Bishop of *Rochester*, was made Bishop of *Chichester*.

Sir *Robert Bowes* was appointed to be made Master of the *Rolls*.

Commandment was given to the Treasurers, that nothing of the Subsidy should be disbursed but by Warrant from the Board; and likewise for our *Lady-day* Revenues.

14. The Baron of the *Exchequer*, upon the surrender made by Justice *Lecister*, was made Chief-Justice, the Attorney Chief-Baron, the

Sollicitor-General Attorney, and the Sollicitor of the Augmentation, *Gosnold*, General-Sollicitor, and no more Sollicitor to be in the Augmentation Court. Also there were appointed eight Serjeants of the Law against *Michaelmass* next coming.

Gaudy.
Stamford.
Carell, &c.

16. The Muster was made of all the Men at Arms saving 50 of Mr. *Sadlers*, 25 of Mr. Vicechamberlains, and 25 of Sir *Philip Hobbey*'s, and also of all the Pensioners.

17. The Progress was appointed to be by *Dorchester* to *Pool* in *Dorsetshire*, and so through *Salisbury* homeward to *Windsor*.

18. It was appointed Mony should be cried down in *Ireland* after a Pay, which was of Mony at *Midsummer* next; in the mean season the thing to be kept secret and close. Also the Pirry, the Mint-masters, taking with him Mr. *Brabamon*, chief Treasurer of the Realm, should go to the Mines and see what profit may be taken of the Oar the *Almains* had digged in a Mine of Silver; and if it would quit cost, or more, to go forward withal, if not, to leave off and discharge all the *Almains*.

Also that of 500 of the 2000 Souldiers there being, should be cut off, and as many more as would go and serve the French King, or the Emperor, leaving sufficient at Home, no Fortifications to be made also yet for a time, in no place unfortified; and many other Articles were concluded for *Ireland*.

20. Sir *Richard Wingfield*, *Rogers*, and——were appointed to view the State of *Portsmouth*, and to bring again their Opinions concerning the fortifying thereof.

4. The French King having passed the Straits of *Lorrain*, came to *Savern*, four miles from *Strasburg*, and was victualled by the Country, but denied passage through their Town.

21. Answer came from the *Foulcare*, That for the deferring of 30000 *l.* parcel of 45 Troas, he was content; and likewise *August Pyso*, he might have paied him 20000 *l.* as soon as might be.

22. It was appointed, that forasmuch as there was much disorder on the Marches on *Scotland*-side, both in my Fortifications of some Places, and negligent looking to other Forts, the Duke of *Northumberland*, general Warden thereof, should go down and view it, and take order for it, and return home with speed. Also a pay of 10000 *l.* to go before him.

23. It was appointed that these Bands of Men of Arms should go with me this Progress.

Lord

Lord Treaſurer	30	Lord Admiral	15
Lord Great Maſter	25	Lord *Darcy*	30
Lord Privy-Seal	30	Lord *Cobham*	20
Duke of *Suffolk*	25	Lord *Warden*	20
Earl of *Warwick*	25	Mr. Vicechamberlain	15
Earl of *Rutland*	15	Mr. *Sadler*	10
Earl of *Huntington*	25	Mr. *Sidney*	10
Earl of *Pembrook*	50		

26. It was appointed that *Thomas Greſham* ſhould have paied him out of the Mony that came of my Debts 7000 *l.* for to pay 6800 *l.* the laſt of the month, which he received the ſame Night.

28. The ſame *Thomas Greſham* had 9000 *l.* paid him toward the paiment of 20000 *l.* which the *Foulcare* required to be paied at the Paſſmart, for he had taken by Exchange from hence 5000 *l.* and odds, and 10000 *l.* he borrowed of the *Scheits*, and ten of *Lazarus Tukkar*. So there was in the whole 25, of which was paid the laſt of *April* 14, ſo there remained 11000, and 9000 *l.* which I now made over by Exchange, which made 20000 *l.* to pay the *Foulcare* with.

30. I received Advertiſement from Mr. *Pickering*, that the French King went from *Savern* to *Aroumasſhes*, which was yielded to him; from this to *Leimsberg*, and ſo towards *Spires*, his Army to be about 20000 Footmen, and 8000 Horſemen, well appointed, beſides Raſcals. He had with him 50 pieces of Artillery, of which were 26 Cannons, and ſix Organs, and great number of Boots. From *Leimſberg*, partly doubting Duke *Maurice*'s meaning, partly for lack of Victual; and alſo becauſe he had word that the Regent's Army, of which were Guides the Count *de Egmont*, *Monſieur de Rie*, *Martin Vanrouſe*, and the Duke of *Holeſt*, to the number of 16000 Footmen, and 6000 Horſemen, had invaded *Champaign*, and fortified *Aſchenay*; he retired homeward till he came to *Striolph*, and there commanded all unprofitable Carriage and Men ſhould depart to *Chalons*, and ſent to the Admiral to come to him with 6000 *Swiſſers*, 4000 Frenchmen, 1500 Horſemen, and 30 pieces of Ordnance, meaning, as it was thought, to do ſome Enterpriſe about *Luxemburg*, or to recover *Aſchenay* which the Regent had fortified. There died in this Journey 2000 Men for lack of good Victual; for eight days they had but Bread and Water, and they had marched 60 Dutch miles at the leaſt, and paſt many a Streight, very painfully and labourſomly.

19. Duke *Maurice* coming from *Auſpurg* in great haſt, came this day to the firſt Paſſage called the *Clowſe*, which the Emperor had cauſed to be ſtrongly fortified and victualled, a paſſage thorough an Hill, cut out artificially in the way to *Inſpurg*, and there was a ſtrong Bulwark made hard by it, which he wan, after a long fight within an hour and an half by Aſſault, and took and ſlew all that were within. And that Night he marched through that Hill into a Plain, where he looked for to ſee twelve Enſigns of *Lansknights* of his Enemies, but they retired to the ſecond Streight, and yet divers of them were both ſlain and taken; and ſo that Night he lodged in the Plain, at the entry of the ſecond Paſſage, where there were five Forts and one

Caſtle,

Castle, which with Ordnance slew some of Duke *Maurice*'s Men.

20. This morning the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, with 3000 Footmen, cast a Bridg over a River five miles beneath the Sluce, and came and gave assault behind the Sluce, and Duke *Maurice* gave assault in the Face, and the Country-men of *Tirol*, for hate of the *Spaniards*, helped Duke *Maurice*, so that five Forts were won by Assault, and the Castle yielded upon condition to depart, not to serve in three months after the Emperor. In this Enterprise he slew and took 3000 and 500 Persons; and 23 pieces of Artillery, and 240000 S.

The Emperor hearing of this, departed by Night from *Insbpruk*, forty miles that Night in Post; he killed two of his Gennets, and rode continually every Night, first to *Brixinium*; and after for doubt of the Cardinal of *Ferrara*'s Army, turned to *Villucho* in *Carinthia*. The 30*th* of *May*, tarrying for the Duke *d' Alva*, who should come to him with 2000 Spaniards, and 3000 Italians that came from *Parma*. Also the Emperor delivered Duke *Frederic* from Captivity, and sent him through *Bohemia* into *Saxony*, to raise a Power against Duke *Maurice*'s Nephew.

22. Duke *Maurice*, after that *Hala* and divers other Towns about *Insbpruk* in *Tirol* had yielded, came to *Insbpruk*, and there caused all the Stuff to be brought to the Market-place, and took all that pertained to Imperialists as confiscate, the rest he suffered the Townsmen to enjoy. He took there fifty pieces of Ordnance, which he conveied to *Ausburg*, for that Town he fortified, and made it his Staple of Provision.

Certain Things which the Commissioners for the Requests shall not meddle withal.

First, Suits for Lands.

Secondly, Suits for Forfeits, amounting to more than 40 *l.* value.

Thirdly, Suits for Pensions.

Fourthly, Reversions of Farms, which have more than one Year to come.

Fifthly, Leases of Manours.

Sixthly, Leases for more than 21 Years.

Seventhly, No Offices of special Trust in Reckonings of Mony, as Customers, Comptrollers, Surveyors, Receivers, Auditors, Treasurers, and Chancellors, *&c.* to be given otherwise than *durante beneplacito.* Also all Mint-masters, and others that have a doing in the Mint, and such-like. The Bishops, Judges, and other Officers of Judgment, *quam diu se bene gesserit.* Balliwicks, Stewardships, keeping of Parks and Houses, *&c.* to be granted during Life.

Eighthly, Suits for forgivement of Debts.

Ninthly, Releasing of Debts to be paid.

Tenthly, Suits for Mony, to the intent to pay Debts they owe elsewhere.

Eleven, Suits to buy Land.

Twelve, Suits for Licenses, to carry over Gold, Silver, Lead, Leather, Corn, Wood, *&c.* that be things unlawful.

Thirteen, Unresidence upon Benefices.

They

They shall meddle with Baliewicks and Stewardships, during Leases for 21 Years; Forfeits under 40 *l.* Receiverships, Woodwardships, Surveyorships, &c. during pleasure. Instalments of days for Debts. To those Gentlemen that have well-served, Fee-Farms to them and their Heirs Males of their Body, paying their Rent, and discharging the Annuities due to all Officers touching the same. Keeping of Houses and Parks, ordinary Offices, as Yeomen of the Crown, the Houshold Offices, &c.

June.

2. Sir *John Williams*, who was committed to the *Fleet* for disobeying a Commandment given to him for not paying any Pensions, without not making my Council privy, upon his submission was delivered out of Prison.

4. *Beamont* Master of the *Rolls*, did confess his Offences, who in his Office of Wards had bought Land with my Mony, had lent it, and kept it from Me, to the value of 9000 *l.* and above, more than this twelve month, and 11000 in Obligations, how he being Judg in the *Chancery* between the Duke of *Suffolk* and the Lady *Powis*, took her Tittle, and went about to get it into his Hands, paying a Sum of Mony, and letting her have a Farm of a Manour of his, and caused an Indenture to be made falsly, with the old Duke's counterfeit Hand to it; by which he gave these Lands to the Lady *Powis*, and went about to make twelve Men perjured. Also how he had concealed the Felony of his Man to the Sum of 200 *l.* which he stole from him, taking the Mony into his own hand again. For these Considerations he surrendered into my Hands all his Offices, Lands, and Goods, moveable and unmoveable, toward the paiment of this Debt, and of the Fines due to these particular Faults by him done.

6. The Lord *Paget*, Chancellor of the Dutchy, confessed how he, without Commission, did sell away my Lands and great Timber-Woods; how he had taken great Fines of my Lands, to his said particular Profit and Advantage, never turning any to my Use or Commodity; how he made Leases in Reversion for more than 21 Years. For these Crimes, and other-like recited before, he surrendred his Office, and submitted himself to those Fines that I or my Council would appoint to be levied of his Goods and Lands.

7. *Whaley*, Receiver of *York-shire*, confessed how he lent my Mony upou Gain and Lucre; how he paied one Years Revenue over, with the Arrearages of the last; how he bought mine own Land with my own Mony; how in his Accompts he had made many false Suggestions; how at the time of the fall of Mony, he borrowed divers Sums of Mony, and had allowance for it, after by which he gained 500 *l.* at one crying down, the whole Sum being 2000 *l.* and above. For these and such-like Considerations he surrendred his Office, and submitted to Fines which I or my Council should assign him, to be levied of his Goods and Lands.

8. The Lords of the Council sat at *Guild-hall* in *London*, where in the presence of a thousand People, they declared to the Mayor and Brethren their sloathfulness in suffering unreasonable prices of Things, and to Craftsmen their willfulness, &c. telling them, That if upon this Admonition they did not amend, I was wholly determined to call in

their Liberties as confiscate, and to appoint Officers that should look to them.

10. It was appointed that the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, should be pardoned of his Offences, and delivered out of the *Tower*.

Whereas Sir *Philip Hobbey* should have gone to *Calais* with Sir *Richard Cotton*, and *William Barnes* Auditor, it was appointed Sir *Anthony St. Legier*, Sir *Richard Cotton*, and Sir *Thomas Mildmay*, should go thither, carrying with them 10000 *l.* to be received out of the *Exchequer*.

Whereas it was agreed that there should be a Pay now made to *Ireland* of 5000 *l.* and then the Mony to be cried down, it was appointed that 3000 weight which I had in the *Tower*, should be carried thither, and coined at 3 Denar. fine; and that incontinent the Coin should be cried down.

12. Because *Pirry* tarried here for the Bullion, *William Williams* Essay-Master was put in his place, to view the Mines with Mr. *Brabazon*, or him whom the Deputy should appoint.

13. *Banester* and *Crane*, the one for his large Confession, the other because little Matter appeared against him, were delivered out of the *Tower*.

16. The Lord *Paget* was brought into *Star-Chamber*, and there declared effectuously his submission by word of Mouth, and delivered it in writing.

Beaumont who had before made his Confession in writing, began to deny it again; but after being called before my Council, he did confess it again, and there acknowledged a Fine of his Land, and signed an Obligation in surrender of all his Goods.

17. *Monsieur de Couriers* took his leave.

2. The French King won the Castle of *Robdemac*. Certain Horsemen of the Regents came and set upon the French King's Baggage, and slew divers of the Carriers, but at length, with some loss of the Frenchmen, they were compelled to retire. The French King won *Mount St. Ann*.

4. The French King came to *Deuvillars*, which was a strong Town, and besieged it, making three Breaches.

12. The Town was yielded to him, with the Captain. He found in it 2500 Footmen, 200 Horsemen, 63 great Brass-pieces, 300 Hagbuts of Croke, much Victual, and much Ammunition, as he did write to his Ambassador.

19. It was appointed that the Bishop of *Durham*'s Matter should stay till the end of the Progress.

20. *Beaumont* in the *Star-Chamber* confessed, after a little sticking upon the Matter, his Faults, to which he had put to his Hand.

22. It was agreed that the Bands of Men of Arms, appointed to Mr. *Sidney*, Mr. *Vicechamberlain*, Mr. *Hobbey*, and Mr. *Sadler*, should not be furnished, but left off.

25. It was agreed, that none of my Council should move Me in any Suit of Land for Forfeits above 20 *l.* for Reversion of Leases, or other extraordinary Suits, till the State of my Revenues were further known.

15. The

15. The French King came to a Town standing upon the River of *Mosa*, called *Yvoire*, which gave him many hot Skirmishes.

18. The French King began his Battery to the Walls.

14. The Townsmen of *Mountmedy* gave a hot Skirmish to the French, and slew *Monsieur de Toge*'s Brother, and many other Gentlemen of the Camp.

12. The Prince of *Salerno*, who had been with the French King to treat with him touching the Matter of *Naples*, was dispatched in Post with this Answer, That the French King would aid him with 13000 Footmen, and 1500 Horsemen in the French Wages, to recover and conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*; and he should marry, as some said, the French King's Sister, Madam *Margaret*. The Cause why this Prince rebelled against the Emperor, was, partly the uncourteous handling of the Viceroy of *Naples*, partly Ambition.

The Flemings made an Invasion into *Champaign*, in so much that the *Dolphin* had almost been taken; and the Queen lying at *Chalons*, sent some of her Stuff toward *Paris*.

Also another Company took the Town of *Guise*, and spoiled the Country.

22. *Monsieur de Tallie* was sent to raise the Arrierbands and Legionars of *Picardy* and *Champaign*, to recover *Guise*, and invade *Flanders*.

27. Removing to *Hampton-Court*.

30. It was appointed that the Statds should have this Answer, That those Clothes which they had bought to carry over to the Sum of 2000 Clothes and odd, should be carried at their old Custom, so they were carried within six weeks; and likewise all Commodities they brought in till our *Lady-day* in Term next, in all other Points, the old Decree to stand, till by a further communication the Matter should be ended and concluded.

The Lord *Paget* was licensed to tarry at *London*, and there-abouts, till *Michaelmass*, because he had no Provision in his Country.

26. Certain of the Heraulds, *Lancaster* and *Portcullis*, were committed to Ward, for counterfeiting *Clarencieux* Seal to get Mony by giving of Arms.

23. The French King having received divers Skirmishes of the Townsmen, and chiefly two; in the one, they slew the French Light-horse, lying in a Village by the Town; in the other, they entred into the Camp, and pulled down Tents; which two Skirmishes were given by the Count of *Mansfield* Governour of the Town. And the Duke of *Luxemburg* and his 300 Light-horse, understanding by the Treason of four Priests, the weakest part of the Town, so affrighted the Townsmen and the Flemish Souldiers, that they by threatnings, compelled their Captain the Count, that he yielded himself and the Gentlemen Prisoners, the Common-Souldiers to depart with white Wands in their Hands. The Town was well Fortified, Victualled, and Furnished.

24. The Town of *Mountmedy* yielded to the French King, which before had given a hot Skirmish.

Hhh *July*

July.

4. Sir *John Gates* Vicechamberlain was made Chancellor of the Dutchy.

7. Removing to *Oatlands*.

5. The Emperor's Ambassador delivered the Regent's Letter, being of this effect; That whereas I was bound by a Treaty with the Emperor, made *Anno Dom.* 1542, at *Dotrecht*, That if any Man did Invade the two Counties, I should help him with 5000 Footmen, or 700 Crowns a day during four months, and make War with him within a month after the Request made; and now the French King had invaded *Luxemburg*, desiring my Men to follow the Effect of the Treaty.

7. The Names of the Commissioners was added, and made more, both in the Debts, the surveying of the Courts, the Penal Laws, &c. and because my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord Privy-Seal, Mr. Vicechamberlain, and Mr. Secretary *Petre*, went with me this Progress.

8. It was appointed that 50 pound weight of Gold should be coined after the new Standard, to carry about this Progress, which maketh 150 *l. Sterling*.

9. The Chancellor of the *Augmentation* was willed to surcease his Commission, given him the third Year of our Reign.

3. *Monsieur de Bossy*, Grand Escuyer to the Emperor, was made General of the Army in the *Low-Countries*, and *Monsieur de Prat* over the Horsemen.

10. It was appointed here, that if the Emperor's Ambassador did move any more for Help or Aid, this Answer should be sent him by two of my Council, That this Progress-time my Council was dispersed, I would move by their Advise, and he must tarry till the Matter were concluded, and their Opinions heard. Also I had committed the Treaty to be considered by divers learned Men, &c. And if another time he would press Me, then answer to be made, That I trusted the Emperor would not wish Me, in these young Years, having felt them so long, to enter into them. How I had Amity sworn with the French King, which I could not well break; and therefore if the Emperor thought it so meet, I would be a Mean for a Peace between them, but not otherwise. And if he did press the Treaty, lastly to conclude, That the Treaty did not bind Me which my Father had made, being against the profit of my Realm and Country; and to desire a new Treaty to be made between Me and the Emperor in the last Wars. He answered, That he marvelled what We meant, for we are bound, quoth the Emperor, and not You. Also the Emperor had refused to fulfil it divers times, both in not letting pass Horses, Armour, Ammunition, &c. which were provided by Me for the Wars. As also in not sending Aid upon the Forraging of the Low-Country of *Calais*.

12. A Letter was written to Sir *Peter Meutas*, Captain of the Isle of *Jersey*, both to command him that *Divine Service* may there be used as in *England*; and also that he take heed to the Church-Plate that it be not stollen away, but kept safe till further Order be taken.

9. The French King came to the Town *Aveins* in *Hainault*, where after he had viewed the Town, he left it, and besieged a Pile called *Tirlokkit*; the Bailiff of the Town perceiving his departure, gave the

Onset

Onset on his Rereward with 2000 Footmen, and 500 Horsemen, and slew 500 Frenchmen. After this, and the winning of certain Holds of little force, the French King returned into *France*, and divided his Army into divers good Towns to rest them, because divers were sick of the Flux, and such other Diseases, meaning shortly to increase his Power, and so to go forward with his Enterprise.

12. *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* was released from his Imprisonment, and sent by the Emperor into his own Country, to the great rejoicing of all the Protestants.

5. The Emperor declared, That he would none of these Articles to which Duke *Maurice* agreed, and the King of the *Romans* also. The Copy of them remaineth with the Secretary *Cecil*.

Marquess *Albert* of *Brandenburg* did great harm in the Country of *Franconia*, burnt all Towns and Villages about *Norimberg*, and compelled them to pay to the Princes of his League 200000 Dollars, ten of the fairest pieces of Ordnance, and 150 Kintalls of Powder. After that he went to *Frankfort*, to distress certain Souldiers gathered there for the Emperor.

15. Removing to *Guilford*.

20. Removing to *Petworth*.

23. The Answer was made to the Emperor's Ambassador, touching the Aid he required, by Mr. *Wotton*, and Mr. *Hobbey*, according to the first Article *supra*.

24. Because the number of Bands that went with Me this Progress made the Train great, it was thought good they should be sent home, save only 150 which were pickt out of all the Bands. This was, because the Train was thought to be near 4000 Horse, which were enough to eat up the Country, for there was little Meadow nor Hay all the way as I went.

25. Removing to *Londre*, Sir *Anthony Brown*'s House.

27. Removing to *Halvenaker*.

30. Whereas it had been before devised, that the New Fort of *Barwick* should be made with four Bulwarks; and for making of two of them, the Wall of the Town should be left open on the Enemies side a great way together, (which thing had been both dangerous and chargeable) it was agreed the Wall should stand, and two Slaughter-houses to be made upon it to scour the outer Courtins; a great Rampier to be made within the Wall, a great Ditch within that, another Wall within that, with two other Slaughter-Houses, and a Rampier within that again.

26. The Flemings entred in great numbers into the Country of *Terovenne*; whereupon 500 Men of Arms arose of Frenchmen, and gave the Onset on the Flemings, overthrew them, and slew of them 1435, whereof were 150 Horsemen.

31. It was appointed, on my Lord of *Northumberland*'s Request, that he should give half his Fee to the Lord *Wharton*, and make him his Deputy-Warden there.

August.

2. Removing to *Warblington*.

3. The Duke of *Guise* was sent into *Lorrain*, to be the French King's Lieutenant there.

4. Removing to *Waltham.*

8. Removing to *Portsmouth.*

9. In the morning I went to *Chaterton*'s Bullwark, and viewed also the Town; at afternoon went to see the Store-house, and there took a Boat and went to the wooden Tower, and so to *Haselford.* Upon viewing of which things, it there was devised two Forts to be made upon the entry of the Haven; one where *Ridley*'s Tower standeth, upon the Neck that maketh the Camber; the other upon a like Neck standing on the other side the Haven, where stood an old Bullwark of Wood. This was devised for the strength of the Haven. It was meant, that that to the Town-side should be both stronger and larger.

10. *Henry Dudley* who lay at *Portsmouth*, with a warlike Company of 140 good Souldiers, was sent to *Guisnes* with his Men, because the Frenchmen assembled in these Frontiers in great numbers.

Removing to *Tichfield*, the Earl of *Southampton*'s House.

14. Removing to *Southampton.*

16. The French Ambassador came to declare how the French King meant to send one that was his Lieutenant in the Civil Law, to declare which of our Merchants Matters have been adjudged on their side, and which against them, and for what Consideration.

16. Removing to *Beuleu.*

The French Ambassador brought news how the City of *Siena* had been taken by the French-side on St. *James*'s day, by one that was called the Count *Perigliano*, and other Italian Souldiers, by Treason of some within the Town; and all the Garison of the Town, being Spaniards, were either taken or slain. Also how the *Mareschal Brisac* had recovered *Saluzzo*, and taken *Verucca.* Also how *Villebone* had taken *Turnaham* and *Mountreville* in the Low-Countrey.

18. Removing to *Christ-Church.*

21. Removing to *Woodlands.*

In this month, after long Business, Duke *Maurice* and the Emperor agreed on a Peace, but Marquess *Albert* of *Brandenburg* would not consent thereto, but went away with his Army to *Spires* and *Worms*, *Colen* and *Treves*, taking large sums of Mony of all Cities which he passed, but chiefly of the Clergy. Duke *Maurice*'s Souldiers perceiving Marquess *Albert* would enter into no Peace, went almost all to the Marquess's Service; among which were Principal the Count of *Mansfelt*, Baron *Haydeke*, and a Colonel of 3000 Footmen, and 1000 Horsemen, called *Reiffenberg*; So that of 7000 which should been sent into *Hungary* against the Turks, there remained not 3000. Also the Duke of *Wittenberg* did secretly let go 2800 of the best Souldiers in *Germany*, to the Service of Marquess *Albert*, so that his Power was now very great.

Also in this month the Emperor departing from *Villachia*, came to *Insbruk*, and so to *Monaco*, and to *Augusta*, accompanied with 800 Spaniards, and Italians, and a little Band of a few ragged *Almains.* Also in this month did the Turks win the City of *Tamesino* in *Transilvania*, and gave a Battel to the Christians, in which was slain Count *Pallavicino*, and 7000 Italians and Spaniards. Also in this month did the Turks Navy take the Cardinal of *Trent*'s two Brethren, and seven Gallies, and had in chase 39 other. Also in this month did the Turks

Navy

Navy Land at *Terracina* in the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the Prince of *Salerno* ſet forward with 4000 Gaſcoins, and 6000 Italians; and the Count *Perigliano* brought to his Aid 5000 Men of thoſe that were at the Enterpriſe of *Siena*. Alſo the *Mareſchal Briſac* won a Town in *Piedmont* called *Buſſac*.

24. Removing to *Salisbury*.

26. Upon my Lord of *Northumberland*'s return out of the North, it was appointed, for the better ſtrengthning of the Marches, that no one Man ſhould have two Offices; and that Mr. *Sturley*, Captain of *Barwick*, ſhould leave the Wardenſhip of the Eaſt-Marches to the Lord *Evers*; and upon the Lord *Coniers* reſignation, the Captainſhip of the Caſtle of *Carliſle* was appointed to Sir — *Gray*, and the Wardenſhip of the Weſt-Marches to Sir *Richard Muſgrave*.

27. Sir *Richard Cotton* made Comptroller of the Houſhold.

28. Removing to *Wilton*.

30. Sir *Anthony Archer* was appointed to be Marſhal of *Calais*, and Sir *Edward Grimſton* Comptroller of *Calais*.

22. The Emperor being at *Auguſta*, did baniſh two Preachers Proteſtants out of *Auguſta*, under pretence that they preached ſeditiouſly, and left *Mecardus* the chief Preacher, and ſix other Proteſtant Preachers in the Town, giving the Magiſtrates leave to chuſe others in their place that were baniſhed.

29. The Emperor cauſed eight Proteſtant Citizens of the Town to be baniſhed, of them that went to the Fair at *Lintz*, under pretence, that they taking Marqueſs *Albert*'s part, would not abide his Preſence.

September.

2. Removing to *Wotisfunt*, my Lord *Sandes* Houſe.

5. Removing to *Wincheſter*.

7. From thence to *Baſing*, my Lord Treaſurer's Houſe.

10. And ſo to *Donnington*-Caſtle beſides the Town of *Newbery*.

12. And ſo to *Reading*.

15. To *Windſor*.

16. *Stuckley* being lately arrived out of *France*, declared, how that the French King being wholly perſuaded that he would never return again into *England*, becauſe he came away without leave, upon the apprehenſion of the Duke of *Somerſet* his old Maſter, declared to him his Intent, That upon a Peace made with the Emperor, he meant to beſiege *Calais*, and thought ſurely to win it by the way of *Sandhills*, for having *Ricebank* both to famiſh the Town, and alſo to beat the Market-place; and asked *Stuckley*'s Opinion: When *Stuckley* had anſwered, he thought it impoſſible. Then he told him that he meant to Land in *England*, in an Angle thereof about *Falmouth*, and ſaid, the Bullwarks might eaſily be won, and the People were papiſtical; alſo that *Monſieur de Guiſe* at the ſame time ſhould enter into *England* by *Scotland*-ſide, with the Aid of the Scots.

19. After long reaſoning it was determined, and a Letter was ſent in all haſte to Mr. *Moriſon*, willing him to declare to the Emperor, That I having pity, as all other Chriſtian Princes ſhould have, on the Invaſion of Chriſtendom by the Turk, would willingly join with the Emperor, and other States of the Empire, if the Emperor could bring it

to paſs in ſome League againſt the Turk and his Confederates, but not to be aknown of the French King, only to ſay, That he hath no more Commiſſion, but if the Emperor would ſend a Man into *England*, he ſhould know more. This was done on intent to get ſome Friends. The Reaſonings be in my Desk.

21. A Letter was ſent only to try *Stuckley's* Truth to Mr. *Pickering*, to know whether *Stuckley* did declare any piece of this Matter to him.

Barnabe was ſent for home.

23. The Lord *Gray* was choſen Deputy of *Calais* in the Lord *Willowby's* place, who was thought unmeet for it.

24. Sir *Nicholas Wentworth* was diſcharged of the Porterſhip of *Calais*, and one—*Cotton* was put into it. In conſideration of his Age, the ſaid Sir *Nicholas Wentworth* had 100 *l.* Penſion.

26. Letters were ſent for the diſcharge of the Men of Arms at *Michaelmaſs* next following.

27. The young Lords Table was taken away, and the Maſters of Requeſts, and the Serjeants of Arms, and divers other extraordinary Allowances.

26. The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Secretary *Petre*, and Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, ended a Matter at *Eaton*-College, between the Maſter and the Fellows; and alſo took order for the amendment of certain ſuperfluous Statutes.

28. Removing to *Hampton-Court*.

29. Two Lawyers came from the French King to declare what things had paſſed with the Engliſhmen in the King's Privy-Council; what and why againſt them, and what was now in doing, and with what diligence. Which when they had eloquently declared, they were referred to *London*, where there ſhould ſpeak with them Mr. Secretary *Petre*, Mr. *Wotton*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*; whereby then was declared the Griefs of our Merchants, which came to the Sum of 50000 *l.* and upwards; to which they gave little anſwer, but that they would make Report when they came home, becauſe they had yet no Commiſſion, but only to declare us the Cauſes of things done.

The firſt day of this month the Emperor departed from *Auguſta* toward *Ulmes*; and thanking the Citizens for their ſtedfaſt ſticking to him in theſe perrilous Times, he paſſed by them to *Strasburg*, accompanied only with 4000 Spaniards, 5000 Italians, 12000 Almains, and 2000 Horſmen, and thanking alſo them of *Strasburg* for their goodwill they bore him, that they would not let the French King come into their Town, he went to *Weyſenberg*, and ſo to *Spires*, and came thither the 23*d* of this month. Of which the French King being advertiſed, ſummoned an Army to *Metz*, and went thitherward himſelf; ſent a Pay of three months to Marqueſs *Albert*, and the Rhinegrave and his Band; alſo willing him to ſtop the Emperor's Paſſage into theſe Low-Countries, and to fight with him.

27. The Matter of the Debatable was agreed upon, according to the laſt Inſtructions.

26. Duke *Maurice*, with 4000 Footmen and 1000 Horſemen, arrived at *Vienna* againſt the Turks.

21. Marqueſs

21. Marquess *Hans* of *Brandenburg*, came with an Army of 13000 Footmen, and 1500 Horsemen, to the Emperor's Army; and many Almain Souldiers encreased his Army wonderfully, for he refused none.

October.

3. Because I had a pay of 48000 *l.* to be paid in *December*, and had as yet but 14000 beyond Seas to pay it withal, the Merchants did give me a Loan of 40000 *l.* to be paid by them the last of *December*, and to be repaied again by Me the last of *March*. The manner of levying this Loan was of the Clothes, after the rate of 20 *s.* a Cloth, for they carried out at this Shipping 40000 Broad-Clothes. This Grant was confirmed the 4*th* day of this month, by a company assembled of 300 Merchant-Adventurers.

2. The Bullwarks of Earth and Boards in *Essex*, which had a continual allowance of Souldiers in them, were discharged, by which was saved presently 500 *l.* and hereafter 700 or more.

4. The Duke *D'alva*, and the Marquess of *Marigna*, set forth with a great part of the Emperor's Army, having all the Italians and Spaniards with them, towards *Treves*, where the Marquess *Albert* had set ten Ensigns of Launce-Knights to defend it, and tarried himself with the rest of his Army at *Landaw* besides *Spires*.

6. Because Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Captain of *Guisnes*, had indebted himself very much by his Service at *Guisnes*; also because it should seem injurious to the Lord *Willowby*, that for the Contention between him and Sir *Andrew Dudley*, he should be put out of his Office, therefore it was agreed, That the Lord *William Howard* should be Deputy of *Calais*, and the Lord *Gray* Captain of *Guisnes*.

Also it was determined that Sir *Nicholas Sturley* should be Captain of the new Fort at *Barwick*, and that *Alex. Brett* should be Porter, and one *Roksby* should be Marshal.

7. Upon report of Letters written by Mr. *Pickering*, how that *Stuckley* had not declared to him, all the while of his being in *France*, no one word touching the Communication afore specified; and declared also how Mr. *Pickering* thought, and certainly advertised, that *Stuckley* never heard the French King speak no such word, nor never was in credit with him, or the Constable, save once, when he became an Interpreter between the Constable and certain English Pioneers, He was committed to the *Tower* of *London*.

Also the French Ambassador was advertised how we had committed him to Prison, for that he untruly slandered the King our good Brother, as other such Runnagates do daily the same. This was told him, to make him suspect the English Runnagates that be there. A like Letter was sent again to Mr. *Pickering*.

8. *Le Seigneur de Villandry* came in Post from the French King with this Message. First, That although Mr. *Sidney*'s and Mr. *Winter*'s Matters, were justly condemned; yet the French King, because they both were my Servants, and one of them about me, was content *gratuito* to give Mr. *Sidney* his Ship, and all the Goods in her; and Mr. *Winter* his Ship, and all his own Goods. Which Offer was refused, saying, We required nothing *gratuito*, but only Justice and Expedition. Also *Villandry* declared, That the King his Master, wished that an Agreement

were

were made between the Ordinances and Customs of *England* and *France* in Marine Affairs. To which was answered, that our Ordinances were nothing but the Civil Law, and certain very old Additions of the Realm; That we thought it reason not to be bound to any other Law than their old Laws, which had been of long time continued, and no fault found with them. Also *Villandry* brought forth two new Proclamations, which for things to come were very profitable for *England*, for which he had a Letter of Thanks to the King his Master. He required also Pardon and Releasement of Imprisonment for certain Frenchmen taken on the Sea-Coast. It was shewed him they were Pirats: Now some of them should by Justice be punished, some by Clemency pardoned; and with this Dispatch he departed.

11. *Horne* Dean of *Durham*, declared a secret Conspiracy of the Earl of *Westmoreland*, the Year of the apprehension of the Duke of *Somerset*, How he would have taken out Treasure at *Midleham*, and would have robbed his Mother, and sold 200 *l.* Land; and to please the People, would have made a Proclamation for the bringing up of the Coin, because he saw them grudg at the fall. He was commanded to keep this Matter close.

6. Mr. *Morison*, Ambassador with the Emperor, declared to the Emperor the Matter of the Turks before specified; whose Answer was, He thanked us for our gentle Offer, and would cause the Regent to send a Man for the same purpose, to know our further meaning in that behalf.

11. Mr. *Pickering* declared to the French King, being then at *Rhemes*, *Stuckley*'s Matter of Confession, and the Cause of his Imprisonment: Who after protestation made of his own good Meaning in the Amity, and of *Stuckley*'s Ingratitude toward him, his lewdness and ill-demeanour, thanked Us much for this so gentil an uttering of the Matter, that we would not be led with false Bruites and Tales.

The Bishop *Tunstal* of *Durham* was deprived of his Bishoprick.

In this month *Monsieur de Rue*, *Martin Rossen*, and an Army of Flemings, while the French had assembled his Men of War in *Lorrain*, had sent the Constable to the Army, which lay four leagues from *Verdun*, the Duke *de Guise* with 7000 Men to *Metz*, and the *Mareschal St. Andrew* at *Verdeun*, razed and spoiled, between the River of *Some* and *Osse*, many Towns, as *Noyon*, *Roy*, *Chamy*; and Villages, *Nelle*, *Follambray*, a new built House of the King's, *&c.* insomuch that the French King sent the Admiral of *France* to help the Duke of *Vendosme* against that Army.

There was at this time a great Plague that reigned in sundry parts of *France*, of which many Men died.

20. A Man of the Earl of *Tyrones* was committed to the *Tower*, because he had made an untrue Suggestion and Complaint against the Deputy and the whole Council of *Ireland*. Also he had bruited certain ill Bruites in *Ireland*, how the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembrook* were fallen out, and one against another in the Field.

17. The Flemings, and the Englishmen that took their parts, assaulted by Night *Hamletue*; the Englishmen were on the Walls, and some

of

ſome of the Flemings alſo; but by the cowardiſe of a great part of the Flemings, the Enterprize was loſt, and many Men ſlain. The number of the Flemings were 4000, the number of the Men within *Hambletue* 400. The Captain of this Enterpriſe was *Monſieur de Vaudeville* Captain of *Gravelin.*

6. *Monſieur de Boiſſey* entred *Treves* with a Flemiſh Army, to the number of 12000 Footmen, and 2500 Horſemen, Burgunions, without any reſiſtance, becauſe the Enſigns there left by Marqueſs *Albert* were departed; and thereupon the Duke *d' Alva*, and the Marqueſs of *Marion*, marched toward *Metz*; the Emperor himſelf, and the Marqueſs *Hans* of *Brandenburg*, having with him the reſt of his Army, the ninth day of this month departed from *Landaw* towards *Metz. Monſieur de Boiſſey*'s Army alſo joined with him at a place called *Swayburg*, or *Deuxpont.*

23. It was agreed, that becauſe the State of *Ireland* could not be known without the Deputy's preſence, that he ſhould, in this dead time of the Year, leave the governance of the Realm to the Council there for the time, and bring with him the whole State of the Realm, whereby ſuch order might be taken, as the ſuperfluous Charge might be avoided, and alſo the Realm kept in quietneſs, and the Revenue of the Realm better and more profitably gathered.

25. Whereas one *George Paris* an Iriſhman, who had been a practiſer between the Earl of *Deſmond* and other Iriſh Lords, and the French King, did now, being weary of that Matter, practiſe means to come home, and to have his old Lands in *Ireland* again. His Pardon was granted him, and a Letter written to him from my Council, in which he was promiſed to be conſidered and holpen.

There fell in this month a great Contention among the Scots, for the *Kers* ſlew the Lord of *Balcleugh*, in a Fray in *Edinburgh*; and as ſoon as they had done, they aſſociated to them the Lord *Home* and all his Kin: But the Governour thereupon ſummoned an Army to go againſt them; but at length,becauſe the Dowager of *Scotland* favoured the *Kers* and *Homes*, and ſo did all the French Faction, the French King having alſo ſent for 5000 Scotch Footmen, and 500 Horſemen, for his Aid in theſe Wars, the Governour agreed the 5000 Footmen under the leading of the Earl of *Caſſils*; and 500 Light-Horſemen, of which the *Kers* and the *Homes* ſhould be Captains, and go with ſuch haſte into *France*, that they might be in ſuch place as the French King would appoint them to ſerve in, by *Chriſtmaſs*, or *Candlemaſs* at the furtheſt. And thus he truſted to be well rid of his moſt mortal Enemies.

27. The Scots hearing that *George Paris* practiſed for Pardon, committed him to Ward in *Striveling*-Caſtle.

25. *Monſieur de Rue* having burnt in *France* eighteen leagues in length, and three leagues in breadth; having pillaged, and ſacked, and razed the fair Towns of *Noyon*, *Roy*, *Nelle*, and *Chamy*, the King's new Houſe of *Follambray*, and infinite other Villages, Bullwarks, and Gentlemens Houſes in *Champaign* and *Picardy*, returned into *Flanders.*

23. The Emperor in his Perſon came to the Town of *Metz* with his Army, which was reckoned 45000 Footmen, as the Bruit went,

and 7000 Horsemen. The Duke *d' Alva* with a good Band went to view the Town; upon whom issued out the Souldiers of the Town, and slew of his Men about 2000, and kept him play till the main force of the Camp came down, which caused them to retire with loss. On the French Party was the Duke of *Nemours* hurt on the Thigh. There was in the Town as Captain, the Duke of *Guise*; and there were many other great Lords with him, as the Prince of *Rochsurion*, the Duke *de Nemours*, the Vicedam of *Chartres*, *Pierro Stozzy*, *Monsieur Chastilion*, and many other Gentlemen.

November.

5. *Monsieur de Villandry* returned to declare, how the King his Master did again offer to deliver four Ships against which Judgment had passed. He said, The King would appoint Men to hear our Merchants at *Paris*, which should be Men of the best sort. He said likewise, how the King his Master meant to mend the Ordinance, of which Amendment he brought Articles.

7. These Articles were delivered to be considered by the Secretaries.

9. Certain were thought to be sought out by several Commissions; *viz.* Whether I were justly answered of the Plate, Lead, Iron, *&c.* that belonged to Abbeys? Whether I were justly answered the Profit of Alome, Copper, Fustians, *&c.* which were appointed to be sold? and of such Land as the King my Father sold, and such-like Articles.

12. *Monsieur Villandry* received answer for the first Article, as he did before, How I meant not by taking freely so few, to prejudice the rest. For hearing of our Merchants Matters at *Paris*, by an inferior Council, We thought both too dilatory after these long Suits, and also unreasonable, because the inferior Council would undoe nothing (though cause appeared) which had been before judged by the higher Council. And as for the New Ordinances, we liked them in effect as ill as their Old, and desired none other but the Old accustomed ones which have been used in *France* of late Time, and to be yet continued between *England* and the *Low-Country*. Finally, We desire no more Words, but Deeds.

4. The Duke *d'Aumail* being left in *Lorrain*, both to stop the Emperor's Provision, to annoy his Camp, and to take up the Straglers of the Army, with a Band of 400 Men of Arms, which is 1200 Horse, and 800 Light-Horse, hearing how Marquess *Albert* began to take the Emperor's part, sent first certain Light-Horse to view what they intended. Those Avan-Couriers lighted on a Troop of 500 Horsemen, who drove them back till they came to the Duke's Person; Whereupon the Skirmish grew so great, that the Marquess with 12000 Footmen, and 1000 Horsemen, came to his Mens succours, so the Duke's Party was discomfited, the Duke himself taken and hurt in many places; *Monsieur de Roan* was also slain, and many other Gentlemen slain and taken. This Fight was before *Toul*, into which Fort escaped a great part of the Light-Horse.

6. *Heading* Town and Castle was taken by the *Monsieur de Reux*; The Castle was reckoned too well stored of all things, and rendred either by Cowardice or Treason. The Battery was very small, and not suitable. The most was, that the Captain, *Monsieur Jewis*, was,

was, with one of the first shots of the Cannon, slain, and his Lieutenant with him.

In this month *Ferdinando Gonzaga* besieged St. *Martins* in *Piedmont*.

18. There was a Commission granted out to Sir *Richard Cotton*, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, to examine the account of the fall of Mony, by the two Proclamations.

20. The Lord *Ogle* leaving the Wardenship of the Middle Marches, because my Lord *Evers* Land lay there, he was made Deputy-Warden there, with the Fee of 600 Merks; and Sir *Thomas Dacres* of the East Marches, with the Fee of 500 Merks.

24. *Thomas Gresham* came from *Antwerp* hither, to declare how *Monsieur de Langie*, Treasurer to the Emperor, of *Flanders*, was sent to him from the Regent with a certain Pacquet of Letters which the Burgonions had taken in *Bullonois*, coming from the Dowager of *Scotland*: The Effect whereof was, How she had committed *George Paris* the Irish-man to Prison, because she had heard of his meaning to return into *England*; how she had found the Pardon he had, and divers other Writings; and how she had sent *O-Coners*'s Son into *Ireland*, to comfort the Lords of *Ireland*. Also he shewed certain Instructions, *Anno* 1548, upon the Admiral's fall, given to a Gentleman that came hither, That if there were any here of the Admiral's Faction, he should do his uttermost to raise an Uproar.

29. *Henry Knowls* was sent in Post into *Ireland* with a Letter, to stay the Deputy, if he met him, in *Ireland*, because of the Business; and that he should seem to stay for his own Affairs, and prolong his going from Week to Week, lest it be perceived. Also he had with him certain Articles concerning the whole state of the Realm, which the Deputy was willed to answer.

30. There was a Letter of Thanks written to the Regent, and sent to Mr. Chamberlain, to deliver her for the gentle Overture made to *Thomas Gresham* by the Treasurer *Langie*. He was also willed to use gentle words in the delivery of the Letters, wishing a further Amity: And for recompence of her Overture, to tell her of the French King's practice, for 5000 Scotch Footmen, and 500 Horsemen. And also how he taketh up by Exchange at *Lubeck* 100000 *l.* whereby appeareth some meaning that way the next Spring.

28. The Lord *Paget* was put to his Fine of 6000 *l.* and 2000 *l.* diminished to pay it within the space of — Years, at days limited.

Here the Journal ends, or if more was written by the King, it is lost.

Some other Papers written with King Edward *the Sixth's own Hand.*

Number 2.

A Collection of Passages of Scripture against Idolatry, in French, dedicated to the Protector.

In *Trinity* Coll. Libr. *Cambridg.*

Le fervent zele que Je vous apercoy avoir en la Reformation de Idolatrie, Tres-cher et bien aimè Oncle, ma incitè comme par maniere de passe temps, en lisant la saint Escriture, de nòter plusieurs lieux en icelle qui defendent de n'adorer ny faire aucuns Images. Non seulement de Dieux Estr[illegible] mais ausi de ne former chose pensant la faire semblable a la Majest[illegible] Dieu lè Creature si tresbaby. Veu qui lui mesme & son St. Esprit, par la bouche de ses Prophetes, L'a si souvent defendu, que tant de gens ont ose et osent commetre Idolatrie en faisant et adorant les Images. Mais Je croy que cestoit pourtant quils n'avoient ou n'entendoit pas ses paroles. Car comme il dit il ne peut estre veu en choses qui soient materielles. Mais veut estre veu par ses ouvres, ni plus ne moins que quand on voit quelque excellente piece d'ouvrage sans voir ouvrier qui L'a fait, on peut Imaginer son excellence: Ainsi regardant et considerant l' excellence du Firmament et les choses tant parfaites et merveilleuses, que y sont comprises, nous pouvons Imaginer quelle è le Createur qui les a formees seulement par sa parole, et en telle maniere nostre Oeil Spirituel pouroit beaucoup mieux voir quelle chosé c'est que de Dieu, que nostre Oeil corporell ne le pourroit voir en chose que Creature humane ait fait et formee. Pourtant, cher Oncle, apres avoir notè en ma Bible en Anglois plusieurs sentences qui contradisent a tout Idolatrie a celle fin de m'apprendre et exercer en l' Escriture Francoise, je me suis amusè a le Translater en la dite Langue Francoise: Puis les ay fait rescire en se petit livret, lequell de tresbon cueur Je vous offre: Priant Dieu le Createur de vous donner grace de continuer en vostre labeur spirituel au salut de vostre ame et a l' honneur et gloire d' iceluy.

Then follow 72 Passages out of the Old Testament, against worshipping strange Gods or Images, with little Paraphrases of his own, he concludes.

Il y a autres places en la sainte Escriture, tant Apocryphes que autres, desquelles je ne fais nulle mention pour le present, qui toutesfois sont corresspondentes a celles dont est fait mention par cy devant. Mais pour tant que quasi tous les Prophetes et autres Saints, desquels la Sainte Escriture parle deffendent de ne commetre Idolatrie Je desire et exhorte toute la Congregation des Chrestiens qu'un chascun d'eux vueille delaisser cest abominable vice.

A Dis-

A Discourse about the Reformation of many Abuses.

Number 2.

The Government of this Realm is divided into two parts, one Ecclesiastical, and the other Temporal.

THE Ecclesiastical consisteth in setting forth the Word of God, continuing the People in Prayer, and the Discipline. The setting forth of the Word of God, consisteth in the good discreet Doctrine and Example of the Teachers, and Spiritual Officers; for as the good Husbandman maketh his Ground good and plentiful, so doth the true Preacher with Doctrine and Example, print and graft in the Peoples Mind the Word of God, that they at length become plentiful. Prayers also to God must be made continually, of the People, and Officers of the Church, to assist them with his Grace. And those Prayers must first, with good consideration, be set forth, and Faults therein be amended. Next, being set forth, the People must continually be allured to hear them. For Discipline, it were very good that it went forth, and that those that did notably offend in Swearing, Rioting, neglecting of God's Word, or such the like Vices, were duly punished, so that those that should be the Executors of this Discipline, were Men of tried Honesty, Wisdom, and Judgment. But because those Bishops who should execute it, some for Papistry, some for Ignorance, some for Age, some for their ill Name, some for all these, are Men unable to execute Discipline; it is therefore a thing unmeet for these Men: Wherefore it were necessary, that those that were appointed to be Bishops, or Preachers, were honest in Life, and learned in their Doctrine; that by rewarding of such Men, others might be allured to follow their good Life.

Cotton Libr. Nero C.10.

As for the Prayers, and Divine Service, it were meet the Faults were drawn out (as it was appointed) by learned Men, and so the Book to be established, and all Men willed to come thereunto to hear the Service, as I have put in Remembrances in Articles touching the Statutes of this Parliament. But as for Discipline, I would wish no Authority given generally to all Bishops, but that Commission be given to those that be of the best sort of them to exercise it in their Diocesses.

Thus much generally for Religion.

Temporal Regiment.

The Temporal Regiment consisteth, in well-ordering, enriching, and defending the whole Body Politick of the Common-Wealth, and every part of the whole, to one Part, not the other. The Example whereof may be best taken of a Man's Body; for even as the Arm defendeth, helpeth, and aideth the whole Body, chiefly the Head, so ought Servingmen, and Gentlemen chiefly, and such-like kind of People, be always ready to the defence of their Country, and chiefly of

their

their Superior and Governor; and ought in all things to be vigilant and painful for the encreasing and aiding of their Country. And forasmuch as they, in serving their King and Country, have divers great and manifold Charges, even as the Arm doth many times bear great stresses for defence of the Head and Body, having no kind of way to enrich themselves, neither by Merchandize, neither by Handicraft, neither by Husbandry; as the Arm doth decoct no Meat it self, nor engendereth no Blood, therefore even as the Stomach, Liver, and Lights, which parts engender the Blood, doth send nourishment to the Arms and Legs sufficient to strengthen the part, even so must the Artificers so use their Gain in working, and so truly and justly make that that they work; The Merchants must so sell their Ware, and so labour to bring in strange Commodities; The Husbandmen must pay such Rent, and so sell Things that come of the increase of the Ground, that the Hands, and the Legs, that is to say, the States of Gentlemen and of Servingmen may well do the Common-Wealth that Service they ought to do. And as the Gentlemen and Servingmen ought to be provided for, so ought not they neither to have so much as they have in *France*, where the Peasantry is of no value, neither yet meddle in other Occupations, for the Arms and Legs doth never draw the whole Blood from the Liver, but leaveth it sufficient to work on; neither doth meddle in any kind of engendring of Blood. No nor no one part of the Body doth serve for two Occupations; even so neither the Gentleman ought to be a Farmer, nor the Merchant an Artificer, but to have his Art particularly. Furthermore, no Member in a well-fashioned and whole Body, is too big for the proportion of the Body: So must there be in a well-ordered Common-Wealth, no Person that shall have more than the proportion of the Country will bear; so it is hurtful immoderately to enrich any one Part. I think this Country can bear no Merchant to have more Land than 100 *l.* no Husbandman nor Farmer worth above 100 or 200 *l.* no Artifice above 100 Merks; no Labourer much more than he spendeth. I speak now generally, and in such Cases may fail in one Particular; but this is sure, This Common-Wealth may not bear one Man to have more than two Farms, than one Benefice, than 2000 Sheep, and one kind of Art to live by. Wherefore as in the Body no part hath too much, nor too little, so in a Common-Wealth ought every part to have *ad victum & non ad saturitatem.* And there is no Part admitted in the Body that doth not work and take pains, so ought there no part of the Common-Wealth to be but laboursome in his Vocation. The Gentleman ought to labour in Service in his Country; the Servingman ought to wait diligently on his Master; the Artificer ought to labour in his Work; the Husbandman in Tilling the Ground; the Merchant in passing the Tempests; but the Vagabonds ought clearly to be banished, as is the superfluous Humour of the Body, that is to say, the Spittle and Filth, which because it is for no use, it is put out by the strength of Nature. This is the true ordering of the state of a well-fashioned Common-Wealth; That every Part do obey one Head, one Governor, one Law, as all Parts of the Body obey the Head, agree among themselves, and one not to eat another up through greediness, but that we see that Order, Moderation, and Reason, bridle the Affections. But this is most of all to be

had

had in a Common-Wealth well-ordered, That the Laws and Ordinances be well executed, duly obeyed, and miniſtred without corruption. Now having ſeen how things ought to be, let us firſt ſee how now they be ordered, and in what ſtate they ſtand now, and then go forward to ſeek a Remedy.

The firſt Point in ordering the Common-Wealth we touched, was, That the Gentlemen, Noblemen, and Servingmen, ſhould ſtand ſtoutly to the defence of their Superior and Governor, and ſhould be painful in ordering their Country; which thing, although in ſome part, and the moſt part, be well (thanks be to God) yet in ſome parts is not abſolutely, which I ſhall ſhew hereafter particularly.

But the ſecond Point, for maintenance of the State of Landed Men, is ill-looked to; for that State of Gentlemen and Noblemen, which is truly to be termed the State of Nobles, hath alonely not exerciſed the Gain of living: for Merchants, have enhaunced their Ware; Farmers have enhaunced their Corn and Cattel; Labourers their Wages; Artificers the price of their Wormanſhip; and Mariners and Boatſmen their Hire for Service, whereby they recompence the loſs of things they buy; but the moſt part of true Gentlemen (I mean not theſe Farming Gentlemen, nor Clarking Knights) have little or nothing increaſed their Rents; yet their Houſe-keeping is dearer, their Meat is dearer, their Liveries dearer, their Wages greater; which thing at length, if ſpeedy Remedy be not had, will bring that State into utter Ruin, *Quod abſit.*

The Artificers work falſly; the Clothiers uſe deceit in Cloth; the Maſons in Building; the Clockmakers in their Clocks; the Joiner in his working of Timber, and ſo forth all other almoſt, to the intent they would have Men oftner come to them for amending their Things, and ſo have more Gain, although at the beginning they take out of meaſure. The Merchants adventure not to bring in ſtrange Commodities, but loiter at home, ſend forth ſmall Hoyes with two or three Mariners, occupy exchange of Mony, buy and ſell Victual, ſteal out Bullion, Corn, Victual, Wood, and ſuch-like things, out of the Realm, and ſell their Ware unreaſonably. The Huſbandmen and Farmers take their Ground at a ſmall Rent, and dwell not on it, but let it to poor Men for triple the Rent they take it for, and ſell their Fleſh, Corn, Milk, Butter, *&c.* at unreaſonable prices. The Gentleman, conſtrained, by Neceſſity and Poverty, becometh a Farmer, a Graſier, or a Sheep-maſter. The Graſier, the Farmer, the Merchants become Landed-men, and call themſelves Gentlemen, though they be Churls; yea, the Farmer will have ten Farms, ſome twenty, and will be a Pedlar-Merchant. The Artificer will leave the Town, and for his more Paſtimes, will live in the Country; yea, and more than that, will be a Juſtice of Peace, and will think ſcorn to have it denied him; ſo Lordly be they now-a-days: for now they are not content with 2000 Sheep, but they muſt have 20000, or elſe they think themſelves not well; they muſt have twenty mile ſquare their own Land, or full of their Farms, and four or five Crafts to live by is too little, ſuch Hell-hounds be they. For Idle Perſons, there were never I think more than be now; the Wars, Men think is the cauſe thereof, ſuch Perſons can do nothing but Rob and Steal; but ſlack execution of the Laws hath

hath been the chiefest sore of all; the Laws have been manifestly broken, the Offenders banished, and either by Bribery, or foolish Pity, escaped punishment. The Dissention, and Disagreement, both for private Matters, and also in Matters of Religion, hath been no little cause, but the principal hath been the disobedient and contentious talking and doing of the foolish and fond People, which for lack of teaching, have wandered, and broken wilfully and disobediently the Laws of this Realm. The Lawyers also, and Judges, have much offended in Corruption and Bribery.

Furthermore, they do now-a-days much use to forestall, not only private Markets of Corn and Victual, whereby they enhaunce the price thereof, but also send to the Sea too, aboard Ships, and take the Wine, Sugar, Dates, or any other Ware, and bring it to *London*, where they sell at double the price. What shall I say of those that buy and sell Offices of Trust, that impropriate Benefices, that destroy Timber; that not considering the sustaining of Men of their Corn, turn Till Ground to Pasture; that use excess in Apparel, in Diet, and in building of Inclosures of Wastes and Commons; of those that cast false and seditious Bills; but that the thing is so tedious, long, and lamentable to entreat of the Particulars, that I am weary to go any further in the Particulars; wherefore I will cease, having told the worst, because the best will save it self.

Now I will begin to entreat of a Remedy. The Ill in this Common-Wealth, as I have before said, standeth in deceitful working of Artificers, using of Exchange and Usury, making vent with Hoyes only into *Flanders*; conveying of Bullion, Lead, Bell-mettle, Copper, Wood, Iron, Fish, Corn, and Cattel, beyond Sea; inhauncing of Rents; using no Arts to live by; keeping of many Sheep, and many Farms; idleness of People; disobedience of the lower sort; buying and selling of Offices, Impropriations, Benefices; turning Till Ground to Pasture; exceeding in Apparel, Diet, and Building; enclosing of Commons; casting of ill and seditious Bills.

These Sores must be cured with these Medicines or Plaisters. 1. Good Education. 2. Devising of good Laws. 3. Executing the Laws justly, without respect of Persons. 4. Example of Rulers. 5. Punishing of Vagabonds and idle Persons. 6. Encouraging the Good. 7. Ordering well the Customers. 8. Engendring Friendship in all parts of the Common-Wealth. These be the chief Points that tend to order well the whole Common-Wealth.

And for the first, as it is in order first, so it seemeth to be in dignity and degree; for *Horace* saith very wisely,

Quo est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu——

With whatsoever thing the New Vessel is imbued, it will long keep the savour, saith *Horace*; meaning, That for the most part Men be as they be brought up, and Men keep longest the savour of their first bringing up. Wherefore seeing that it seemeth so necessary a thing, We will shew our device herein. Youth must be brought up, some in Husbandry, some in Working, Graving, Gilding, Joining, Printing, making

making of Clothes, even from their tenderest Age, to the intent they may not, when they come to Man's Estate, loiter as they do now a-days, and neglect, but think their Travail sweet and honest. And for this purpose would I wish that Artificers and others were either commanded to bring up their Sons in like Trade, or else had some Places appointed them in every good Town, where they should be Apprentices, and bound to certain kind of Conditions. Also that those Vagabonds that take Children and teach them to beg, should, according to their demerits, be worthily punished. This shall well ease and remedy the deceitful working of Things, disobedience of the lower Sort, casting of Seditious Bills, and will clearly take away the Idleness of People.

2. Devising of good Laws, I have shewed my Opinion heretofore, what Statutes I think most necessary to be enacted this Sessions; nevertheless I would wish, that beside them hereafter, when time shall serve, the superfluous and tedious Statutes were brought into one Sum together, and made more plain and short, to the intent that Men might the better understand them; which thing shall much help to advance the profit of the Common-Wealth.

3. Nevertheless when all these Laws be made, established, and enacted, they serve to no purpose, except they be fully and duly executed. By whom? By those that have authority to execute; that is to say, the Noblemen, and the Justices of Peace. Wherefore I would wish, that after this Parliament were ended, those Noblemen, except a few that should be with Me, went to their Countries, and there should see the Statutes fully and duly executed; and that those Men should be put from being Justices of Peace, that be touched or blotted with those Vices that be against these new Laws to be established; for no Man that is in fault himself, can punish another for the same offence.

Turpe est Doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

And these Justices being put out, there is no doubt for execution of the Laws.

Desunt cætera.

Number 3.

A Reformation of the Order of the Garter; Translated out of English into Latin by King Edward.

EDwardus sextus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, &c. Omnibus qui præsentes viderint Literas Salutem. Serenissimi Majores nostri Reges Angliæ deliberantes & secumipsis cogitantes, de eo officio quo uti debeant erga Deum, Patriam, & eos qui suæ ditioni erant subjecti, satis facile invenerunt nihil tam ad suum officium pertinere quam ut bonos, fortes, magnanimos, prudentes & claros viros (pro singularibus eorum meritis) honore gloriaq; afficerent, & amicitiam, societatem, consensionem quandam in bonis rebus inter omnes, præcipue vero inter *Cotton Libr. Nero C.10.*

inter pares foverent. Honorem enim (ut certe est) præmium virtutis judicabant; concordiam vero fundamentum & auctricem rerumpublicarum existimabant. Hæc igitur illis perpendentibus, optimum visum est constituere societatem cœtum aut conventum aliquem eorum, qui in domesticis pacis negotiis optime se gesserant, & in militaribus pugnis fortiter & prudenter se exercuerant. Hosq; voluerunt in signum concordiæ & unitatis Tibias fascia quadam circumligare, quasi eo facto divulgantes sese non dubitare Patriæ Religionis & Domini causa vitam & bona profundere, eamq; ob causam Ordinem Garterii nominaverunt. Quem quidem Ordinem omnium voce celebratum, serpens ille humano generi infestus Satanas conspiciens, tantopere ad virtutem homines incitare, conatus est pœnitus delere. In quo tantum elaboravit, tam diligenter prædam quæsivit, tam ingeniose & callide homines decepit, ut tandem repliverit decreta hujus Societatis multis ambiguis, superstitiosis, Papisticis & inter se contrariis sententiis. Putandum enim erit, quod si Evangelii lux non apparuisset, de isto Ordine penitus actum fuisset, saltem de his rebus in Ordine in quo bonorum nomen meruissent. Indies enim crevit malum; Nos autem summopere commoti, antiquitate, magnificentia & pulchritudine hujus Ordinis omnibus viribus elaboravimus, ad eum reducendum ad statum pristinum. Quapropter in cætu quodam celebrato die Anno Dom. 1551 Regni vero nostri.

Ubi permulti Milites ejusdem Ordinis aderant, constitutum erat a nobis, Autoritate eorundem Militum, quod hi articuli infrascripti firmissime observabuntur, ut hujus Ordinis Decreta.

1. Primum Conclusum Statutumq; existit, quod hic ordo posthac appellabitur Ordo Garterii; non Ordo Sancti Georgii: nec idem Georgius amplius posthac appellabitur; nec nominabitur Patronus Ordinis, ne ille honor qui soli Deo debeatur, cuidam creaturæ attribuatur.

2. Item Milites circumligabunt Tibias Garteriis (ut vulgo dicunt) quibus inscribunt hæc verba. **Honi soit qui mal y pense**; in collis autem cathenarum more gerent equitem sculptum, altera manu tenentis gladium penetrantem librum, in quem gladium scribetur *Protectio*, in Librum vero *Verbum Dei*, cltera autem Clipeum in quem inscribetur *Fides*, hac re significantes se concordes protectores Verbi Divini & Fideles existere. Cum enim ab Georgio eodem auferetur honor ille, quod Patronus amplius Ordinis non erit, Milites non amplius gestabunt eundem divum, post Festum Michaelis proxime sequentis.

3. Arma tamen Ordinis maneant in eodem Statu quo antea manere sunt solita, viz. Crux rubea in Campo Argenteo.

4. Numerus Militum erunt 24 præter præfectum, si enim plures existant tum minori in honore habebitur Collegam esse Ordinis, hi autem Milites jam existunt.

5. Quod Rex Angliæ, Hæredes & Successores ejus, erunt hujus Ordinis Præfecti quemadmodum & solitum est antehac. Et quia sæpe oriuntur ambiguitates contentiones & mutationes temporum; propter quas aut tolli, aut definiri, aut adjungi debent aliqua decreta hujus Ordinis, sæpe etiam in mortuorum Militum locum alii substituantur necesse est: Idcirco conclusum est, quod licet eidem Regi Angliæ, aliqua tali re mota, Advocatis sex ex Sociis Ordinis, cum eorum consensu, celebrato in loco aliquo, mutare, definire, addere; aut detrahere ab hoc Ordine; ut illis bonum

bonum videbitur, & etiam eligere, in numerum Militum, alios omnes, qui ſunt generoſi, inſignia geſtantes, a parte Patrum & Matrum per tres progenies ſive generationes quoſcunque arbitrabuntur maxime idoneos.

6. Omnes hi qui rei ſunt inventi Capitalium Criminum, aut ignave a prælio aufugerunt, aut Notabili Crimine ſunt contaminati, quanquam mors illis non infligatur, tamen Milites Ordinis eſſe deſinent. Æquum enim qui eſſe poteſt, enim qui inſigni & fœdo aliquo vitio ſit contaminatus, in bonorum Societate aut cætu manere. Capitalia vero ſint Crimina, pro quibus leges judicant debere mortis pænam ſubire.

7. Si autem idem Ordinis præfectus intelligat locum aliquem vacuum exiſtere, tum mittet ad Milites vicinos & propinquos ut certo quodam die adſint, haſq; literas mittet triduum ante diem celebrandi cætus; niſi forte adſint plus quam ſex Milites.

8. Qui Milites Congregati in cætu quodam veſtibus Ordinis induti, ſi locus aliquis ſit vacuus, ſcribent unuſquiſq; nomina trium Principium: viz. Imperatorum, Regum, Archiducum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum, aut Vicecomitum, nomina tria Baronum, ſive Dominorum, & nomina trium Militum Aureatorum quos Baccalaureos Milites vulgo dicunt.

9. Cum nomina ſunt ſcripta, tum Rex Angliæ Ordinis præfectus ex eorum numero eliget quem maxime idoneum arbitrabitur ex antiqua illuſtriq; familia natum, aut qui ſuis geſtis præclaris nomen famam & honorem ſummum acquiſiverit, nam in electione Militum divitias reſpicere nullo modo oportet, ſed virtutem & generis Nobilitatem, primo autem in loco virtutem.

10. Miles electus, cum proxime adſit; adducetur in Domum ubi cætus celebratur per duos Collegas Ordinis, Præfectus induet eum cathena ſive Collario Roſarum circumligatorum faſciis cum ſculpta equitis imagine, ut prædixi, appendente; duo vero Collegæ faſcia, ſive ut vulgo dicunt, Garterio tibiam circumligabunt: Tradetur etiam electo Militi liber horum decretorum.

11. Miles vero electus ibit Windeſoram, & Præfectus Ordinis mittet ad illum ſubſtitutum ſuum & duos coadjutores, qui collocabunt eum, ſi fieri poſſit, ſine aliorum Militum detrimento in ſede, ejus gradui Nobilitatis apta & accomoda, & ſecundum veterem modum veſtes recipiet (quas vulgo dicunt Anglice, *The Mantel, the Cirtel, and the Hood*) & his veſtibus indutus audiet preces divinas in ſede illi conſtituta, ſimul cum ſubſtituto & coadjutoribus Communionem recipiens.

12. Poſt preces abſolutas recipiet hoc jusjurandum; ſe pro viribus velle ſuſtinere & defendere omnes honores, titulos, querelas & Dominia Regis Angliæ Ordinis Præfecti; velle etiam (quantum in ſe eſt) protegere amare & colere Divini Verbi ſtudioſos; velle deponere humanas Traditiones & augere Gloriam & Honorem Dei.

13. Ille ordo qui inſtitutus fuit olim de inſignibus, gladiis, galæis & armis reponendis in cellis aut ſedibus, maneat in priori forma.

14. Adhæc cum Dedicatio Ordinis auferatur a divo Georgio, & ſi tempus anni non ſit idoneum ad multos homines cogendos, & ex patria accerſendos, præſertim vero ne ipſam dedicationem Verbis auferentes re videremur, retinere, idcirco ſtatutum eſt cætum cælebratum fore, ut olim in Anglia die Divi Georgii; ſic nunc primo Die Sabbati, &

 primo

primo Die Dominico in menſe Decembris, niſi forte primus dies menſis Decembris ſit dies Dominicus; tunc autem celebrabitur primo Die Sabbati, & ſecundo die Dominico.

15. Primo vero Die Sabbati Milites qui adſunt (omnes autem adeſſe debent niſi forte habeant licitam excuſationem) audient preces Veſpertinas inſtitutas Autoritate Parliamenti veſtibus Ordinis induti, ſedentes quiſque in ſede conſtituta. Miles autem electus non collocatus in ſede ſtabit directe verſus eum locum ubi collocabitur.

16. Die Dominico ſequenti in aurora audient ſupradicti Milites preces, & qui ſe paratos facere poſſint, Communionem recipient, veſperi etiam audient preces veſpertinas.

17. Milites autem abſentes tenebuntur eadem facere in ſuis ædibus toto hoc tempore veſtibus Ordinis induti.

18. Præterea Milites qui adſunt veſtibus Ordinis induti prandebunt omnes, ab uno latere ſedentes in eodem gradu quo collocantur Windeſoræ, in cellis in cætum etiam intrabunt hoc die, ut ſi, quid faciendum ſit, perficiant.

19. Cantatores & Præbendarii fruentur ſuis poſſeſſionibus durante Vita, poſt mortem autem eorum conferentur in Concionatores in caſtro Windeſoræ.

20. Pauperes autem qui in eodem Collegio manent, habebunt omnia ſua priſtino more, loci autem conferentur in Milites vulneratos aut admodum ſenes viros, ſolum privabuntur ſuperſtitioſis & vanis Cæremoniis quibus uti ſunt ſoliti ut Oratione pro defunctis, &c. Quemadmodum vero ſoliti ſunt miſſæ adeſſe ſic jam adſint in precibus conſtitutis.

21. Sunt autem certæ ſummæ Argenti quæ ſolent impendi cum moriantur Milites Ordinis.

	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
A Rege Angliæ	08	06	8	A Comite	02	10	0
A Rege peregrino	06	13	4	A Vice Countc	02	01	8
A Principe	05	16	8	A Barone	01	13	4
A Duce	05	00	0	A Milite Baccalaureo	00	16	8
A Marchione	03	13	0				

Adhæc cum Milites eligantur ſolvendæ ſunt hæ ſummæ Peccuniæ.

	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
A Rege Angliæ	30	00	0	A Comite	06	13	8
A Rege peregrino	20	00	0	A Vice Comite	05	16	8
A Principe	13	06	8	A Barone	05	00	0
A Duce	10	00	0	A Milite	03	06	8
A Marchione	08	06	8				

Hæ prædictæ ſummæ Argenti colligantur & quotannis pauperibus deſtribuantur ut interdum ſolitum eſt fieri.

22. Rex Angliæ exſolvat Pecuniam quam peregrini Principes debebunt propter articulum ſupradictum.

23. Sed quia difficile eſt omnia hæc ſine Miniſtris idoneis fieri, igitur conſtitutum eſt fore quatuor Ordinis hujus Miniſtros. Cancellarius,

Anno-

Annotator ſive Regiſter, Præceſſor qui nigram virgam geſtabit, & præcipuus Rex armorum qui ab Ordine nomen obtinebit Garter.

24. Sigillum Ordinis habebit ex uno latere Arma Angliæ & Franciæ ſimul cum Armis Ordinis circumligata hac circumſcriptione, *Verbum Domini manet in æternum*, ex altera parte equitem ſculptum, ut Milites geſtabunt circumligatum faſcia ſive Garterio.

25. Hoc ſigillo Cancellarius ſigillabit omnia decreta, licentias, conſtitutiones, literas & reliqua omnia quæ ad ordinem prædictum pertinent aut ullo modo debent pertinere.

26. Annotator in magno Libro Annotabit Latine quibus temporibus quiſque miles fuerit electus, quibus mortuus, quænam ſancita erant decreta, quænam diſſoluta, & ſi quæ erunt alia pertinentia ad Ordinem ſupradictum, hunc autem librum relinquet in Caſtro Windeſoræ ſuo ſucceſſori in eodem officio.

27. Rex Heraoldorum & inſignium Garter ſervabit nomina & cognomina arma & inſignia cujuſq; Militis electi, eundem librum relinquens ſuo ſucceſſori, & ſi quæ ſit ambiguitas de armis, ipſe dijudicabit.

28. Præceſſor Ordinis geſtans virgam nigram præibit ordinem & oſtium cuſtodiet, & eandem autoritatem habebit, qua antehac uſus eſt. Quod ſiquis Militum contumelioſe & graviter offenderit, & ejus criminis in cetu fuerit convictus, Præceſſor Ordinis cum Rege Heroaldorum eum exuent catena & Garterio.

29. Adhæc cum aliquis peregrinus Rex in Militum numerum ſubſtituatur & eligatur, Cæremoniis hujus Ordinis non detinebitur, ſed prout placuerit.

30. Poſt electionem vero præfectus Ordinis mittet duos Milites ejuſdem Ordinis, qui poſt preces in ejus patria vulgares induent eum veſtibus illis quæ ſolent geſtari, viz. Anglice, *The Mantel, the Cirtel, and the Hood.* In collum etiam imponent catenam roſarium cum equite ſculpto appendente & faſcia vulgo dicto Garterio.

31. Poſtea per procuratorem in ſede collocabitur, nullum omnino juramentum recipiens, nec preces unquam alias quam ſolitas audiens.

32. Quod Rex Angliæ poſſit diſpenſare & veniam dare omittendi ullas Cæremonias, ſi cauſa poſtulet.

33. Quod hi articuli ut monumenta decreta & Leges Ordinis reponentur in Collegio Windeſoræ, omnes autem his contrariæ penitus abrogabuntur.

FINIS.

A

A Paper concerning a Free Mart in *England.*

Number 4.

The Reasons and Causes why it is now most necessary to have a Mart in England.

1. BEcause our vent of Clothes might be open in all Wars.

2. Because our Merchants Goods might be out of danger of Strangers, without fear of arresting for every light Cause.

3. Because it would much enrich the Realm; for as a Market enricheth a Town, so doth a Mart enrich a Realm.

4. Because for at a need, round Sums of Mony might be of them borrowed that haunt the Mart.

5. Because we should have a great multitude of Ships strangers to serve in the Wars.

6. Because all strangers Goods, when War is made, should be in our danger.

7. Because we should buy all things at the first hand of Strangers, whereas now the Spaniards sell to the Flemings their Wares, and the Flemings to us.

8. Because the Towns toward the Sea-side should be much more populous.

9. Because whereas now they bring Tapestry, Points, Glasses, and Laces, they would then bring in Bullion, and other substantial Merchandice, to the intent to have our Cloth and our Tin.

10. Because we should take from our Enemies their Power, and make that they should borrow no Mony of Merchants but when we list, at least no great Sum of Mony.

The Causes why this Time is most Commodious to erect a Mart in.

1. The Wars between the French King and the Emperor, and the Ships of either side, maketh the Italians, Genoa's, Portugals, and Spaniards, to forbear their Trade to *Antwerp.* 2. The Frenchmen, the Stadts, the Spruffes, and Ships of Eastland, being against the Emperor, will not come neither. 3. The French King invading *Lorrain,* and fearing *Flanders.* 4. And the Almains lying on the River of *Rhene,* stopeth the Course of Merchants out of *Italy* to *Antwerp,* and also *Frankfort.* 5. The putting of Men of War in the Town, maketh the Merchants to forbear their Traffique, and to look to their Lives. 6. The breach of the last Tempest is like, they say, to make the Channel uncertain, and the Haven naught. 7. The stop of the Exchange to *Lions,* will make many Flemings Bankrupts. These things will decay the Marts of *Antwerp* and *Frankfort.* But these Nations cannot live without a Vent, therefore they will now most willingly come hither if they had a Free Mart.

2. It

2. It were an eaſier matter to come to *Southampton* for the Spaniards, Britancs, Vaſcoins, Lombards, Geneoeſe, Normands, and Italians, than to go to *Antwerp.*

3. It were eaſier for the Merchants of the Eaſtland, the Spruſſes, the Danes, Swedens, and Norvegians, to come to *Hull* than to *Antwerp.*

4. *Southampton* is a better Port than *Antwerp.*

5. The Flemings have allured Men to make a Mart there with their Privileges, having but very little Commodities; much eaſier ſhall we do it, having Cloth, Tin, Seacoal, Lead, Bellmettal, and ſuch other Commodities, as few Realms Chriſtian have the like; nor they when they began had no ſuch opportunity.

How the Mart will be brought to paſs.

1. Our Merchants are to be ſtaied from a Mart or two, under pretence that they abſtain becauſe of the Impoſition.

2. Then Proclamation muſt be made in divers places of the Realm where Merchants reſort, That there ſhall be a free Mart kept at *Southampton*, with theſe Liberties and Cuſtoms.

1. The time of the Mart to begin after *Whitſontide*, and to hold on five weeks; by which means it ſhall not let St. *James*'s Fair at *Briſtol*, nor *Bartholomew* Fair at *London.*

2. All Men coming to the Mart ſhall have free going and free coming, without Arreſting, except in caſes of Treaſon, Murder, or Felony.

3. For the time of the Mart, all ſorts of Men ſhall pay but half the Cuſtom they do in other places of the Realm.

4. No Shipping ſhall be from any other place from *South-Wales* to *Eſſex* during that time.

5. In the Shires of *Hampſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Kent*, *Dorſetſhire*, That no Bargain ſhall be made of Wares during that time but in the Mart Town.

6. A Court to correct Offenders, with Liberties thereto.

7. Some one Commodity muſt be aſſigned to the Mart, or ſome one kind of Cloth.

8. The Merchants of the Staple muſt be bargained withal, and contented with ſome honeſt Offer, to the intent by their Liberties they may not let the Mart.

9. Some more Liberties muſt be given to the Inhabitants of *Southampton*; and if Mony may be ſpared, ſome muſt be lent them to begin their Trade withal.

10. Our Ships on the Sea muſt look as well as they may, obſerving the Treaties, to the ſafeguard of the Merchants when they come.

11. If this prove well, then may another be made at *Hull*, to begin after *Stowrbridg*-Fair, to the intent they may return before the great Ices come to their Seas.

The

The Discommodities and Letts to the Mart to be kept in England.

1. Because Strangers lack access hither by Land, which they have at *Antwerp*.

2. The ill-working of our Cloths, which maketh them less esteemed.

3. The abundance of our Cloths in *Flanders* will make them less sought for here.

4. The Merchants have established their dwelling-places at *Antwerp*.

5. That other Nations will stay their coming hither for a while by the Emperor's Commandment.

6. The denial of the Request of the Merchants of the Stiliard, will somewhat let the Mart, if it be not looked to.

7. The poverty and littleness of the Town of *Southampton*.

8. The goodliness of the *Rhine*.

The Remedies and Answers thereunto.

To the first Point.

1. At this time when the Mart should begin at *Southampton*, the French King and the Almains shall stop the entercourse by Land, so that nothing shall come that way but in great danger.

2. When War shall be made against us, then our Navy may defend them.

3. As the Town of *Southampton* lacketh the Commodity of the Access of Merchandise by Land, so it hath this Commodity, that there can be no access of Enemies by Land, which may be at *Antwerp*, and Men think will be this Year, which is a great safety to the Merchants.

4. The Traffique that cometh by Land will not much diminish the Mart, for it is only almost the Venetians Traffique, who shall much easilier come hither by Sea, than to *Antwerp*, and with less danger of the Seas.

To the second Point.

1. The ill-making of our Clothes will be meet to be looked on this Parliament, and order thereupon to be given. The Matter is come to some ripeness already, the Upper House hath one Bill, and the Nether House hath another in good forwardness.

2. As ill as they be made, the Flemings do at this time desire them wonderfully, offering rather to pay the Imposition of the Emperor than to lack them.

To the third Point.

1. It were very necessary that the Ships that shall be hereafter going were staied till the Mart were come to some ripeness.

2. The Clothes hereafter might be bought up with our Mony here, and

and conveied to *Southampton*, to be there uttered at the Mart time, and so it should help the Mart very well.

To the fourth Point.

1. The danger of their Lives, which they now fear very much, will make them seek another Harbor to rest in more safely.

2. They came from *Bruges* to *Antwerp* only for the English Commodities, although they were setled at *Bruges*.

3. They have a great Commodity to come to *Southampton*, and a great fear of spoiling to drive them from *Antwerp*.

4. The Merchants never assign to themselves such a Mansion, but for more gain they will leave that, and take another.

To the fifth Point.

1. The Emperor is at this time so driven to his Shifts, that neither he shall be able to attend the stay of Mony from coming to the Mart, neither if he were able to attend, could, I think, do it, now the Flemings being put in such fear as they be of the loss of all they have.

2. The Flemings and the Spaniards which be under him, can hardlier be without us than we without them, and therefore they would hardly be brought to forbear our Traffique.

To the sixth Point.

1. It were good the Stiliard-men were for this time gently answered, and that it were seen, whether by any gentle offer of some part of their Liberties, again they might be brought to ship their Wares to the Mart. The Frenchmen also I think would easily be brought to come hither, having now none other Traffique but hither, these two Nations would suffice to begin a Mart for the first part.

To the seventh Point.

1. It is not the ability of the English Merchants only that maketh the Mart, but it is the resort of other Nations to some one place when they do exchange their Commodities one with another, for the bargaining will be as well amongst the Strangers themselves; the Spaniards with the Almains, the Italians with Flemings, the Venetians with the Danes, &c. as other Nations will bargain with Us.

2. The Merchants of *London*, of *Bristol*, and other places, will come thither for the Mart time, and traffique.

3. The Merchants will make shift enough for their Lodging.

4. There may be some of these Clothes that shall go hereafter, be bought with my Mony, and so carried to *Southampton* to be there uttered.

To the eighth Point.

1. *Bruges*, where the Mart was before, stood not on the River of *Rhine*, nor *Antwerp* doth not neither stand on that River.

2. *Frankfort* Mart may well ſtand for a Fair in *Almain*, although *Southampton* ſerve for all Nations that lie on the Sea-ſide; for few of thoſe come to *Frankfort* Mart.

Number 5.

Windſor, Sept. 23. Sexto Edwardo Sexti. 1552.

The Method in which the Council repreſented Matters of State to the King. An Original. Written by Sir William Cecil *Secretary of State.*

Queſtions.

1. *Whether the King's Majeſty ſhall enter into the Aid of the Emperor?*

Anſw. *He ſhall.*

A Pacto. 1. THe King is bound by the Treaty; and if he will be helped by that Treaty, he muſt do the Reciproque.

A periculo vitando. 2. If he do not Aid, the Emperor is like to Ruin, and conſequently the Houſe of *Burgundy* come to the French Poſſeſſion, which is perilous to *England*; and herein the greatneſs of the French King is dreadful.

Religio Chriſtiana. 3. The French King bringeth the Turk into Chriſtendom, and therefore that exploit to be ſtaied.

Periculum violati pacti. 4. If the Emperor, for Extremity, ſhould agree now with the French, then our Peril were double greater. 1. The Emperor's Offence for lack of Aid. 2. The French King's Enterpriſes towards us; and in this Peace, the Biſhop of *Rome*'s devotion towards us.

Pro Repub. & Patria. 5. Merchants be ſo evil uſed, that both for the loſs of Goods and Honour, ſome Remedy muſt be ſought.

Pericula conſequentia. 6. The French King's Proceedings be ſuſpicious to the Realm, by breaking and burning of our Ships, which be the old ſtrength of this Iſle.

Declaration of *Stuckley*'s Tale.

Anſwer, *He ſhall not.*

Difficile quaſi impoſſibile. 1. The Aid is to be chargeable for the Coſt, and almoſt to be executed is impoſſible.

Solitudo in periculis. 2. If the Emperor ſhould die in this Confederacy, we ſhould be left alone in the War.

Amicorum ſuſpitio vitanda. 3. It may be the German Proteſtants might be more offended with this Conjunction with the Emperor, doubting their own Cauſes.

Sperandum bene ab amicis. 4. The Amity with *France* is to be hoped will amend and continue; and the Commiſſioners coming may perchance reſtore.

Corro-

Corrolarium *of a mean way.*

Judicium.

1. So to help the Emperor as we may alſo join with other Chriſtian Princes, and conſpire againſt the French King, as a common Enemy to Chriſtendom.

Reaſons for the Common Conjunction.

1. The cauſe is common, and therefore there will be more Parties to it. Auxilia communia.

2. It ſhall avoid the chargeable entry into Aid with the Emperor, according to the Treaties. Sumptus vitandi.

3. If the Emperor ſhould die or break off, yet it is moſt likely ſome of the other Princes and Parties will remain, ſo as the King's Majeſty ſhall not be alone. Amicorum copia.

4. The Friendſhip ſhall much advance the King's other Cauſes in Chriſtendom. Dignitas cauſæ.

5. It ſhall be moſt honourable to break with the French King for this common Quarrel of Chriſtendom. Pro fide & Religione.

Reaſons againſt this Conjunction.

1. The Treaty muſt be with ſo many Parties, that it can neither be ſpeedily or ſecretly concluded. Inter multos nihil ſecretum.

2. If the Matter be revealed, and nothing concluded, then conſider the French King's Offence, and ſo may he at his leaſure be provoked to practiſe the like Conjunction againſt *England* with all the Papiſts. Amicitiæ initatæ.

Concluſion.

1. The Treaty to be made with the Emperor, and by the Emperor's means with other Princes. *The King's Hand.*

2. The Emperor's Acceptation to be underſtanded, before we treat any thing againſt the French King.

Number 6.

A Method for the Proceedings in the Council, written with King Edward's *Hand.*

The Names of the whole Council.

The Bishop of *Canterbury.*	Sir *Robert Bowes.*
The Bp of *Ely* Lord Chancellor.	Sir *John Gage.*
The Lord Treasurer.	Sir *John Mason.*
The Duke of *Northumberland.*	Mr. *Ralph Sadler.*
The Lord Privy-Seal.	Sir *John Baker.*
The Duke of *Suffolk.*	Judg *Broomley.*
The Marquess of *Northampton.*	Judg *Montague.*
The Earl of *Shrewsbury.*	Mr. *Wotton.*
The Earl of *Westmoreland.*	Mr. *North.*
The Earl of *Huntington.*	
The Earl of *Pembrook.*	Those that be now called in Commission.
The Viscount *Hereford.*	
The Lord Admiral.	
The Lord Chamberlain.	The Bishop of *London.*
The Lord *Cobham.*	The Bishop of *Norwich.*
The Lord *Rich.*	Sir *Thomas Wroth.*
Mr. Comptroller.	Sir *Richard Cotton.*
Mr. Treasurer.	Sir *Walter Mildmay.*
Mr. Vicechamberlain.	Mr. Sollicitor.
Mr. Secretary *Petre.*	Mr. *Gosnold.*
Mr. Secretary *Cecil.*	Mr. *Cook.*
Sir *Philip Hobbey.*	Mr. *Lucas.*

The Counsellors above-named to be thus divided into several Commissions and Charges.

First, For hearing of those Suits which were wont to be brought to the whole Board.

The Lord Privy-Seal.	Sir *John Mason.*
The Lord Chamberlain.	Sir *Ralph Sadler.*
The Bishop of *London.*	Mr. *Wotton.*
The Lord *Cobham.*	Mr. *Cook,* } Masters of Requests.
Mr. *Hobbey.*	Mr. *Lucas,* } Masters of Requests.

Those Persons to hear the Suits, to answer the Parties, to make Certificate what Suits they think meet to be granted; and upon answer received of their Certificate received, to dispatch the Parties. Also to give full answer of denial to those Suits that be not reasonable nor convenient: Also to dispatch all Matters of Justice, and to send to the common Courts those Suits that be for them.

The

The Calling of Forfeits done against the Laws, for punishing the Offenders and breakers of Proclamations that now stand in force.

The Lord Privy-Seal.	Mr. *Hobbey.*
The Earl of *Pembrook.*	Mr. *Wotton.*
The Lord Chamberlain.	Sir *John Baker.*
Sir *Thomas Wroth.*	Mr. Sollicitor.
Sir *Robert Bowes.*	Mr. *Gosnald.*
Mr. Secretary *Petre.*	

These shall first see what Laws Penal, and what Proclamations, standing now in force, are most meet to be executed, and shall bring a Certificate thereof. Then they shall enquire in the Countries how they are disobeyed, and first, shall begin with the greatest Offenders, and so afterward punish the rest, according to the pains set forth. They shall receive also the Letters out of the Shires, of Disorders there done, and punish the Offenders.

For the State.

The Bishop of *Canterbury.*	The Lord Admiral.
The Lord Chancellor.	The Viscount *Hereford.*
The Lord Treasurer.	The Lord Chamberlain.
The Duke of *Northumberland.*	Mr. Vicechamberlain.
The Duke of *Suffolk.*	Mr. Treasurer and Comptroller.
The Lord Privy-Seal.	Mr. *Cecil.*
The Marquess of *Northampton.*	Mr. *Petre.*
The Earl of *Shrewsbury.*	Mr. *Wotton.*
The Earl of *Pembrook.*	Sir *Philip Hobbey.*
The Earl of *Westmoreland.*	Sir *Robert Bowes.*

These to attend the Matters of the State, I will sit with them once a week to hear the debating of things of most importance.

These Persons under-written shall look to the state of all the Courts, especially of the new erected Courts, as the *Augmentation*, the *First Fruits* and *Tythes*, the *Wards*; and shall see the Revenues answered at the half Years end, and shall consider with what superfluous Charges they be burdened, and thereof shall make a Certificate which they shall deliver.

The Lord Chamberlain.	Sir *Richard Cotton.*
The Bishop of *Norwich.*	Sir *Walter Mildmay.*
Sir *Thomas Wroth.*	Mr. *Gosnald.*
Sir *Robert Bowes.*	

I understand it is a Member of the Commission that followeth, but yet those shall do well to do it for the present, because the other shall have no leasure till they have called in the Debts; after which done, they may sit with them.

Those

Thoſe that now be in Commiſſion for the Debts, to take Accompts of all Paiments ſince the 35*th* of the King that dead is, after that they have done this Commiſſion they are now in hand with.

Likewiſe for the Bullwarks, the Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Treaſurer, and Mr. Comptroller, to be in Commiſſion in their ſeveral Juriſdictions.

The reſt of the Council, ſome go home to their Countries ſtreight after the Parliament, ſome be ſore ſick that they ſhall not be able to attend any thing, which when they come, they ſhall be admitted of the Council. Alſo that theſe Councils that ſit apart. Alſo that thoſe of the Council that have theſe ſeveral Commiſſions.

Deſunt quedam.

15. *Jan.* 1552.

This ſeems not to be the King's Hand, but is interlined in many places by him.

Certain Articles deviſed and delivered by the King's Majeſty, for the quicker, better, and more orderly diſpatch of Cauſes, by his Majeſty's Privy-Council.

Cotton Libr. *Nero.* C.10.

1. HIs Majeſty willeth, that all Suits, Petitions, and common Warrants delivered to his Privy-Council, be conſidered by them on the *Mundays* in the Morning, and anſwered alſo on the *Saturdays* at Afternoon; and that that day, and none others, be aſſigned to that purpoſe.

2. That in anſwering of theſe Suits and Bills of Petition, heed be taken that ſo many of them as pertain to any Court of his Majeſty's Laws be as much as may be referred to thoſe Courts where by order they are triable; ſuch as cannot be ended without them, be with expedition determined.

3. That in making of thoſe Warrants for Mony that paſs by them, it be foreſeen that thoſe Warrants be not ſuch as may already be diſpatcht by Warrant *dormant*, leſt by means of ſuch Warrants, the Accompts ſhould be uncertain.

* Provided that on *Sundays* they be preſent at Common-Prayer.

4. His Majeſty's pleaſure is, That on the * *Sundays*, they intend the Publick Affairs of this Realm; they diſpatch Anſwers to Letters for the good order of the Realm, and make full Diſpatches of all Things concluded the Week before.

5. That on the *Sunday* Night, the Secretaries, or one of them, ſhall deliver to his Majeſty a Memorial of ſuch Things as are debated to be by his Privy-Council, and then his Majeſty to appoint certain of them to be debated on ſeveral days, *viz. Munday* Afternoon, *Tueſday*, *Wedneſday*, *Thurſday*, *Friday*, Morning.

6. That

6. That on *Friday* at Afternoon, they ſhall make a Collection of ſuch things as have been done the four days paſt; how many of thoſe Articles they have concluded; how many they debated but not ended; how many the time ſuffered not to peruſe; and alſo the principal Reaſons that moved them to conclude on ſuch Matters as ſeemeth doubtful.

7. That on *Saturday* Morning they ſhall preſent this Collection to his Majeſty, and know his Pleaſure upon ſuch things as they have concluded, and alſo upon all the private Suits.

8. That on *Sunday* Night again, his Majeſty having received of the Secretaries ſuch new Matters as hath ariſen upon new occaſion, with ſuch Matters as his Council have left, ſome not determined, and ſome not debated, ſhall appoint what Matters, and on which days ſhall be determined, the next Week following.

9. That none of them depart his Court for longer than two days, without there be left here at the leaſt eight of the Council, and that not without giving notice thereof to the King's Majeſty.

10. That they ſhall make no manner of Aſſembly or Meeting in Council, without there be to the number of four at the leaſt.

11. Furthermore, if they be aſſembled to the number of four, and under the number of ſix, then they ſhall reaſon and debate things, examine all Inconveniences and Dangers, and alſo Commodities on each ſide; make thoſe things plain which ſeem diffuſe at the firſt opening; and if they agree amongſt themſelves, then at the next full Aſſembly of ſix, they ſhall make a perfect concluſion and end with them.

12. Alſo if there riſe ſuch matter of weight, as it ſhall pleaſe the King's Majeſty himſelf to be at the debating of, then warning ſhall be given, whereby the more may be at the debating of it.

13. If ſuch Matter ſhall happen to riſe as ſhall require long debating and reaſoning, or e're it come to a full concluſion or end, then his Majeſty's Council ſhall not intermeddle other Cauſes, nor fall to other Matters for that day, until they have brought it to ſome end.

14. When Matters for lack of time be only debated, and yet brought to no end, then it ſhall be noted how far, and to what point the Matter is brought, and which have been the principal Reaſons on each ſide, to the intent when the Matter is treated or ſpoken of again, it may the ſooner and eaſilier come to concluſion.

15. In Matters that be long, tedious, and buſie, there may be pointed or choſen two or three, more or leſs, as the caſe ſhall ſeem to require, to prepare, ſet forth, and make plain the Matters, and to bring report thereof, whereby the things being leſs cumbrous and diffuſe, may the eaſilier be diſpatcht.

Finally;

Finally; If upon Advertisements, Letters, or other occasion whatsoever there arise, Matters of great Importance, that require haste, his Majesty's meaning is not, but that such Matters be waved, considered, and determined, notwithstanding the Articles pointed to several days, so that nevertheless this Order be not generally or commonly broken.

17. That all Warrants for Reward above 40 *l.* and for his Business or Affairs above 100 *l.* pass not but under his Signature.

18. That no private Suit be intermedled with the great Affairs, but heard on the *Mundays* before.

19. If there be under four, and a Matter of Expedition arise, they shall declare it to the King's Majesty, and before him debate it, but not send answer without it require wonderful haste.

A

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

Number 1.

The Character of EDWARD *the Sixth, as it is given by* Cardanus, *lib.* 12. de Genituris, de Genitura *Edwardi* Sexti.

ADerant enim illi gratiæ; Linguas enim multas adhuc Puer callebat: Latinam, Anglicam patriam, Gallicam; non expers, ut audio, Græcæ, Italicæ & Hispanicæ, & forsan aliarum: Non illi Dialectica deerat, non Naturalis Philosophiæ principia, non Musica: Mortalitatis nostræ imago, gravitas Regiæ Majestatis, indoles tanto Principe digna; In universum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenii & tantæ expectationis, Puer educabatur. Non hæc Rhetorice exornata veritatem excedunt, sed sunt minora.

And afterwards.

Fuit in hoc monstrificus puellus: hic linguas jam septem, ut audio, perdidicerat; propriam, Gallicam & Latinam exacte tenebat. Dialecticæ non expers, & ad omnia docilis. Cum illo congressus, decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum, interrogavit, (Latine non minus quam ego polite & prompte loquebatur) quid contineant libri tui de rerum varietate rari? Hos enim nomini M. S. dedicaveram. Tum ego, Cometarum primum causam, diu frustra quæsitam, in primo capite ostendo. Quænam, inquit ille? Concursus ego aio, luminis, erraticorum syderum. At Rex, Quomodo cum diversis motibus astra moveantur, non statim dissipatur aut movetur illorum motu? At ego, Movetur equidem, sed longe celerius illis, ob diversitatem aspectus, velut in Cristallo & sole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At Rex, Et quonam pacto absq; subjecto illud fieri potest, irridi enim paries subjectum? Tum ego, velut in lactea via, & luminum reflectione, cum plures candelæ prope accensæ medium quoddam lucidum & candidum efficiunt. Itaq; ex ungue leonem, ut dici solet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum ex-

pectatione ob ingenuitatem atq; suavitatem morum. Prius ceperat favere artibus quam nosceret,& noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis quem non solum Anglia,sed orbis, ereptum immature deflere debet. Plurimum educationi debueramus, plus ereptum est hominum dolo, fraudeve. O quam bene dixerat ille,

Immodicis brevis est ætas & rara senectus.

Specimen vertutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum.

Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebitis orbe
Mortales, vester corruit omnis honor;
Nam regum decus, & juvenum flos, spesq; bonorum,
Delitiæ sæcli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis Lachrymis, doctæq; Minervæ
Flosculus, heu misere concidis ante diem!
Te tumulo dabimus Musæ, supremaq; flentes
Munera, Melpomene tristia fata cavet.

Ubi gravitas Regia requirebatur, senem vidisses, ut blandus erat & comis ætatem referebat. Cheli pulsabat, publicis negotiis admovebatur, liberalis animo, atq; in his patrem æmulabatur. Qui dum nimium bonus esse studuit, malus videri poterat: sed a filio aberat suspicio criminis, indoles Philosophiæ studiis exculta fuit.

Number 2.

The Commission which the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury *took out for his Arch-Bishoprick.*

Regist.Cran. fol. 28. EDwardus sextus, Dei Gratiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, Fidei Defensor, ac in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ supremum Caput, Reverendissimo in Christo Partri, ac prædicto Consiliario nostro, Thomæ Cant. Archiep. salutem. Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi Autoritas, atq; etiam jurisdictio omnimodo; tum illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur, quam secularis, a regia Potestate velut a supremo Capite, ac omnium Magistratuum infra Regnum nostrum, fonte & scaturigine primitus emanaverit; sane illos qui jurisdictionem hujusmodi antehac non nisi præcario fungebantur beneficium hujusmodi sic eis ex liberalitate Regia indultum gratis animis agnoscere, idque Regiæ munificentiæ solummodo acceptum referre, eique, quoties ejus Majestati videbitur, cedere convenit. Nos tuis in hac parte supplicationibus humilibus inclinati, & nostrorum subditorum commodis consulere cupientes. Tibi vices nostras sub modo & forma inferius descriptis committend. fore; teque licentiand. esse decernimus ad Ordinand. igitur quoscunque infra Diocess. tuam Cant. ubicunque Oriundos, quos, moribus & literatura prævio diligenti & rigoroso examine idoneos fore compereris, ac ad omnes etiam sacros & Presbyteratus Ordines promovend. ordinand. præsentatosque ad beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunque infra Dioc. tuam Cant. constituta, si ad curam Beneficiis hujusmodi iminentem sustinend. habiles reperti fuerint & idonei, ac non

non aliter admittend. ac in & de eisdem instituend. & investiend. ac etiam si res ita exigat, destituend. Beneficiaque Ecclesiastica quæcunque ad tuam collationem sive dispositionem spectantia & pertinentia Personis idoneis conferend. atque approband. testamenta & ultimas voluntates. Necnon administrationes committend. bonorum quorumcunq; subditorum nostrorum ab intestat decedend. quorum bona jura sive credita in diversis Dioc. sive jurisdictionibus, aut alibi juxta consuetudinem Curiæ Prærogativæ Cant. vitæ & mortis suarum tempore habentium calculumque & ratiocinium, & alia in ea parte expediend. testamentaque & administrationes, quorumcunque tuæ Dioc. ut prius approband. & committend. causasque lites & negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. Indecisas, necnon alias sive alia quascunque sive quæcunque ad forum Ecclesiasticum pertinend. ad te aut tuos deputatos sive deputandos per vestram querelæ, aut appellationis devolvend. sive deducend. quæ citra legum nostrarum & Statutorum Regni nostri offensionem coram te aut tuis deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam sive alicujus Comissariorum per te vigore hujus Commissionis jure deputandorum cognitione devolvi aut deduci valeant, & possunt examinand. & decidend. Cæteraq; omnia & singula in Præmissis, seu circa ea necessaria, seu quomodolibet opportuna, per & ultra ea quæ tibi ex sacris Literis divinitus Commissa esse dignoscuntur, vice, nomine & Autoritate nostris exequend. Tibi de cujus sana Doctrina, Conscientiæ puritate, vitæq; & morum integritate, ac in rebus gerundis fide & industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras cum potestate alium vel alios, Commissarium vel Commissarios, ad præmissa vel eorum aliqua surrogand. & substituend. eosdemque ad placitum revocand. tenore præsentium Committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus, teq; licentiamus per præsentes ac nostrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturatum cum cujuslibet congrue & Ecclesiast. coercionis potestate, quacunq; inhibitione ante dat. præsentium emanata in aliquo non obstante, tuam Conscientiam coram Deo strictissime onerantes, & ut summo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, & coram nobis tuo sub periculo corporali, respondere intendis te admonentes, ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie & sancte exercere studeas, & ne quem ullo tempore unquam ad sacros Ordines promoveas; vel ad curam animarum gerendam quovismodo admittas; nisi eos duntaxat quos & tanti & tam venerabilis officii functionem, vitæ & morum Integritas notissimis testimoniis approbata, literarum scientia & aliæ qualitates requisitæ ad hoc habiles & idoneos clare & luculenter ostenderint & declaraverint. Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumq; habemus morum omnium & maxime Christianæ Religionis corruptelam, a malis pastoribus in populum emanasse, sic & veram Christi Religionem vitæq; & morum emendationem a bonis pastoribus iterum delectis & assumptis in integrum restitutum iri haud dubie speramus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentes Literas nostras inde fieri, & sigilli nostri quo ad causas Ecclesiasticas utimur appensione jussimus communiri. Datum septimo die mensis Februarii, Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo sexto & Regni nostri Anno primo.

Number 3.

The Councils Letter to the Justices of Peace.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

AFter our right hearty Commendations, where the most Noble King, of famous memory, our late Soveraign Lord and Master King *Henry* the 8*th*, (whom God pardon) upon the great Trust which his Majesty had in your virtous Wisdoms and good Dispositions to the Common-Wealth of this Realm, did specially name and appoint you, among others, by his Commissions under his Great Seal of *England*, to be Conservatours and Justices of his Peace, within that his County of *Norfolk*. Forasmuch as the same Commissions were dissolved by his decease, it hath pleased the King's Majesty, our Soveraign Lord that now is,by the Advice and Consent of us, the Lord Protector and others Executors to our said late Soveraign Lord, whose Names be underwritten; to whom with others, the Government of his most Royal Person, and the Order of his Affairs, is by his last Will and Testament committed, till he shall be of full Age of eighteen Years, to cause new Commissions again to be made for the conservation of his Peace throughout this Realm, whereof you shall by this Bearer receive one for that County. And for that the good and diligent execution of the Charge committed to you and others by the same, shall be a notable Surety to the King, our Soveraign Lord's Person that now is, to whom God give increase of Vertue, Honour, and many Years, a most certain Stay to the Common-Wealth, which must needs prosper where Justice hath place and reigneth. We shall desire you, and in his Majesty's Name charge and command you, upon the receit hereof, with all diligence, to assemble your selves together; and calling unto you all such others as be named in the said Commission. You shall first cry and call to God to give you Grace to execute this Charge committed unto you with all truth and uprightness, according to your Oaths, which you shall endeavour your selves to do in all things appertaining to your Office accordingly: in such sort as all private Malice, Sloth, Negligence, Displeasure, Disdain, Corruption, and sinister Affections set apart, it may appear you have God, and the preservation of your Soveraign Lord, and natural Country before your Eyes; and that you forget not that by the same, your Selves, your Wives, and your Children, shall surely prosper and be also preserved. For the better doing whereof, you shall at this your first Assembly, make a division of your selves into Hundreds or Wapentakes; that is to say, Two at the least to have especial eye and regard to the good Rule and Order of that, or those Hundreds, to see the Peace duly kept, to see Vagabonds and Perturbers of the Peace punished, and that every Man apply himself to do as his Calling doth require; and in all things to keep good Order, without alteration, innovation, or contempt of any thing that by the Laws of our late Soveraign Lord is prescribed and set forth unto us, for the better direction and framing of our selves towards God and

honest

honeſt Policy. And if any Perſon, or Perſons, whom ye ſhall think you cannot Rule and Order, without trouble to this Country, ſhall preſume to do the contrary, upon your Information to us thereof, we ſhall ſo aid and aſſiſt you in the execution of Juſtice, and the puniſhment of all ſuch contemptuous Offenders, as the ſame ſhall be example to others. And further, his Majeſty's Pleaſure, by the Advice and Conſent aforeſaid is, That you ſhall take ſuch Orders amongſt you, as you fail not once every ſix weeks, till you ſhall be otherwiſe commanded, to write unto the ſaid Lord Protector, and others of the Privy-Council, in what ſtate that Shire ſtandeth; and whether any notable things have happened, or were like to happen, in thoſe Parts that you cannot redreſs, which would be ſpeedily met withal and looked unto; or whether you ſhall need any advice or counſel, to the intent we may put our hands to the ſtay and reformation of it in the beginning, as appertains: Praying you alſo to take order, That every Commiſſioner in the Shire may have a Double, or a Copy of this Letter, both for his own better Inſtruction, and to ſhew to the Gentlemen, and ſuch others as inhabit in the Hundreds, ſpecially appointed to them, that every Man may the better conform himſelf to do Truth, and help to the advancement of Juſtice according to their moſt bounden Duties, and as they will anſwer for the contrary. Thus fare you well. From the *Tower* of *London*, the 12*th* of *February*.

Your loving Friends,

E. *Hertford.*

T. Cantuarien. *Thomas Wriothelſey* Cancel. *W. St. John.*

J. Ruſſell.
Anthony Brown.
Anthony Denny.
Cuth. Dureſme.
William Paget.
W. Herbert.
Edward North.

Number 4.

The Order for the Coronation of King *Edward.*

Sunday, the 13*th* of *Febr.* at the *Tower*, &c.

THis day the Lord Protector, and others his Executors, whoſe Names be hereunto ſubſcribed, upon mature and deep deliberation had among them, did finally reſolve, That foraſmuch as divers of the old Obſervances and Ceremonies afore-times uſed at the Coronations of the Kings of this Realm, were by them thought meet, for ſundry reſpects, to be corrected; and namely, for the tedious length of the ſame, which ſhould weary and be hurtſome peradventure to the King's Majeſty, being yet of tender Age, fully to endure and bide out. And alſo for that many Points of the ſame were ſuch as by the Laws of the Realm at this preſent were not allowable. The King's Majeſty's Coronation Ex Libro Concilii.

nation should be done and celebrated upon *Shrove-Sunday* next ensuing, in the Cathedral Church of *Westminster*, after the Form and Order ensuing.

First; The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* shall shew the King to the People at four parts of the great Pulpit or Stage to be made for the King, and shall say on this wise; *Sirs, Here I present King* Edward *rightful and undoubted Inheritor, by the Laws of God and Man, to the Royal Dignity and Crown Imperial of this Realm, whose Consecration, Inunction, and Coronation, is appointed by all the Nobles and Peers of this Land to be this day. Will ye serve at this time, and give your good-wills and assents to the same Consecration, Inunction, and Corronation, as by your Duty of Allegiance ye be bound to do?*

The People to Answer, *Yea, Yea, Yea*; *King* Edward, *King* Edward, *King* Edward.

This done, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, being revested as he should go to Mass, with the Bishops of *London* and *Winchester* on both sides, with other Bishops, and the Dean of *Westminster* in the Bishop's absence, to go in order before the King; the King shall be brought from his Seat by them that assisted him to the Church to the high Altar, where after his Prayer made to God for his Grace, he shall offer a Pall and a pound of Gold, 24 pound in Coin, which shall be to him delivered by the Lord Great Chamberlain. Then shall the King fall groveling before the Altar, and over him the Arch-Bishop shall say this Collect, *Deus humilium*, &c. Then the King shall rise and go to his Chair, to be prepared before the Altar, his Face to the Altar, and standing, one shall hold him a Book; and the Arch-Bishop standing before the King, shall ask him, with a loud and distinct Voice, in Manner and Form following.

Will ye grant to keep to the People of England, *and others your Realms and Dominions, the Laws and Liberties of this Realm, and others your Realms and Dominions?*

I grant and promise.

You shall keep, to your strength and power, to the Church of God, and to all the People, holy Peace and Concord.

I shall keep.

You shall make to be done, after your Strength and Power, equal and rightful Justice in all your Dooms and Judgments, with Mercy and Truth.

I shall do.

Do you grant to make no Laws, but such as shall be to the Honour and Glory of God, and to the Good of the Common-Wealth; and that the same shall be made by the consent of your People, as hath been accustomed.

I grant and promise.

Then shall the King rise out of his Chair, and by them that before assisted him, be led to the High Altar, where he shall make a solemn Oath upon the Sacrament, laid upon the said Altar, in the sight of all the

the People, to obſerve the Premiſſes; and laying his Hand again on the Book, ſhall ſay;

The things which I have before promiſed, I ſhall obſerve and keep. So God help me, and thoſe Holy Evangeliſts by Me bodily touched upon this Holy Altar.

That done, the King ſhall fall again groveling before the High Altar, and the ſaid Arch-Biſhop kneeling before him, ſhall, with a loud Voice, begin *Veni Creator Spiritus*, &c.

Which done, the ſaid Arch-Biſhop ſtanding, ſhall ſay over the King, *Te invocamus*; and at the end ſhall kneel again, and then ſhall the King riſe and be ſet in the Chair again; and after a little pauſe he ſhall riſe, and aſſiſted with thoſe that did before that Office, go again to the High Altar, where he ſhall be uncloathed by his Great Chamberlain unto his Coat of Crimſon Satin; which, and alſo his Shirt, ſhall be opened before and behind on the Shoulders, and the bowght of the Arms, by the ſaid Great Chamberlain, to the intent that on thoſe Places he be anointed; and whiles he is in the anointing, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert*, muſt hold a Pall over him. And firſt, The ſaid Arch-Biſhop ſhall anoint the King, kneeling, in the Palms of his Hands, ſaying theſe words, *Ungas Manus*; with this Collect, *Reſpice Omnipotens Deus.* After he ſhall anoint him in the Breſt, in the midſt of his Back, on his two Boughts of his Arms, and on his Head making a Croſs; and after making another Croſs on his Head, with Holy Chriſm, ſaying as he anointeth the places aforeſaid, *Ungatur Caput, ungantur ſcapulæ*, &c. During which time of Unction, the Quire ſhall continually ſing, *Ungebant Regem*, and the Pſalm, *Domine in virtute tua lætabitur Rex.* And it is to be remembred, that the Biſhop or Dean of *Weſtminſter*, after the King's Inunction, ſhall dry all the Places of his Body, where he was anointed, with Cotton, or ſome Linnen Cloth, which is to be burnt. And furthermore the places opened for the ſame, is to be cloathed by the Lord Great Chamberlain; and on the King's Hands ſhall be put, by the ſaid Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, a pair of Linnen Gloves, which the Lord Great Chamberlain ſhall before ſee prepared.

This done, the King ſhall riſe, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſhall put on the King a Tabert of Tanteron-white, ſhaped in manner of a Dalmatick; and he ſhall put up on the King's Head a Quoif, the ſame to be brought by the Great Chamberlain. Then the King ſhall take the Sword he was girt withal, and offer it himſelf to God, laying it on the Altar, in token that his Strength and Power ſhould firſt come from God. And the ſame Sword he ſhall take again from the Altar, and deliver to ſome great Earl, to be redeemed of the Biſhop or Dean of *Weſtminſter* for 100 *s.* which Sword ſhall be born naked afterwards before the King.

Then the King being ſet in his Chair before the Altar, ſhall be crowned with St. *Edward's* Crown; and there ſhall be brought, by the Biſhop or Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Royal Sandals and Spurs to be preſently put on by the Lord Great Chamberlain; and the Spurs again immediately taken off, that they do not encumber him.

Then the Arch-Biſhop, with all the Peers and Nobles, ſhall convey the King, ſuſtained as before, again into the Pulpit, ſetting him in his

Siege

Siege Royal; and then ſhall the Arch-Biſhop begin, *Te Deum Laudamus*; which done, the Arch-Biſhop ſhall ſay unto the King, *Sta & retine a modo locum.* And the King being thus ſet, all the Peers of the Realm, and Biſhops, holding up their Hands, ſhall make unto him Homage as followeth; firſt, the Lord Protector alone, then the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Chancellor, ſo two and two as they be placed.

J. N. *become your Liege Man, of Life and Limb, and of earthly Worſhip, and Faith, and Truth, I ſhall bear unto you, againſt all manner of Folks, as I am bound by my Allegiance, and by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. So help us God and Allhallowes.* And then every one ſhall kiſs the King's left Cheek; which done, all they holding up their hands together, in token of their Fidelity, ſhall with one Voice on their knees ſay. *We offer to ſuſtain and defend you and your Crown, with our Lives, and Lands, and Goods, againſt all the World.* And then with one Voice to cry, *God ſave King* Edward; which the People ſhall cry accordingly. Then ſhall the King be led to his Travers to hear the High Maſs, and ſo depart home crowned in Order, as he ſet forth accordingly.

E. *Hertford.*

T. Cantuarien. Tho. Wriotheſley, Cancel. *W. St. John. J. Ruſſel. John Liſle. Cuth. Dureſme. Anthony Brown. W. Paget. Anthony Denny. W. Herbert.*

Number 5.

The Commiſſion for which the Lord Chancellor was deprived of his Office; with the Opinion of the Judges concerning it.

Ex Libro Concilii. *Fol.* 49.

EDwardus ſextus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, Fidei Defenſor; & in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ ſupremum Caput, dilectis & fidelibus Conſiliariis ſuis, Roberto Southwell Militi, cuſtodi ac Magiſtro Rotulorum Cancellariæ noſtræ, & Johanni Tregonwell Armigero uni Magiſtrorum Cancellariæ noſtræ prædictæ, & dilectis ſibi Johanni Olyver Clerico, & Antonio Bellaſis Clerico, Magiſtris ejuſdem Cancellariæ noſtræ ſalutem. Quia prædilectus & fidelis conſanguineus noſter Thomas Comes Southampton Cancellarius noſter Angliæ, noſtris arduis negotiis ex mandato noſtro continuo intendens, in eiſdem adeo verſatur, quod ad ea quæ in Curia Cancellariæ noſtræ, in cauſis & materiis inter diverſos ligeos & ſubditos noſtros ibidem pendentibus, tractand. audiend. diſcutiend. & terminand. Sicut ut fieri debeant, ad preſens non ſufficiat: volentes proinde in ejuſdem Cancellarii noſtri abſentia omnibus ligeis & ſubditis noſtris quibuſcunque, quaſcunque materias ſuas in Curia Cancellariæ noſtræ prædictæ proſequentibus, plenam & celerem juſtitiam exhiberi, ac de fidelitatibus, & providis circumſpectionibus veſtris plenius confidentes, aſſignavimus, vos tres, & duos veſtrum, ac tenore præſentium damus vobis tribus & duobus, plenam poteſtatem & autoritatem audiendi & examinandi

quaſ-

quaſcunq; materias, cauſas, & Petitiones coram nobis in Cancellaria noſtra, inter quoſcunq; ligeos & ſubditos noſtros nunc pendentes, & in poſterum ibidem exhibend. & pendend. & eaſdem materias, cauſas & Petitiones, juxta ſanas veſtras diſcretiones, finaliter terminand. & debitæ executioni demandand. parteſq; in materiis ſive cauſis vel Petitionibus illis nominatis & ſpecificatis ad teſtes & alios quoſcunque, quos vobis fore videbitur, evocandos, quoties expedire videbitis coram vobis tribus vel duobus veſtrum evocandos; & ipſos & eorum quemlibet debite examinari compellend. dieſq; productorios imponend. & aſſignand. proceſſuſq; quoſcunq; in ea parte neceſſarios concedend. & fieri faciend. contemptus etiam quoſcunq; ibidem commiſſos ſive perpetratos, debite caſtigand. & puniend. cæteraque omnia & ſingula faciend. & exequend. quæ circa præmiſſa neceſſaria fuerint; ſeu quomodolibet opportuna: Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa promiſſa diligenter attendatis, ac ea faciatis, & exequamini cum effectu. Mandamus etiam tenore præſentium omnibus & ſingulis Officiariis & Miniſtris noſtris curiæ noſtræ prædictæ, quod vobis tribus, & duobus voſtrum in executione præmiſſorum diligenter intendant, prout decet: Volumus enim & per præſentes concedimus, quod omnia & ſingula judicia ſive finalia decreta per vos tres vel duos veſtrũ ſuper hujuſmodi cauſis, ſive materiis reddend. ſeu fiend. ſicut & eſſe debeant, tanti & conſimilis valoris, effectus, efficaciæ, roboris, & virtutis, ac ſi per Dominum Cancellarium Angliæ & Curiæ Cancellariæ prædictæ, reddita ſeu reddenda forent, proviſo ſemper, quod omnia & ſingula hujuſmodi judicia ſeu finalia decreta, per vos tres vel duos veſtrum, virtute præſentium reddend. ſeu fiend. manibus veſtris trium vel duorum veſtrum, ſubſcribantur & conſignentur, & ſuperinde eadem judicia ſive decreta præfato Cancellario noſtro præſententur & liberentur, ut idem Cancellarius noſter antequam irrotulentur, eadem ſimiliter manu ſua conſignet. In cujus rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſt. 18 die Feb. Anno Regni noſtri primo.

THE ſaid Students referring to the conſideration of the ſaid Protector and Council, what the granting out of the ſaid Commiſſion without warrant did weigh; Foraſmuch as the ſaid Protector and Council minding the ſurety of the King's Majeſty, and a direct and upright proceeding in his Affairs, and the obſervation of their Duties in all things, as near as they can, to his Majeſty, with a deſire to avoid all things which might offend his Majeſty, or his Laws; and conſidering, that the ſaid Commiſſion was none of the things which they in their Aſſemblies in Council, at any time ſince the Death of the King's Majeſty late deceaſed, did accord to be paſſed under the Great Seal, have for their own Diſcharges required us, whoſe Names be under-written, for the Opinion they have of our knowledge and experience in the Laws of this Realm, to conſider the ſaid Caſe of making of the ſaid Commiſſion without warrant; and after due conſideration thereof, to declare in writing to what the ſaid Caſe doth weigh in Law. We therefore, whoſe Names be under-written, after mature and adviſed conſultation and deliberation thereupon; do affirm and ſay, for our Knowledges and Determinations, That the ſaid Chancellor of *England* having made forth, under the Great Seal of *England*, without any

Warrant, the Commiſſion aforeſaid hath done, and doth by his ſo doing offend the King's Majeſty, hath and doth by the Common Law, forfeit his Office of Chancellor, and incurreth the Danger, Penalty, and Paiment, of ſuch Fine as it ſhall pleaſe the King's Majeſty, with the adviſe of the ſaid Lord Protector and Council to ſet upon him for the ſame; with alſo Impriſonment of his Body at the King's Will: In Witneſs whereof we have ſet our Names to this Preſent, the laſt day of *February*, in the firſt Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord King *Edward* the *6th*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth of the Church of *England*; and alſo of *Ireland* the Supream Head; And have likewiſe, for more ample teſtimony of this our Opinion of, and upon the Premiſſes, put and ſubſcribed our Names to this preſent Duplicate of the ſame here aſſerted, in this preſent Act of this *6th* day of the month of *March* accordingly.

Number 6.

The Duke of Somerſet's *Commiſſion to be Protector.*

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 62.

EDward the *6th*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland*, in Earth the Supream Head. Whereas our Council, and divers of the Nobles and Prelats of this our Realm of *England*, conſidering Our young and tender Age, have thought meet and expedient, as well for Our Education, and bringing up in Knowledg, Learning, and Exerciſes of Good and Godly Manners, Vertues, and Qualities, meet and neceſſary for a Prince of Our Eſtate, and whereby We ſhould, and may at Our full Age be the more able to miniſter and execute the Charge of our Kingly Eſtate and Office, committed unto Us by the Goodneſs of Almighty God, and left, and come unto Us, by right Inheritance, after and by the deceaſe of Our late Soveraign Lord and Father, of moſt famous Memory, King *Henry* the *8th*, whoſe Soul God pardon. As alſo to the intent, that during the time of our Minority, the great and weighty Cauſes of our Realms and Dominions may be ſet forth, conducted, paſſed, applied, and ordered, in ſuch ſort, as ſhall be moſt to the Glory of God, our Surety and Honour; and for the Weal, Benefit, and Commodity of Us, Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of all Our loving Subjects of the ſame, have adviſed Us to nominate, appoint, and authorize ſome one meet and truſty Perſonage, above all others, to take the ſpecial Care and Charge of the ſame for Us, and in our Name and Behalf; without the which the things before remembred could not, nor can be done ſo well as appertaineth. We therefore uſing their Advices and Counſels in this behalf, did heretofore aſſign and appoint our dear and well-beloved Uncle *Edward*, now Duke of *Somerſet*, Governour of our Perſon, and Protector of Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of our Subjects and People of the ſame. Which thing, albeit We have already declared heretofore, and our Pleaſure therein publiſhed by Word of our Mouth, in the preſence of Our ſaid Council, Nobles, and Prelats of

Our

Our ſaid Realm of *England*, and not by any Writing ſet forth under Our Seal for that only purpoſe. Yet for a more perfect and manifeſt knowledg, and further corroboration and underſtanding of Our determination in that behalf; and conſidering that no manner of Perſon is ſo meet to have and occupy the ſaid Charge and Adminiſtration, and to do Us ſervice in the ſame, as is Our ſaid Uncle *Edward*, Duke of *Somerſet*, eldeſt Brother to our Natural moſt gracious late Mother Queen *Jane*, as well for the proximity of Blood, whereby he is the more ſtirred to have ſpecial eye and regard to our Surety and good Education, in this Our ſaid Minority; as alſo for the long and great experience which Our ſaid Uncle hath had in the Life-time of Our ſaid dear Father, in the Affairs of our ſaid Realm and Dominions, both in time of Peace and War; whereby he is more able to Order and Rule Our ſaid Realms, Dominions, and Subjects of the ſame: and for the ſpecial confidence and truſt that We have in Our ſaid Uncle, as well with the Advice and Conſent of our Council, and other our Nobles and Prelats, as alſo of divers diſcreet and ſage Men that ſerved Our ſaid late Father in his Council and weighty Affairs; We therefore, by theſe Preſents, do not only ratify, approve, confirm, and allow, all and every thing and things whatſoever deviſed or ſet forth, committed or done by Our ſaid Uncle, as Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of the Subjects of the ſame, ſith the time he was by Us named, appointed, and ordained by Word Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of the Subjects of the ſame, as is aforeſaid, or otherwiſe any time before, ſithence the death of Our ſaid late Father. But alſo by theſe Preſents, We for a full and perfect Declaration of the Authority of Our ſaid Uncle, given and appointed as aforeſaid, do nominate, appoint, and ordain Our ſaid Uncle, Governor of Our ſaid Perſon, and Protector of Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of the Subjects of the ſame, until ſuch time as We ſhall have, by the ſufferance of God, accompliſhed the Age of eighteen Years.

And We alſo do grant to Our ſaid Uncle, by theſe Preſents, full Power and Authority, from time to time, until ſuch time as We ſhall have accompliſhed the ſaid Age of eighteen Years, to do, procure, and execute, and cauſe to be done, procured, and executed, all and every ſuch Thing and Things, Act and Acts, which a Governor of the King's Perſon of this Realm, during his Minority, and a Protector of his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, ought to do, procure, and execute, or cauſe to be done, procured, and executed; and alſo all and every other thing and things, which to the Office of a Governor of a King of the Realm, during his Minority, and of a Protector of his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, in any wiſe appertaineth or belongeth. Willing, Authoriſing, and Commanding, Our ſaid Uncle, by theſe Preſents, to take upon him the Name, Title, and Authority of Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects; and to do, procure, and execute, and cauſe to be done, procured and executed, from time to time, until We ſhall have accompliſhed the ſaid Age of eighteen Years, all and every Thing and Things, Act and Acts, of what Nature, Quality, or Effect ſoever they be or ſhall be, concerning our Affairs, Doings, and Proceedings,

both Private and Publick, as well in Outward and Forreign Causes and Matters, as also concerning our Affairs, Doings, and Proceedings within Our said Realms and Dominions, or in any of them, or concerning any Manner, Causes, or Matters, of any of our Subjects of the same, in such like manner and form as shall be thought, by his Wisdom and Discretion, to be for the Honour, Surety, Prosperity, good Order, Wealth, or Commodity of Us, or of any of Our said Realms and Dominions, or of the Subjects of any of the same.

And to the intent Our said Uncle should be furnished with Men qualified in Wit, Knowledg, and Experience for his Aid and Assistance, in the managing and accomplishment of Our said Affairs, We have, by the Advice and Consent of Our said Uncle, and others, the Nobles, Prelats, and wise Men of Our said Realm of *England*, chosen, taken, and accepted, and by these Presents do chuse, take, accept, and ordain to be our Counsellors, and of our Council, the most Reverend Father in God, *Thomas* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and our right Trusty and well-beloved *William*, Lord *St. John*, Great Master of our Houshold, and President of our Council; *John* Lord *Russel* Keeper of our Privy-Seal; and Our trusty and right well-beloved Cousins, *William* Marquess of *Northampton*; *John* Earl of *Warwick*, Great Chamberlain of *England*; *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, our Lord Chamberlain; *Thomas* Lord *Seymour* of *Sudley*, High Admiral of *England*; the Reverend Father in God, *Cuthbert* Bishop of *Duresm*, and Our right trusty and well-beloved *Richard* Lord *Rich*; Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Knight of our Order, and Treasurer of our Houshold; Sir *John Gage* Knight of our Order, and Comptroller of our Houshold; Sir *Anthony Brown* Knight of our Order, Master of our Horses; Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Knight of our Order, our Vicechamberlain; Sir *William Paget* Knight of our Order, Our chief Secretary; Sir *William Petre* Knight, one of Our two principal Secretaries; Sir *Ralph Sadler* Knight, Master of our Great Wardrobe; Sir *John Baker* Kt.' Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*; Sir *Anthony Denny* and Sir *William Herbert* Kts. Gentlemen of our Privy-Chamber; Sir *Edward North* Kt. Chancellor of our Court of Augmentations and Revenues of our Crown; Sir *Edward Montague* Kt. Chief Justice of our Common-Pleas; Sir *Edward Wotton* Kt. Sir *Edmund Pekham* Kt. Cofferer of our Houshold; Sir *Thomas Bromley* Kt. one of the Justices for Pleas before us to be holden, and Sir *Richard Southwell* Kt.

And furthermore We are contented and pleased, and by these Presents do give full Power and Authority to our said Uncle, from time to time, untill We shall have accomplished, and be of the full Age of eighteen Years, to call, ordain, name, appoint, and swear such, and as many other Persons of our Subjects, as to him our said Uncle shall seem meet and requisite to be of our Council; and that all and every such Person or Persons, so by our said Uncle, for and during the time aforesaid to be called, named, ordained, appointed, and sworn of our Council, and to be our Counsellor or Counsellors, We do by these Presents name, ordain, accept, and take our Counsellor and Counsellors, and of our Council in like manner and form, as if he, they, and every of them, were in these Presents by Us appointed, named, and taken to be of our Council, and our Counsellor or Counsellors, by express Name or Names.

Names. And that alſo of our forenamed Counſellors, or of any others which our ſaid Uncle ſhall hereafter at any time take and chuſe to be our Counſellor or Counſellors, or of our ſaid Council, he our ſaid Uncle ſhall, may, and have Authority by theſe Preſents, to chuſe, name, appoint, uſe, and ſwear of Privy-Council, and to be our Privy-Counſellor or Counſellors, ſuch and ſo many as he from time to time ſhall think convenient.

And it is Our further pleaſure, and alſo We will and grant by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, That whatſoever Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing, or Things, of what Nature, Quality, or Condition ſoever the ſame be; yea, though the ſame require, or ought by any Manner, Law, Statute, Proclamation, or other Ordinance whatſoever, to be ſpecially, or by Name, expreſſed or ſet forth in this Our preſent Grant or Letters Patents, and be not herein expreſſed or mentioned, ſpecially which Our ſaid Uncle, or any of our Privy-Counſellor, or Counſellors, with the Advice, Conſent, or Agreement of Our ſaid Uncle, have thought neceſſary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any manner-wiſe convenient to be deviſed, done, or executed, during our Minority, and until We come to the full Age of eighteen Years, for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Health, or Education of our Perſon; or for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Weal, Benefit, or Commodity of any of our Realms, Dominions, or Subjects; and the ſame have deviſed, done, or executed, or cauſed to be deviſed, executed, or done at any time ſince the Death of Our moſt Noble Father of moſt famous memory. We are contented, and pleaſed, and will and grant, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, that the ſame Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing and Things, and every of them, ſhall ſtand, remain, and be (until ſuch time our ſaid Uncle, with ſuch and ſo many of Our foreſaid Counſellors as he ſhall think meet to call unto his aſſiſtance, ſhall revoke and annihilate the ſame) good, ſure, ſtable, vailable, and effectual, to all Intents and Purpoſes, without offence of Us, or againſt Us, or of or againſt any of our Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or other Ordinances whatſoever; and without incurring therefore into any Danger, Penalty, Forfeit, Loſs; or any other Encumbrance, Penalty, or Vexation of his or their Bodies, Lands, Rents, Goods, or Chattels; or of their, or of any of their Heirs, Executors, or Adminiſtrators, or of any other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, which have done or executed any Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing or Things, now, or any time ſince the Death of Our ſaid Father, by the Commandment or Ordinance of Our ſaid Uncle, or any of our Counſellors, with the Advice, Conſent, or Agreement of Our ſaid Uncle.

And further We are contented and pleaſed, and will and grant, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, that whatſoever Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing or Things, of what Nature, Quality, or Condition ſoever the ſame be, or ſhall be; yea, though the ſame require, or ought by any Manner, Law, Statute, Proclamation, or other whatſoever Ordinance to be ſpecially and by name expreſſed and ſet forth in this our preſent Grant and Letters Patents, and be not herein ſpecially named or expreſſed, which our ſaid Uncle ſhall at any time, during our Minority, and until We ſhall come to the full Age of eighteen Years, think neceſſary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any wiſe convenient

convenient to be devised, had, made, executed or done in our Name, for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Health, or Education of our Person, or which our said Uncle, with the Advice and Consent of such, and so many of our Privy-Council, or of our Counsellors, as he shall think meet to call unto him from time to time, shall at any time, until We come unto the full Age of eighteen Years, think necessary, meet, decent, expedient, or in any-wise convenient to be devised, had, made, executed, or done in our Name, for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Weal, Benefit, or Commodity of any of our Realms, Dominions, or Subjects, or any of them, he Our said Uncle and Counsellors, and every of them, and all and every other Person or Persons, by his Our said Uncle's Commandment, Direction, Appointment, or Order, or by the Commandment, Appointment, Direction, or Order of any of Our said Counsellors, so as Our said Uncle agree, and be contented, to and with the same, shall and may do, or execute the same without displeasure to Us, or any manner of Crime or Offence to be by Us, our Heirs or Successors, laid or imputed to him Our said Uncle, or any Our said Counsellors, or any other Person or Persons therefore, or in that behalf, and without any offence of or against our Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or other whatsoever Ordinances; and without incurring therefore into any Dammages, Penalty, Forfeit, Loss, or any other Encumbrance, Trouble, or Vexation of his, or any of their Bodies, Lands, Tenements, Goods or Chattels; or of his or their, or any their Heirs, Successors, Assigns, Executors or Administrators. And therefore we Will and Command, not only all and every our Judges, Justices, Serjeants, Attornies, Sollicitors, Sheriffs, Escheators, Bailiffs, and all other our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, that now be, or hereafter shall be, in no wise to Impeach, Appeal, Arrest, Trouble, Vex, Injure, or Molest in our Name or otherwise, Our said Uncle, or our said Counsellors, or any of them, or any other Person, for any Cause, Matter, Deed, Thing or Things, which he or they, or any of them have done, or shall do, execute, or cause to be executed or done as aforesaid; But also We require, and nevertheless straitly Charge and Command, by these Presents, all and every our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, of what Estate, Degree, or Condition soever he or they be, or shall be, to be obedient, aiding, attendant and assisting to Our said Uncle and Counsellors, and to every of them as behoveth, for the execution of this Charge and Commission given and committed unto Our said Uncle and Council as aforesaid, as they tender our Favour, and their own Weals, and as they will answer unto Us at their uttermost Perils for the contrary. In Witness whereof, We have caused these our Letters to be made Patents; Witness our Self at *Westminster*, the 13*th* day of *March*, in the first Year of our Reign.

E. *Somerset.*

T. Cantuarien. *W. St. John.* *J. Russell.* *W. Northamp.*

T. Cheynie. *William Paget.*

Anthony Brown.

Number

Number 7.

The King's Letter to the Arch-Bishop of York, *concerning the Visitation then intended.*

EDwardus ſextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, Fidei Defenſor, ac in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ ſupremum Caput, Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, ac prædilecto Conſiliario noſtro Roberto permiſſione divina Eboracen. Archiepiſc. Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano ſalutem. Quum nos, ſuprema Authoritate noſtra Regia, omnia & ſingula loca Eccleſiaſtica, clerumq; & populum infra & per totum noſtrum Angliæ Regnum conſtituta, propediem viſitare ſtatuerimus, Vobis tenore præſentium ſtricte inhibemus atq; mandamus & per vos Suffraganeis veſtris confratribus Epiſcopis, ac per illos ſuis Archidiaconis ac aliis quibuſcunq; juriſdictionem Eccleſiaſticam exercentibus, tam exemptis quam non exemptis, infra veſtram Provinciam Eboracenſ. ubilibet conſtitutis ſic inhibere volumus atq; præcipimus, quatenus nec vos nec quiſquam eorum Eccleſias, aut alia loca prædicta Clerumve aut populum viſitare, aut ea quæ ſunt juriſdictionis exercere ſeu quicquam aliud in præjudicium dictæ noſtræ Viſitationis generalis quoviſmodo attemptare preſumat ſive preſumant ſub pœna contemptus, donec & quouſq; licentiam & facultatem vobis & eis in ea parte largiend. & impertiend. fore duxerimus. Et quia non ſolum internam animorum ſubditorum noſtrorum pacem; verum etiam externam eorum concordiam multiplicibus opinionum procellis ex contentione, diſſentione & contraverſiis concionatorum exortis, multum corruptam, violatam ac miſere divulſam eſſe cernimus; Idcirco nobis admodum neceſſarium viſum eſt ad ſedandas & componendas hujuſmodi opinionum varietates, quatenus inhibeatis, ſeu inhiberi faciatis omnibus & ſingulis Epiſcopis, nec alibi quam in Eccleſiis ſuis Cathedralibus, & aliis Perſonis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunque, ne in alio loco quam in ſuis Eccleſiis, Collegiatis, ſive Parochialibus, in quibus intitulati ſunt, predicent, aut ſubditis noſtris quoviſmodo concionandi munus exerceant, niſi ex gratia noſtra ſpeciali ad id poſtea licentiati fuerint, ſub noſtræ indignationis pœna. In cujus rei teſtimonium, Sigillum noſtrum, quo ad cauſas Eccleſiaſticas utimur, præſentibus apponi mandavimus. Dat. quarto die menſis Maii, Anno Dom. 1547. & Regni noſtri Anno primo.

Cotton Libr. Titus B. 2.

E. Somerſet.

T. Cantuarien. *W. St. John.* *J. Ruſſell.* *John Gage.*

T. Seimour. *Will.* Petre Secretary. *John Barker.*

Number

Number 8.

The Form of bidding Prayer before the Reformation.

The Bedes on the Sunday.

Out of the Festival, printed *An.* 1509.

YE shall kneel down on your Knees, and lift up your Hearts, making your Prayers to Almighty God, for the good State and Peace of all-holy Church, that God maintain, save, and keep it. For our Holy Father the Pope, with all his true College of Cardinals, that God for his Mercy them maintain and keep in the right Belief, and it hold and increase, and all Misbelief and Heresy be less and destroy'd. Also ye shall pray for the Holy Land, and for the Holy Cross that Jesus Christ died on for the redemption of Man's Souls, that it may come into the power of Christian Men the more to be honoured for our Prayers. Also ye shall pray for all Arch-Bishops and Bishops; and especially for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* our Metropolitane, and for the Bishop of *N.* our Diocesan, that God of his Mercy give to them Grace so to govern and rule Holy Church, that it may be to the Honour and Worship of him, and Salvation of our Souls. Also ye shall pray for Abbots, Priors, Monks, Canons, Friers, and for all Men and Women of Religion, in what Order, Estate, or Degree that they stand in, from the highest Estate unto the lowest Degree. Also ye shall pray for all them that have Charge and Cure of Christian Mens Souls, as Curats and Parsons, Vicars, Priests and Clarks; and in especial for the Parson and Curat of this Church, and for all the Priests and Minsters that serve therein, or have served therein; and for all them that have taken any Order, that Almighty God give them Grace of continuance well for to keep and observe it to the honour and health of their Souls. Also ye shall pray for the Unity and Peace of all Christian Realms, and in especial for the good Estate, Peace and Tranquility, of this Realm of *England*, for our Liege Lord the King, that God for his great Mercy send him Grace so to Govern and Rule this Realm, that God be pleased and worshipped, and to the Profit and Salvation of this Land. Also ye shall pray for our Liege Lady the Queen, my Lord Prince, and all the noble Progeny of them; for all Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Esquires, and other Lords of the King's Council, which have any Rule and Governance in this Land, that God give them Grace so to Councel, Rule, and Govern, that God be pleased, the Land defended, and to the Profit and Salvation of all the Realm. Also ye shall pray for the Peace both on Land, and on the Water; that God grant Love and Charity among all Christian People. Also ye shall pray for all our Parishes, where that they be, on Land or on Water, that God save them from all manner of Perils; and for all the good Men of this Parish, for their Wives, Children, and Men, that God them maintain, save and keep. Also ye shall pray for all true Tithers, that God multiply their Goods and Encrease; for all true Tillers that labour for our Sustenance, that Till the Earth; and also for all the Grains and Fruits that be sown, set, or done on the Earth, or shall be done, that God send such

ſuch Weather that they may grow, encreaſe, and multiply, to the help and profit of all Mankind. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all true Shipmen and Merchants, whereſoever that they be, on Land or on Water, that God keep them from all Perils, and bring them home in ſafety, with their Goods, Ships, and Merchandiſes, to the Help, Comfort, and Profit of this Realm. Alſo ye ſhall pray for them that find any Light in this Church, or give any Beheſts, Book, Bell, Chalice, or Veſtment, Surplice, Water-cloath, or Towel, Lands, Rents, Lamp or Light, or any other Adornments, whereby God's Service is the better ſerved, ſuſtained and maintained in Reading and Singing, and for all them that thereto have counſelled, that God reward and yield it them at their moſt need. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all true Pilgrims and Palmers, that have taken their way to *Rome*, to *Jeruſalem*, to St. *Katherines*, or St. *James*, or to any other Place, that God of his Grace give them time and ſpace, well for to go and to come, to the profit of their Lives & Souls. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all them that be ſick or diſeaſed of this Pariſh, that God ſend to them Health, the rather for our Prayers; for all the Women which be in our Ladys Bands, and with Child, in this Pariſh, or in any other, that God ſend to them fair Deliverance, to their Children right Shape, Name, and Chriſtendom, and to the Mother's purification; and for all them that would be here, and may not, for Sickneſs or Travail, or any other lawful Occupation, that they may have part of all the good Deeds that ſhall be done here in this Place, or in any other. And ye ſhall pray for all them that be in good Life, that good them hold long therein; and for them that be in Debt, or deadly Sin, that Jeſus Chriſt bring them out thereof, the rather for our Prayer. Alſo ye ſhall pray for him or her that this day gave the Holy Bread, and for him that firſt began and longeſt holdeth on, that God reward it him at the day of Doom; and for all them that do well, or ſay you good, that God yield it them at their need, and for them that otherwiſe would that Jeſus Chriſt amend them; For all thoſe, and for all Chriſtian Men and Women, ye ſhall ſay a *Pater Noſter*; *Ave Maria*; *Deus miſereatur noſtri*; *Gloria Patri*; *Kyrie Eleiſon*; *Chriſte Eleiſon*; *Kyrie Eleiſon*; *Pater Noſter*; *Et ne nos*; *Sed libera*; *Verſus*; *Oſtende nobis*; *Sacerdotes*; *Domine ſalvum fac Regem*; *Salvum fac Populum*; *Domine fiat Pax*; *Domine exaudi*; *Dominus vobiſcum*; *Oremus*; *Eccleſiæ tuæ quæſumus*; *Deus in cujus manu*; *Deus a quo ſancta*, &c. Furthermore, ye ſhall pray for all Chriſtian Souls, for Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops Souls; and in eſpecial, for all that have been Biſhops of this Dioceſs; and for all Curats, Parſons and Vicar's Souls, and in eſpecial, for them that have been Curats of this Church, and for the Souls that have ſerved in this Church. Alſo ye ſhall pray for the Souls of all Chriſtian Kings and Queens, and in eſpecial for the Souls of them that have been Kings of this Realm of *England*; and for all thoſe Souls that to this Church have given Book, Bell, Chalice, or Veſtment, or any other thing, by the which the Service of God is better done, and Holy Church worſhipped. Ye ſhall alſo pray for your Father's Soul, for your Mother's Soul; for your God-fathers Souls, for your God-mothers Souls; for your Brethren and Siſters Souls, and for your Kindreds Souls, and for your Friends Souls, and for all the Souls we be bound to pray for; and for all the Souls that be in the Pains of Purgatory,

 there

there abiding the Mercy of Almighty God; and in especial for them that have most need and least help, that God of his endless Mercy lessen and minish their Pains by the means of our Prayers, and bring them to his Everlasting Bliss in Heaven. And also of the Soul N. or of them that upon such a day this Week we shall have the Anniversary; and for all Christian Souls ye shall devoutly say a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*; *Psalmus de profundis*, *&c.* with this Collect, *Oremus*; *Absolve quæsumus Domine animas famulorum tuorum Pontificum*, *Regum*, *Sacerdotum*, *Parentum*, *Parochianorum*, *Amicorum*, *Benefactorum Nostrorum*, *& omnium fidelum defunctorum*, *ab omni vinculo delictorum*; *ut in Resurrectionis Gloria inter sanitos & electos tuos resuscitati respirent*, *per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.* Amen.

Number 9.

Bishop Tonstall's *Letter, proving the Subjection of* Scotland *to* England.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Caligula* B. 7

PLease it your Grace, my Lord Protector, and you right hounourable Lords of the King's Majestys Council, to understand, that I have received your Letter of the 4*th* of this month, by which ye will me to search all mine old Registers, and ancient Places to be sought, where any thing may be found for the more clear declaration to the World of the King's Majestys Title to the Realm of *Scotland*, and to advertise you with speed accordingly: And also to signify unto you what ancient Charters and Monuments for that purpose I have seen, and where the same are to be sought for. According unto which your Letters, I have sought with all diligence all mine old Registers, making mention of the Superiorities of the Kings of *England* to the Realm of *Scotland*, and have found in the same of many Homages made by the Kings of *Scots* to the Kings of *England*, as shall appear by the Copies which I do send to your Grace and to your Lordships herewith. Ye shall also find in the said Copies the Gift of the Barony of *Coldingham*, made to the Church of *Duresme* by *Edgar* the King of *Scots*; which Original Gift is under Seal, which I shewed once to my Lord *Maxwell* at *Duresm*, in the presence of you my Lord Protector. I find also a confirmation of the same Gift by King *William Rufus* in an old Register, but not under Seal, the Copy whereof is sent herewith. The Homages of Kings of *Scotland* which I have found in the Registers, I have sent in this Copy. I send also herewith the Copy of a Grant made by King *Richard* the First unto *William* King of *Scots* and his Heirs, How as oft as he is summoned to come to the Parliament, he shall be received in the Confines of the Realm of *Scotland*, and conducted from Shire to Shire unto his coming to the Parliament; and what the King doth allow him for his Diet every day unto the Court; and also what Diet and Allowance he hath, being at the Parliament, both in Bread and Wine, Wax and Candle, for his time of his abode there; and of his Conduct in his return home.

And where King *William*, King of *Scots*, made Homage to King *Henry* the Second, and granted, That all the Nobles of his Realm ſhould be his Subjects, and make Homage to him; and all the Biſhops of his Realm ſhould be under the Arch-Biſhops of *York*: And the ſaid King *William* delivered to the ſaid King *Henry*, the Caſtles of *Roxburgh*, *Edinburgh*, and the Caſtle of *Barwick*, as is found in my Regiſter; and that the King of *England* ſhould give all Abbeys and Honours in *Scotland*, or at leaſt they ſhould not be given without his Counſel. I do find, in the confirmation of the ſame, out of the old Regiſters of the Priors of *Dureſm*, Hommage made by the Abbots, Priors, and Prioreſſes of *Scotland*, to King *Edward* the Firſt, in French, which I do ſend herewith. Alſo I do ſend herewith in French, how King *Edward* the Firſt was received and taken to be Supream Lord in *Scotland*, by all thoſe that pretended Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, as next Heirs to the King, that was then dead without Iſſue, and the compromiſe of them all made unto the ſaid King *Edward* the Firſt to ſtand to his Judgment, which of all them that did claim ſhould have the Crown of *Scotland*: The Tranſcript of which Compromiſe in French, was then ſent by the ſaid King *Edward*, under the Seal of the King's *Exchequer* in green Wax, to the Prior of *Dureſm*, to be regiſtred for a perpetual Memory, that the Supremity of *Scotland* belonged to the Kings of *England*, which yet the Chapiters of *Dureſm* have to ſhew, which thing he commandeth them to put in their Chronicles.

And touching the ſecond part of your Letter, where you will me to advertiſe you what I have ſeen in the Premiſſes; ſo it is, that I was commanded by mine old Maſter, of famous memory, King *Henry* the 8*th*, to make ſearch among the Records of his Treaſury, in the Receipt for Solemnities to be done at his Coronation in moſt ſolemn manner; according to which commandment, I made ſearch in the ſaid Treaſury, where I fortuned to find many Writings for the Supremacy of the King to the Realm of *Scotland*; and among others alſo, a Writing with very many Seals of Arms of *Scots*, confeſſing the right of the Supremacy to the King of *England*; which Writings I doubt not may be found there.

I have alſo ſent a Copy of a Book my ſelf have of Homages made to the Kings of *England* by the Kings of *Scotland*, which the Chancellor of *England* in King *Henry* the Sevenths days had gathered out of the King's Records, which I doubt not, but out of the King's Records and Ancient Books, the ſame may be found again by my Lord Chancellor and the Judges.

Furthermore your Grace, and you the Right Honourable Lords of the Council, ſhall underſtand, That in making much ſearch for the Premiſſes, at the laſt we found, out of the Regiſters of the Chapters of *Dureſm*, when it was a Priory, the Copy of a Writing, by which King *Edward* the Second doth renounce ſuch Superiority as he had in the Realm of *Scotland*, for him and his Heirs, to *Robert* King of *Scots* then being, as will appear by a Copy of the ſame, which I do ſend you herewith, making mention, in the end of the ſaid Writings, of a Commiſſion that he gave to *Henry* the Lord *Percy*, and to *William* the Lord *Souch*, under his Letters Patents, to give his Oath upon the ſame. And after the ſaid Writing, we found alſo in the ſaid Book, a

Renunciation of the ſaid King *Edward*, of a Proceſs that he had commenced before the Biſhop of *Rome*, againſt *Robert* King of *Scots* and his Subjects, for breaking their Oath to him, as will appear by the Copy thereof, which I do ſend alſo herewith. And touching the ſaid Renunciation of King *Edward* the Second, to the Superiority of the Realm of *Scotland*, I have often heard it ſpoken of by *Scots*, but I did never ſee the form of it in writing, until I ſee it now; which thing it is not unlikely but the *Scots* have under the Seal of the ſaid King *Edward*. Whereunto anſwer is to be made, That a King renouncing the right of his Crown, cannot prejudice his Succeſſors, who have at the time of their entry, the ſame whole right that their Predeceſſors had at their firſt entry, as Men learned in the Civil Law can by their learning ſhew.

And furthermore, ſearch is to be made in the King's Records in the Treaſury, whether Homages have been made ſithence King *Edward* the Second's Time; that is to ſay, in the Times of King *Edward* the Third, King *Richard* the Second, King *Henry* the Fourth, King *Henry* the Fifth, and King *Henry* the Sixth. In which Times, if any Homage can be found to be made, it ſhall appear the ſame Renunciation to have taken none effect in the Succeſſors, and Ancient Right to be continued again. For after King *Edward* the Fourth and King *Henry* the Sixth ſtrove for the Crown, I think none Homage of *Scotland* will be found, for then was alſo loſt *Gaſcoigne* and *Guienne* in *France*. It is alſo to be remembred, that when the Body of King *Henry* the Fifth was brought out of *France* to be buried at *Weſtminſter*, the King of *Scots* then being, came with him, and was the chief Mourner at his Burial; which King of *Scots*, whether he made any Homage to King *Henry* the Fifth in his Life-time, or to King *Henry* the Sixth at his Coronation, it is to be ſearched by the Records of that time.

This is all that can be found hitherto, by all moſt diligent ſearch that I could make in my Records here; and if any more can be found, it ſhall be ſent with all ſpeed.

And thus Almighty preſerve your Grace, and your Honourable Lordſhips, to his Pleaſure and yours.

From *Ackland* the 15*th* of *October*, 1547.

Your Graces moſt humble Orator at Commandment.

Cuth. Dureſme.

Number

Number 10.

A Letter from the Scotish Nobility to the Pope, concerning their being an *Independent* Kingdom.

An Original.

Literæ directæ ad Dominum Summum Pontificem per Communitatem Scotiæ. 1320.

SAnctissimo Patri in Christo, ac Domino D. Johanni Divina Providentia Sacrosanctæ Romanæ & Universalis Ecclesiæ Summo Pontifici, filii sui humiles & devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fife, Thomas Ranulph Comes Moraviæ, D. Manniæ & Vallis Annandiæ, Patricius de Dumbar, Comes Marchiæ, Malisius Comes de Straherne, Malcolmus Comes de Levenex, Willielmus Comes de Ross, Magnus Comes Cathaneæ & Orcadiæ, & Willielmus Comes Sutherlandiæ, Walterus Senescallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Souls Buttelarius Scotiæ, Jacobus D. Douglas, Rogerus de Moubray, David D. de Brechen, David de Grahame, Ingelramus de Umphavill, Johannes de Meneteth custos Comitatis de Meneteth, Alex. Fraser, Gilbertus de Haia Constabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith Mariscallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sancto Claro, Johannes de Grahame, David de Lindsey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricius de Grahame, Johannes de Tenton, Willielmus de Abernethie, David de Weemes, Willielmus de Monte fixo, Fergusus de Ardrossane, Eustachius de Maxwell, Willielmus de Ramsay, Willielmus de Monte alto, Alanus de Moravia, Donenaldus Campbell, Johannes Cambrime, Regenaldus de Chein, Alex. de Seaton, Andreas de Lescelyne, & Alex. de Straton, cæteriq; Barones & libere-tenentes; ac tota Communitas Regni Scotiæ, omnimodam reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum osculis Beatorum; Scimus, Sanctissime Pater, & Domine, & ex antiquorum gestis & libris colligimus, quod inter cæteras nationes egregias, nostra [scilicet Scotorum Natio] multis præconiis fuerit insignita; quæ de majori Scythia per Mare Tyrrhenum & Columnas Herculis transiens, & in Hispania inter færocissimos per multa temporum curricula residens, a nullis quantumcunq; Barbaricis poterat alicubi subjugari; Indeq; veniens post mille & ducentos annos a transitu Populi Israelitici sibi sedes in occidente, quas nunc obtinet, expulsis Brittonibus, & Pictis omnia deletis: licet per Norwagienses, Dacos & Anglicos sæpius impugnata fuerit, multis sibi victoriis & laboribus quamplurimis adquisivit; ipsasq; ab omni servitute liberas (ut priscorum testantur Historiæ) semper tenuit: In quorum Regno centum & tres decem Reges de ipsorum regali præsapia, nullo alienigena interveniente, Regnaverunt; Quorum Nobilitas & merita (licet ex aliis non clarerent) satis patenter effulgent ex eo; quod Rex regum D. Jesus Christus post Passionem & Resurrectionem suam ipsos in ultimis terræ finibus constitutos, quasi primos ad suam fidem sanctissimam convocavit, nec eos per quemlibet in dicta fide confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum Apostolum, quamvis ordine secundum vel tertium, Sanctum Andream meritissimum beati

Ex *Autogr.* apud Ill. Com. de H.

Petri

Petri Germanum, quem ſemper ipſis præceſſe voluit ut Patronum. Hæc autem Sanctiſſimi Patres & Predeceſſores veſtri ſollicita mente penſantes, ipſum Regnum & Populum, ut beati Petri germano peculium multis favoribus & privilegiis quam plurimis muniverunt. Itaq; gens noſtra ſub ipſorum protectione libera hactenus degit & quieta; donec ille princeps Magnificus Rex Anglorum Edwardus, Pater iſtius, (qui hunc eſt) Regnum noſtrum Acephalum, populumq; nullius mali aut doli conſcium, nec bellis aut inſultibus tunc aſſuetum ſub amica & confederata ſpecie innumerabiliter infeſtavit. Cujus injurias, cædes, & violentias, prædationes, incendia, Prælatorum incarcerationes, Monaſteriorum combuſtiones, Religioſorum ſpoliationes & occiſiones, alia quoq; enormia, quæ in dicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut ſexui, Religioni aut ordini; nullus ſcriberet nec ad plenum intelligeret niſi quem experientia informaret: a quibus malis innumeris (ipſo juvante qui poſt vulnera medetur & ſanat) liberati ſumus per ſereniſſimum Principem Regem & Dominum noſtrum, D. Robertum, qui pro populo & hæreditate ſuis de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quaſi alter Maccabeus aut Joſua, labores, & tædia, inedias & pericula, leto ſuſtinuit animo; quem etiam divina diſpoſitio, & juxta leges & conſuetudines noſtras, quas uſq; ad mortem ſuſtinere volumus, juris Succeſſio,& debitus noſtrorum omnium conſenſus & aſſenſus,noſtrum fecerunt Principem ac Regem: Cui, tanquam illi, per quem ſalus in populo facta eſt, pro noſtra libertate tuenda tam jure quam meritis tenemur & volumus in omnibus adhærere; Quem, (ſi ab inceptis deſiſtet, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos, aut Regnum noſtrum, volens ſubjicere) tanquam inimicum noſtrum, & ſui noſtriq; juris ſubverſorem, ſtatim expellere intemur; & alium Regem noſtrum, qui ad defenſionem noſtram ſufficiet, faciemus: Quia, quamdiu centum vivi remanſerint nunquam Anglicorum dominio aliquatenus volumus ſubjugari. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias, aut honores, pugnamus; ſed propter libertatem ſolummodo, quam nemo bonus niſi ſimul cum vita amittet. Hinc eſt, Reverende Pater & Domine, quod ſanctitatem veſtram cum omni præcum inſtantia genuflexis cordibus exoramus, quatenus ſincero corde menteq; pia recenſentes, quod apud eum, cujus vices in terris geritis, non ſit pondus & pondus, nec diſtinctio Judæi & Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes & Anguſtias nobis & Eccleſiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes Regem Anglorum, cui ſufficere debet quod poſſidet (cum olim Anglia ſeptem aut pluribus ſolebat ſufficere Regibus) monere & exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes, Scotia (ultra quam habitatio non eſt) nihilq; niſi noſtrum cupientes in pace dimittat: Cui pro noſtra procuranda quiete, quicquid poſſumus (ad ſtatum noſtrum reſpectu habito) facere volumus cum effectu. Veſtra enim intereſt, Sancte Pater, hoc facere, qui paganorum feritatem Chriſtianorum culpis exigentibus in Chriſtianos ſævientem aſpicitis, & Chriſtianorum terminos arctari indies.* ——————————

* Quædam ſunt deleta.

Sanctitatis memoriæ derogat, ſi (quod abſit) Eccleſia in aliqua ſui parte veſtris temporibus patiatur Eccliſpſin aut Scandalum, vos videritis: Exhortet igitur Chriſtianos Principes,qui non cauſam ut cauſam ponentes ſe fingunt in ſubſidium terræ ſanctæ propter guerras, quas habent cum proximus ire non poſſe; Cujus impedimenti cauſa eſt verior, quod in minoribus proximis debellandis utilitas proprior, & reſiſtentia de

bilior

bilior eſtimantur. Sic quam leto corde dictus D. Rex Noſter & nos; Si Rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittit, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignorat ſatis novit: quod Chriſti Vicario totiq; Chriſtianitati oſtendimus & teſtamur. Quibus, ſi Sanctitas veſtra Anglorum relatibus nimis credula, fidem ſinceram non adhibet, aut ipſis in noſtram confuſionem favere non deſinat, Corporum excidia, animarum exitia, & cætera quæ ſequentur in commoda, quæ ipſi in nobis & nos in ipſis fecerimus, vobis ab altiſſimo credimus imputanda; ex quo ſumus & erimus in his quæ tenemur, tanquam obedientiæ filii, vobis tanquam ipſius vicario, in omnibus complacere; ipſiq; tanquam ſummo Regi & judici cauſam noſtram tuendam committimus, cogitatum noſtrum jactitantes in ipſo, ſperanteſq; finem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet, & ad nihilum rediget Hoſtes noſtros. Serenitatem ac Sanctitatem veſtram conſervet Altiſſimus, Eccleſiæ ſuæ Sanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monaſterium de Aberbroth in Scotia, 6 die Aprilis, Anno gratiæ Milleſimo trecenteſimo viceſimo. Anno vero Regni Regis noſtri ſupradicti quintodecimo.

Number 11.

The Oath given to the *Scots*, who ſubmitted to the Protector.

YOu ſhall bear your Faith to the King's Majeſty, our Soveraign Lord Edward the Sixth, &c. till ſuch time as you ſhall be diſcharged of your Oath by ſpecial Licenſe. And you ſhall, to the uttermoſt of your power, ſerve his Majeſty truly and faithfully, againſt all other Realms, Dominions, and Potentates, as well Scots as others. You ſhall hear nothing that may be prejudicial to his Majeſty, or any of his Realms or Dominions, but with as much diligence as you may, ſhall cauſe the ſame to be opened, ſo as the ſame come to his Majeſty's Knowledg, or to the knowledg of the Lord Protector, or ſome of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. You ſhall, to the uttermoſt of your poſsible Power, ſet forwards and advance the King's Majeſties Affairs in Scotland, for the Marriage and Peace. Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 139.

Number

Number 12.

The Protestation of the Bishop of London *made to the Visitors, when he received the King's Majesties Injunctions and Homilies.*

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 110.

I Do receive these Injunctions and Homilies, with this Protestation, That I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's Law, and the Statutes and Ordinances of this Church.

The Submission and Revocation of the same Bishop, made before the Lords of the Kings Majesty's Council, presently attending upon his Majesty's Person; with the subscription of his Name thereunto.

WHere I *Edmund* Bishop of *Lodon*, have at such time as I received the King's Majesty's, my most dread Soveraign Lord's Injunctions and Homilies at the Hands of his Highness Visitors, did unadvisedly make such Protestation, as now upon better consideration of my duty of Obedience, and of the ill Example that may ensue to others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the Duty of an humble Subject; forasmuch as the same Protestation, at my request, was then by the Register of that Visitation enacted and put in Record; I have thought it my bounden Duty, not only to declare before your Lordships, That I do now, upon better consideration of my Duty, renounce and revoke my said Protestation, but also most humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my Revocation of the same may likewise be put in the same Records for a perpetual Memory of the Truth: Most humbly beseeching your good Lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former unadvised doings may, by your good Mediations, be pardoned of the King's Majesty.

Edmund London.

Number 13.

Gardiner's *Letter to Sir* John Godsalve *concerning the Injunctions.*

Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

MR. *Godsalve*, after my right hearty Commendations, with like thanks for the declaration of your good mind towards me (as you mean it) although it agreeth not with mine Accompt, such as I have had leasure to make in this time of Liberty, since the Death of my late Soveraign Lord, (whose Soul Jesu pardon). For this have I reckon'd,

reckon'd, that I was called to this Bishoprick without the offence of God's Law, or the King's, in the attaining of it. I have kept my Bishoprick these sixteen Years, accomplished this very day, that I write these my Letters unto you, without offending God's Law, or the King's, in the retaining of it, howsoever I have of frailty otherwise sinned. Now if I may play the third part well, to depart from the Bishoprick without the offence of God's Law, or the King's, I shall think the Tragedy of my Life well passed over: and in this part to be well handled is all my care and study now, how to finish this third Act well; for so I offend not God's Law, nor the King's, I will no more care to see my Bishoprick taken from me, than my self to be taken from the Bishoprick. I am by Nature already condemned to die, which Sentence no Man can pardon, nor assure me of delay in the execution of it; and so see that of necessity I shall leave my Bishoprick to the disposition of the Crown from whence I had it, my Houshold also to break up, and my bringing up of Youth to cease, the remembrance whereof troubleth me nothing. I made in my House at *London* a pleasant Study that delighted me much, and yet I was glad to come into the Country and leave it; and as I have left the use of somewhat, so can I leave the use of all to obtain a more quiet; it is not loss to change for the better. Honesty and Truth are more leef to me than all the Possessions of the Realm, and in these two to say and do frankly, as I must, I never forbare yet: and in these two, Honesty and Truth, I take such pleasure and comfort, as I will never leave them for no respect, for they will abide by a Man, and so will nothing else. No Man can take them away from me but my self; and if my self do them away from me, then my self do undo my self, and make my self worthy to lose my Bishoprick, whereat, such as gape, might take more sport than they are like to have at my hands. What other Men have said or done in the Homilies I cannot tell, and what Homilies or Injunctions shall be brought hither, I know not; such as the Printers have sold abroad, I have read and considered, and am therefore the better instructed how to use my self to the Visitors at their repair hither, to whom I will use no manner of Protestation but a plain Allegation, as the Matter serveth, and as Honesty and Truth shall bind me to speak; for I will never yield to do that should not beseem a Christian. Bishops ought never to lose the Inheritance of the King's Laws due to every English Man for want of Petition. I will shew my self a true Subject, humble and obedient, which repugneth not with the preservation of my Duty to God, and my Right in the Realm, not to be enjoined against an Act of Parliament: which mine intent I have signified to the Council, with request of redress in the Matter, and not to compel me to such an Allegation, which, without I were a Beast, I cannot pretermit: and I were more than a Beast, if after I had signified to the Council Truth and Reason in words, I should then seem in my Deeds not to care for it. My Lord Protector, in one of such Letters as he wrote to me, willed me not to fear too much; and indeed I know him so well, and divers others of my Lords of the Council, that I cannot fear any hurt at their hands, in the allegation of God's Law and the King's, and I will never defame them so much to be seen to fear it. And of what strength an Act of Parliament is, the Realm was taught in the case of her that we called Queen *Ann*,

where all such as spake against her in the Parliament-House, although they did it by special Commandment of the King, and spake that was truth, yet they were fain to have a Pardon, because that speaking was against an Act of Parliament. Did you never know, or here tell of any Man, that for doing that the King our late Soveraign Lord willed, devised, and required to be done, He that took pains, and was commanded to do it, was fain to sue for his Pardon, and such other also as were doers in it: and I could tell who it were. Sure there hath been such a Case, and I have been present when it hath been reasoned, That the doing against an Act of Parliament, excuseth not a Man, even from the Case of Treason, although a Man did it by the King's Commandment. You can tell this to your remembrance, when you think further of it, and when it cometh to your remembrance, you will not be best content with your self, I believe, to have advised me to enter the breach of an Act of Parliament, without surety of Pardon, although the King command it, and were such indeed as it were no matter to do it at all. And thus I answer the Letters with worldly civil Reasons, and take your Mind and Zeal towards me to be as tender as may be; and yet you see that the following of your Advice might make me lose my Bishoprick by mine own Act, which I am sure you would I should keep, and so would I, as might stand with my Truth and Honesty, and none otherwise, as knoweth God, who send you heartily well to fare.

Number 14.

The Conclusion of Gardiner's *Letter to the Protector, against the lawfulness of the Injunctions.*

Cotton Libr. *Vesp.* D. 18.

WHether the King may command against the Common Law, or an Act of Parliament, there is never a Judg, or other Man in the Realm, ought to know more by experience, of that the Lawyers have said, than I.

First, My Lord Cardinal had obtained his Legacy by our late Soveraign Lord's Request at *Rome*; yet being it was against the Laws of the Realm, the Judges censured the Offence of Premunire; which Matter I bore away, and take it for a Law of the Realm, because the Lawyers said so, but my Reason digested it not.

The Lawyers, for the confirmation of their Doings, brought in a Case of my Lord *Typtest*, an Earl he was, and learned in Civil Laws; who being Chancellor, because in execution of the King's Commission he offended the Laws of the Realm, he suffered on *Tower-Hill*: they brought in the Examples of many Judges that had Fines set on their Heads in like case, for transgression of the Laws by the King's Commandment; and this I learned in this Case.

Since that time being of the Council, when many Proclamations were devised against the Carriers out of Corn; when it came to punishing the Offenders, the Judges would answer, it might not be by the Laws, because the Act of Parliament gave liberty, Wheat being under a price: Whereupon at the last followed the Act of Proclamations, in

tion, in the paſſing whereof were many large words.

When the Biſhop of *Exeter* and his Chancellor were by one Body brought into a Premunire, I reaſoned with the Lord *Audley* then Chancellor ſo far, as he bad me hold my peace, for fear of entring a Premunire my ſelf: But I concluded, that although I muſt take it as of their Authority that it is Common Law, yet I could not ſee how a Man authoriſed by the King, as ſince the King's Majeſty hath taken upon him the Supremacy, every Biſhop is, that Man could fall in a Premunire.

I reaſoned once in the Parliament Houſe, where was free Speech without danger; and there the Lord *Audley* Chancellor, then to ſatisfie me, becauſe I was in ſome ſecret eſtimation as he knew. Thou art a good Fellow, Biſhop, (quoth he) look the Act of the Supremacy, and there the King's doings be reſtrained to Spiritual Juriſdiction: And in an other Act, No Spiritual Law ſhall have place contrary to a Common Law, or an Act of Parliament. And if this were not (quoth he) the Biſhops would enter in with the King, and by means of his Supremacy order the Law as you liſted; but we will provide (quoth he) that the Premunire ſhall never go off your Heads. This I bare away there, and held my peace.

Since that time, in a Caſe of Jewels, I was fain, with the Emperor's Ambaſſador *Chapinius* when he was here, and in the Emperor's Court alſo, to defend and maintain by Commandment, that the King's Majeſty was not above his Laws, and therefore the Jeweller, although he had the King's bill ſigned, yet it would not ſerve, becauſe it was not obtained after the Order of the Law, in which Matter I was very much troubled. Even this time twelve-month, when I was in Commiſſion with my Lord great Maſter, and the Earl of *Southampton*, for the altering of the Court of *Augmentations*, there was my Lord *Montague*, and other of the King's Learned Council, of whom I learned what the King might do againſt an Act of Parliament, and what danger it was to them that medled. It is freſh in my Memory, and they can tell whether I ſay true or no; and therefore being learned in ſo notable Cauſes, I wrote in your abſence therein, as I had learned by hearing the Common Lawyers ſpeak (whoſe Judgments rule theſe Matters) howſoever my reaſon can digeſt them. When I wrote thereof, the Matter was ſo reaſonable, as I have been learned by the Lawyers of the Realm, that I truſted my Lords would have ſtaied till your Graces return.

Number 15.

A Letter from the Duke of Somerſet *to the Lady* Mary *in the beginning of King* Edward's *Reign.*

Madam, my humble Commendations to your Grace premiſed;

THeſe may be to ſignify unto the ſame, that I have received your Letters of the ſecond of this preſent, by *Jane* your Servant, reknowledging my ſelf thereby much bound unto your Grace; nevertheleſs I am very ſorry to perceive that your Grace ſhould have or *Cotton Libr. Fauſtin. C. 2.*

 conceive

conceive any ſiniſter or wrong Opinion in me and others, which were by the King, your late Father, and our moſt gracious Maſter, put in truſt as Executors of his Will, albeit the truth of our doings being known to your Grace, as it ſeemeth by your ſaid Letter not to be. I truſt there ſhall be no ſuch fault found in us, as in the ſame your Grace hath alleadged; and for my part, I know none of us that will willingly neglect the full execution of every Jot of his ſaid Will, as far as ſhall and may ſtand with the King our Maſter's Honour and Surety that now is: otherwiſe I am ſure that your Grace,nor none other his Faithful Subjects, would have it take place; not doubting but our Doings and Proceedings therein, and in all things committed to our Charge, ſhall be ſuch as ſhall be able to anſwer the whole World, both in honour and diſcharge of our Conſciences. And where your Grace writeth, that the moſt part of the Realm, through a naughty Liberty and Preſumption, are now brought into ſuch a Diviſion, as if we Executors go not about to bring them to that ſtay that our late Maſter left them; they will forſake all Obedience, unleſs they have their own Will and Phantaſies, and then it muſt follow that the King ſhall not be well ſerved, and that all other Realms ſhall have us in an Obloquy and Deriſion, and not without juſt cauſe. Madam, as theſe words written or ſpoken by you ſoundeth not well, ſo can I not perſwade my ſelf, that they have proceeded from the ſincere mind of ſo vertuous and ſo wiſe a Lady, but rather by the ſetting on and procurement of ſome uncharitable and malicious Perſons, of which ſort there are too many in theſe days, the more pity: but yet we muſt not be ſo ſimple ſo to weigh and regard the Sayings of ill-diſpoſed People, and the Doings of other Realms and Countries, as for that Report we ſhould neglect our Duty to God, and to our Soveraign Lord and Native Country, for then we might be juſtly called evil Servants and Maſters; and thanks be given unto the Lord, ſuch hath been the King's Majeſty's Proceedings, our young Noble Maſter that now is, that all his faithful Subjects have more cauſe to render their hearty thanks for the manifold Benefits ſhewed unto his Grace, and to his People and Realm, ſithence the firſt day of his Reign until this hour, than to be offended with it; and thereby rather to judg and think, that God who knoweth the Hearts of all Men, is contented and pleaſed with his Miniſters, who ſeek nothing but the true Glory of God, and the Surety of the King's Perſon, with the Quietneſs and Wealth of his Subjects. And where your Grace writeth alſo, That there was a Godly Order and Quietneſs left by the King our late Maſter, your Graces Father, in this Realm at the time of his Death; and that the Spiritualty and Temporalty of the whole Realm, did not only, without compulſion, fully aſſent to his Doings and Proceedings, ſpecially in Matters of Religion, but alſo in all kind of Talk, whereof, as your Grace wrote, ye can partly be witneſs your ſelf; at which your Graces Sayings I do ſomething marvel. For if it may pleaſe you to call to your remembrance what great Labours, Travels, and Pains, his Grace had, before he could reform ſome of thoſe ſtiff-necked Romaniſts or Papiſts: yea,and did not they cauſe his Subjects Riſe and Rebel againſt him, and conſtrained him to take the Sword in his hand, not without danger to his Perſon and Realm? Alas, why ſhould your Grace ſo ſhortly forget that great Outrage done by thoſe Generations

of Vipers unto his Noble Person only for God's Cause? Did not some of the same ill kind also, I mean that Romanist Sect, as well within his own Realm as without, conspire oftentimes his Death, which was manifestly and oftentimes proved, to the confusion of some of their privy Assisters. Then was it not that all the Spiritualty, nor yet the Temporalty, did so fully assent to his Godly Orders, as your Grace writeth of? Did not his Grace also depart from this Life before he had fully finished such Orders as he minded to have established to all his People, if death had not prevented him? Is it not most true, that no kind of Religion was perfected at his Death, but left all uncertain, most like to have brought us in Parties and Divisions, if God had not only helpt us? And doth your Grace think it convenient it should so remain? God forbid. What regret and sorrow our late Master had, the time he saw he must depart, for that he knew the Religion was not established as he purposed to have done, I and others can be witness and testify; and what he would have done further in it, if he had lived, a great many know, and also I can testifie: And doth your Grace, who is learned, and should know God's Word, esteem true Religion, and the knowledg of the Scriptures, to be new-fangledness and fantasie? For the Lord's sake turn the Leaf, and look the other while upon the other side, I mean, with another Judgment, which must pass by an humble Spirit through the Peace of the Living God, who of his infinite Goodness and Mercy grant unto your Grace plenty thereof, to the satisfying of your Soveraign, and your most noble Hearts continual desire.

Number 16.

Certain Petitions and Requests made by the Clergie of the Lower House of the Convocation, to the most Reverend Father in God the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury *his Grace, and the residue of the Prelats of the Higher House, for the furtherance of certain Articles following.*

First; That Ecclesiastical Laws may be made and established in this Realm by thirty two Persons, or so many as shall please the King's Majesty to name and appoint, according to the effect of a late Statute made in 35*th* Year of the most noble King, and of most famous Memory, King *Henry* the 8*th*. So that all Judges Ecclesiastical, proceeding after those Laws, may be without danger and peril. Ex M. S. Dr. *Stilling-fleet.*

Also that according to the Ancient Custom of this Realm, and the Tenour of the King's Writ for the summoning of the Parliament, which be now, and ever have been, directed to the Bishops of every Diocess, the Clergy of the Lower House of the Convocation may be adjoined, and associate with the Lower House of the Parliament; or else, That all such Statutes and Ordinances as shall be made concerning all Matters of Religion and Causes Ecclesiastical, may not pass without the sight and assent of the said Clergy.

Also

Alſo that whereas by the Commandment of King *Henry* the 8*th*, certain Prelats and learned Men were appointed to alter the Service in the Church, and to deviſe other convenient and uniform Order therein; Who according to the ſame Appointment, did make certain Books, as they be informed; Their Requeſt is, That the ſaid Books may be ſeen and peruſed by them, for a better expedition of Divine Service to be ſet forth accordingly.

Alſo that Men being called to Spiritual Promotions, or Benefices, may have ſome Allowance for their neceſſary Living, and other Charges to be ſuſtained and born, concerning the ſame Benefices, in the firſt Year wherein they pay the firſt Fruits.

Whether the Clergy of the Convocation may liberally ſpeak their Minds without danger of Statute or Law?

Number 17.

A ſecond Petition to the ſame purpoſe.

Ex M.S. Dr. *Stilling-fleet.*

WHere the Clergy, in this preſent Convocation aſſembled, have made humble ſuit unto the moſt Reverend Father in God, my Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and all the other Biſhops, That it may pleaſe them to be a Mean to the King's Majeſty, and Lord Protector's Grace, that the ſaid Clergy, according to the Tenour of the King's Writ, and the Ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of this Noble Realm, might have their Room and Place, and be aſſociated with the Commons in the Nether Houſe of this preſent Parliament, as Members of the Common-Wealth, and the King's moſt humble Subjects. And if this may not be permitted and granted unto them, that then no Statutes nor Laws concerning the Chriſtian Religion, or which ſhall concern eſpecially the Perſons, Poſſeſſions, Rooms, Livings, Juriſdictions, Goods or Chattels of the ſaid Clergy, may paſs nor be enacted, the ſaid Clergy not being made privy thereunto, and their Anſwers and Reaſons not heard. The ſaid Clergy do moſt humbly beſeech an Anſwer and Declaration to be made unto them, what the ſaid moſt Reverend Father in God, and all other the Biſhops, have done in this their humble Suit and Requeſt, to the end that the ſaid Clergy, if need be, may chuſe of themſelves ſuch able and diſcreet Perſons, which ſhall effectually follow the ſame Suit in the Name of them all.

And whereas in a Statute ordained and eſtabliſhed by Authority of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, in the 25*th* Year of the Reign of the moſt excellent Prince King *Henry* the 8*th*; The Clergy of this Realm ſubmitting themſelves to the King's Highneſs, did knowledg and confeſs, according to the Truth, That the Convocations of the ſame Clergy have been, and ought to be aſſembled by the King's Writ, and did promiſe farther, *in Verbo Sacerdotii*, that they never from thenceforth would preſume to attempt, alledg, claim, or put in uſe, or enact, promulge, or execute any new Canons, Conſtitutions, Ordinances, Provincials,

Provincials, or other, or by whatſoever other Name they ſhall be called in the Convocation, unleſs the King's moſt Royal Aſſent and Licenſe may to them be had to make, promulge, and execute the ſame. And his Majeſty to give his moſt Royal Aſſent and Authority in that behalf, upon pain of every one of the Clergy doing the contrary, and being thereof Convict, to ſuffer Impriſonment, and make Fine at the King's Will. And that no Canons, Conſtitutions, or Ordinances ſhall be made or put in execution within this Realm, by Authority of the Convocation of the Clergy, which ſhall be repugnant to the King's Prerogative Royal, or the Cuſtoms, Laws, or Statutes of this Realm; which Statute is eft-ſoons renewed and eſtabliſhed in the 27*th* Year of the Reign of the moſt noble King, as by the Tenour of both Statutes more at large will appear. The ſaid Clergy being preſently aſſembled in Convocation, by Authority of the King's Writ, do deſire that the King's Majeſty's Licenſe in writing, may be for them obtained and granted, according to the effect of the ſaid Statutes authoriſing them to attempt, entreat, and commune of ſuch Matters, and therein freely to give their Conſents, which otherwiſe they may not do upon pain and peril premiſed.

Alſo the ſaid Clergy deſireth, that ſuch Matters as concerneth Religion, which be diſputable, may be quietly and in good order reaſoned and diſputed among them in this Houſe, whereby the Verities of ſuch Matters ſhall the better appear, and the Doubts being opened, and reſolutely diſcuſſed, Men may be fully perſwaded with the quietneſs of their Conſciences, and the time well ſpent.

Number 18.

A Paper offered to Q. *Elizabeth*, and afterwards to K. *James*, concerning the Inferior Clergies being brought to the Houſe of Commons.

Reaſons to induce her Majeſty, that Deans, Arch-Deacons, and ſome other of her grave and wiſe Clergie, may be admitted into the Lower Houſe of Parliament.

1. IN former Times, when Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical were either not at all, or elſe very rarely treated of in that Aſſembly, the Clergy were thought Men moſt meet to conſult and determine of the Civil Affairs of this Realm. Ex M.S. Dr. *Borlace.*

2. The Supream Authority in Church Cauſes, is not newly granted, but reunited and reſtored to the Crown; and an Order is by Law already eſtabliſhed, how all Abuſes in the Church are to be reformed: ſo as no cauſe concerning Religion may be handled in that Houſe, without her Majeſty's ſpecial leave, but with the manifeſt impeaching of her Prerogative Royal, and contempt of the ſaid Order.

3. If it ſhall pleaſe her Highneſs to give way to this Courſe, that Church-Matters be there debated, and in part concluded: How much more neceſſary is it now, than it was in former Times, that ſome of the Clergy ſhould be there preſent at the ſame?

4. * It

* In the same Paper written over to be presented to K. James, this Article is thus varied. *It is thought the Clergie falling into a Premunire, and so not in the King's Protection, it did afterwards please the King to pardon them, but not to restore them. So began this Separation, as far forth as can be collected; then the Wisdom of a great Politician, meeting with the Ambition of as great a Prelat, wrought the continuance of the said Separation; under this pretence, That it should be most for the Honour of him and his Clergie, to be still by themselves in two Assemblies of Convocation, answerable in proportion to the two Houses of Parliament.* There are many other inconsiderable Amendments made by Bishop Ravis's own hand.

4. * It doth not appear why they were excluded, but as it is thought either the King offended with some of them, did so grievously punish the whole Body, or else the Ambition of one of them meeting with the subtilty of an undermining Politick, did occasion this causeless Separation.

5. They are yet to this day called by several Writs, directed into their several Diocesses under the Great Seal, to assist the Prince in that High Court of Parliament.

6. Though the Clergy and the Universities be not the worst Members of this Common-Wealth, yet in that respect they are of all other in worst condition; for in that Assembly every Shire hath their Knights, and every incorporate Town their Burgesses, only the Clergy and the Universities are excluded.

7. The Wisdom and Justice of this Realm doth intend, That no Subject should be bound to that Law, whereunto he himself (after a sort) hath not yielded his Consent; but the Clergy and the Universities may now be concluded by Law, without their Consent, without their just Defence, without their Privity.

8. The many Motions made so prejudicial to the State and being of the Clergy and Universities, followed now with so great eagerness in that House, would then be utterly silenced, or soon repressed, with the sober and sufficient Answers of the Clergy present.

9. It would much repair the Reputation and Credit of the Clergy, which now is exposed to great contumely and contempt, as generally abroad in this Land, so particularly in that House. And whoso is religious and wise may observe, That the Contempt of the Clergy is the high way to Atheism and all Prophaneness. Men are Flesh and not Spirit, led by ordinary outward Means, and not usually overwrought by extraordinary Inspirations; and therefore do easily despise their Doctrine, whose Persons they have in contempt.

10. Look into the whole World, Christian or Unchristian, and see if the Civil State in every Place be not supported and maintained by the Dignity and Authority of their Clergies, subordinate and subjected unto them: As on the contrary, where the Clergy is base and contemptible, there grows an Anarchy and Confusion. It is Conscience that works Obedience to the temporal Magistrate, not Constitutions, nor Constraint; the one may command it, the other may correct the breach of it, only Religion effects a peaceable Subjection.

11. It concerneth the Clergy most of all Men in England, that the present State be continued, as now it is happily established without any alteration. Whereas some others in that House may think it would be good for them to fish in troubled Waters, or that any change would be

better

better to them, than their present Estate wherein they live so Male-content, through their own unthriftiness or malignity of Nature, or perverseness of Opinion.

12. If hereafter God in justice should plague us for our Sins, by taking away the joy of our Hearts, yet how greatly would it tend to his Glory, the Good of this Land, and the Honour of her blessed Memory; if it shall please her Majesty, to leave a Portion of the Clergy interessed in that House, where they may stand for the Godly Government established in her days, against all Innovation of Popery or Puritanism?

13. In the mean time (which God in Mercy grant may be for many Generations) her Majesty shall be sure of a number more in that Assembly, that ever will be most ready to maintain her Prerogative, and to enact whatsoever may make most for her Highness safety and contentment, as the Men that next under God's Goodness do most depend upon her Princely Clemency and Protection.

14. It would much recover the ancient Estimation and Authority of that Assembly, if it might be encreased with Men of Religion, Learning, and Discretion; which now is somewhat imbased by Youths, Serving-men, and Out-Laws, that injuriously are crept into the Honourable House.

15. And it is the more necessary that there were some more Men of Sobriety and Judgment in that Meeting, that might counterpoise the haste and headiness of others that have intruded themselves, especially considering that a Cipher is as sufficient to promote a single Figure of One into the place of Ten, as the best Man that giveth Voice in that House, when they come to calculating.

Number 19.

A Letter of Martin Bucers *to* Gropper.

Gratiam & Pacem Doctissime & Amicissime Vir.

Quod tam sero respondeo ad tuas Literas, quanquam etiam occupationes Ministerii mei, tamen id magis in causa fuit, quod non satis liqueret, quomodo respondere conveniret, simul meæ in te Charitati, meoq; Ministerio, & præsenti temporis conditioni. Sed tamen quia Charitati Deus facile omnia secundat, & frugifera facit, hac incitatus nunc respondeo, & respondeo ex ejus dictatione. Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

Et primum de eo, quod te de meo adventu & Ministerio non præmonuerim. Quod per totam Germaniam increbuerat, etiam anteaquam Ego certus de vocatione ista essem, non putavi te latere posse. Mox etiam ut adveni & priusquam aliquid Ministerii inivissem, tuum colloquiuum expetii. Certe nihil maluissem quam a te ante omnia doceri & institui. Novit Christus quid tibi Tribuam.

Quod scribis te cupere meam conditionem sic esse ut Clero & Populo Vestræ Coloniæ Agrippinæ gratus esse & placere possem, nunc cum secus se res habeant, non esse quod tibi quid imputem. Tibi optime Groppere nihil hujus imputo, confido enim te,

 me,

me, quo ipse loco habes, eo etiam ſtudere apud alios collocare.

Sed cogitemus juxta, cui, Ego Clero iſtic, cui populo & cur gratus minus ſim, & non placeam, Clerus & Populus Chriſti cum Domino ſuo, Perſonam nullam in invocantibus Chriſtum, in iis præſertim, quos aliqua Religionis Noſtræ opinio commendat, averſatur: quamvis deprehenſi in contumelia Chriſti, in deſertione verbi ejus, in Scandalo objecto Eccleſiæ ejus; Lex noſtra non Judicat quenquam niſi audierit prius ab eo, & cognoverit quid fecerit. Audiant, cognoſcant, tum Judicent: ſi audire & cognoſcere nolunt nec Judicare jure poſſunt. Vulgata eſt hæc Reſponſio, ſed noſti etiam Jure Divino, Naturæ, & ſcripto ab hominibus niti.

Sed O Clerum, O ſortem Domini, & habentes Chriſtum ſortem ſuam. Gratias ago Chriſto Domino noſtro quod in me nihil deprehendet veſter Clerus & Populus, cur me ullo Jure abjicere, nedum perſequi queant. Aſſumpſit me Dominus, Servorum non eſt rejicere: poſuit me in Miniſterium ſuum Chriſtus, depelli me eo nemo de Clero Chriſti poſtulabit. Agnoſcunt ſe invicem & amant, atq; in opere eodem promovent, quicunq; Chriſti Spiritu vivunt & aguntur, qui hunc non habent, Chriſti non ſunt, quicquid ipſi ſe, vel alii eos vocent.

Diſplicet in me quod videor aliquid Canonum, ſed humanitus tantum Conditorum, tranſgreſſus. Hoc ſi propter Eccleſiam Chriſti, vel ejus ædificationem vel ornatum diſpliceret, non tolerata fuiſſent tam diu, & hodie tolerarentur, tam horrendæ & Manifeſtæ Simoniæ, Sacrilegia, & vitæ totius tanta, adeoq; & Canonibus, & Divinis Legibus graviter damnata fœditas. Chriſti igitur veritas, & libertas in me iſtis diſplicet, non tranſgreſſio Canonum, quam in ſumma neceſſariis Sanctionibus penitus & tot jam ſæculis pro ridiculo habent.

Conſolabor itaq; me in Domino, Beati eſtis, cum vos odio habuerint homines, & a ſe excluſerint, atq; convitiis proſciderint & rejecerint nomen veſtrum tanquam nefandum, Cauſa filii hominis. Qui in Cœlis ſedet Pater ridet profecto hoſce conatus contra Regnum Filii ſui, & brevi loquetur illis in ira ſua. Avertat miſericordia ejus, quæ ſequuntur.

Deploranda profecto Cæcitas, non videre hanc Dei clariſſimam Lucem, infanda ſtupiditas, iſta Dei Judicia non ſentire. Quotidie enim vident & audiunt ut collidantur, qui impingunt in hanc pœnam Scandali, & ut commolat illa, in quos ipſa ceciderit, & tamen conantur adhuc rejicere hunc lapidem, quem Pater in Zion pro fundamento & angulo poſuit. Sed dolent hæc & tibi, ac mecum ea deploras, provides enim quid iſta malorum invehant, & adhuc invectura ſint.

Audio pleroſq; multo quam antea ſolitum fuit concionari purius, audivi etiam quoſdam ipſe, in quorum concionibus nihil reprehendendum audiebatur, at quam multa deſiderabantur. Nam pro Amplitudine Majeſtatis Chriſti, prædicanda Chriſti omnia ſunt: hoc eſt ſumma perſpicuitate, libertate & virtute, non enim ut multa præclara cogitemus, aut loquamur, ſed ut Domino magis magiſq; fidamus, nomen ejus celebremus: idq; verbis & factis omnibus, ſacræ Conciones habendæ ſunt. Quare etiam oppoſita juxta ſe ponenda ſunt ut magis illuceſcant; ſed ad ſingularia Sermo dimittendus eſt ut plus moneat.

In Templo D. Columbæ, aiunt Idolo ejus Imaginis parari veſtem majoris pretii quam Centum Florenorum. Si jam Paſtor hujus Parochiæ

Chriſtum

Chriſtum pure & ἐνεργῶς cum effectu prædicat, qui fert tam pudendam Idololatriam? Et ſi ornari ſtatuam poſſe aliquo colore dicere conetur, quare non eum cultum preſcribit, quem gratum Martyribus & S. Patres teſtantur, cultum qui Cruci Chriſti ſit conſentaneus: Sed ſicut ipſi verbis Chriſto omnia tribuunt, facto autem quærunt & proſequuntur tam multa contra Chriſtum, ita faciunt etiam populum delectari nonnihil Saniore Doctrina. Omni autem Vita & Religione permanere in omnibus Superſtitionibus & Vitæ impuritate in qua antea hærebat.

Jactatur magna populi devotio iſtis & erga Paſtores ſuos reverentia, hoc autem gravius peccatur, cum illis Chriſtus non quam ſimpliciſſime in omnibus etiam Ceremoniis prædicatur. Sed O ſpinas exiſtimationis & commoditas mundialis, O fundum tenuem, & humorem malignum, in quo æſtus Crucis enatum ſemen tam cito areſacit. Hæc de iis ſcribo ad quos pertinent.

De te non dubito Gloriam Chriſti & propugnationem Regni ejus tibi quoq; ut ſcribis, cordi eſſe: tamen te rogo per Chriſtum id quod ſubjicis diligenter & coram Chriſto Domino excutias.

Sed nolui tamen ſic urgere Cauſam Chriſti, ut dum promotam eam velim, magis remorer. Zelum oportet eſſe ſecundum ſcientiam, Recte hæc, ſi rite intelligantur. Sed ſcientia Spiritus, non Carnis, hic opus eſt. Cauſa Chriſti nec debet nec poteſt per ſe quidem urgeri niſi aſſiduis præcibus, & modeſta, leni, Religioſa, ſed libera, ſed clara, ſed integra confeſſione & prædicatione Chriſti, eaq; quæ non verbis tantum ſed etiam factis conſtet. Hoc ſi ſcimus & agimus, Zelum habemus ſecundum ſcientiam, & Cauſam Chriſti tantum promovere, & remorari non poſſumus. Nam Chriſto tradita eſt omnis poteſtas in Cœlo & in Terra, igitur nihil eſt Poteſtatis per ſe Pontifici, cucullatis & perſonatis, ac quibuſvis titulis titulatis hominibus, qui ſcilicet ægreferant liberam & puram Chriſti Prædicationem. Eſt quidem aliquando tacendum Evangelium Chriſti, ſed apud canes & porcos, imo nec apud hos tacendum eſt, cum Gloria Chriſti agitur: ſed animoſe confitendum eſt, quanquam non ſit illis late explicandum, id eſt, Sanctum hoc projiciendum & Margaritæ iſtæ ſpargendæ.

Sunt qui ferre nos Lutheranos non poſſunt, & tamen a Regno Chriſti non abhorrent? Ubi quæſo ſunt & qui? Qui enim aliquid Chriſti habent, ii neminem odiſſe & condemnare ſuſtinent, non auditum, non cognita cauſa; nam Filii Dei agnoſcunt loquelam Chriſti, oves ejus ſequuntur vocem ejus, per quemcunq; eam inſonari fecerit.

Si Reformatio Eccleſiæ per iſtos ulla quæritur, indubie id quærent, ut Membra Chriſti omnia ſub capite Chriſto recolligantur & reconcinnentur & cooptentur. Quare nemo horum, qui vero Reformationis veræ ſtudio tenetur, ullum hominem ſub ullo titulo, quamvis odioſum invidia Crucis Chriſti, cuiquam impoſuerit, ab hoc ſancto opere inſtaurandi Eccleſias rejiciat, præſertim cum luce meridiana conſtet clarius, Pontificios nihil prorſus paſſuros mutari. Quid ergo? non quæremus ut Patria noſtra tam pernitioſis deſidiis aliquando liberaretur, ut uno tandem ore Chriſtum glorificemus.

Ne reſecemus vites, & uvas queramus a Spinis. Valeat apud nos præjudicium Chriſti: quoſq; ille aſſumpſit; eos conſervi ne repudiemus. Quid cuiq; datum ſit facile videre eſt: arbor quælibet ut plantata eſt, ut ingenium habet, ita fert fructum. Ne fugiamus Scandalum

Crucis cum quo Christus est. Et si Christi nos non pudet, nec servorum ejus nos pudeat. Paulus scribit Timotheo, ne pudet te Testimonii Domini Nostri, neq; mei vincti ejus: ita dum nos negotia Domini agimus sinceriter, nec nostri quisquam, quantumlibet nos Mundus inter damnatos numeret, qui Christi sit, pudebit. Non est res ulla, ad quam quisquis eam sincere agit, magis expetat adjuvari se, etiamsi fieri possit ab omnibus Creaturis, atq; est negotium Reformationis Christianæ.

Irascentur quidam, tumultuabuntur graviter credo, & impedient negotium Domini; hoc non credo, neq; enim poterunt. Et ut Dominus eis gravissima contra Regnum suum facere concedat, tamen nobis Filiis Dei propterea nihil tacendum, nihil dissimulandum, nihil remittendum est in hac Causa Christi.

Jubes me non suspicari te sic mundo inescatum, ut refugias Crucem Domini ferre, si ita res postulet, & fructum facturus videare: de te profecto hoc bonis apud quos convenit semper Testor, te mihi multo plura in Causa Christi hactenus semper reipsa præstitisse, quam promisisses aut etiam verbis præ te tulisses: apud me quidem, cum contrarium nunc accidat a quodam, nisi te Christi membrum & præclaris dotibus ornatum suspicerem, crede, ita dedit mihi Dominus sublimia Mundi non mirari, tuam amicitiam & familiaritatem tantopere non quæsivissem, nec tali studio colerem: sed valde oro Dominum det tibi videre ubi, quando & qua ratione fructum pro Regno facere possis; & animet te ac corroboret forti contemplatione Potestatis & Majestatis suæ, ut vere dicas, absit mihi gloriari nisi in Cruce Domini Nostri Jesu Christi per quem mihi Mundus Crucifixus est & ego mundo. Tantæ opes, honores, Curæ rerum sæcularium, tamen spinæ sunt, tamen onera sunt. Presbyter es Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, cujus præcipuum munus est prædicare Christum. Clericum veteres Sancti non patiebantur, vel tutelam pupillorum, vel curam viduarum suscipere, tam liberum volebant esse curis hujus Sæculi omnem Clericum: at quantis tu ac etiam privatis causis, nec tamen semper Pupillorum & Viduarum prægravaris, id dolet indubie & tibi ipsi. Acceptabile Tempus nunc est & Dies Salutis, sed tempus breve, visitationem Nostram tempore agnoscamus & sequamur.

Hæc dum non datur commentari tecum coram, quia te vere diligo, quia colo sinceriter, cum hunc certum haberem nuncium, ad te scribere volui.

Quod magnificum D. Cancellarium meis Verbis diligenter Salutasti, gratias ago, utinam autem & resalutare ille, vel hic cum fuit, quod usq; ad eam Diem quo iterum abiit clam me fuit, admittere me ad pium colloquium dignatus esset. Tamen rogo salutes illum officiose meis verbis.

Dominus Jesus qui solus & efficit & largitur omne bonum, donet ut omnia in ipso quæramus, & ab Ipso expectemus: Sic facile nos in ipso agnoscemus & complectemur, quicquid odiosorum Titulorum Diabolus & Membra ejus injiciant. In Christo enim nec Mas quidem & Fœmina, Judæus & Ethnicus, nedum Lutherani & Romani; sed omnes unum sunt. In hoc bene vale, & fac pro Chrsti Charitate ut tandem nos aliquando videamus, & Sancto Colloquio nos mutuo recreemus. Optime

mi

mi & colende atq; vere dilecte Cordi meo Groppere. Bonn pridie Calendas Februarii 1543.

Deditus Tibi in Domino,

M. Bucerus.

Præcipuum oblitus eram, te per Christum rogo & obtestor, mone ad huc me, versantem in Negotio Christi. Debes hoc Christo; & apud me tuto depones omnia nec unquam frustra monebis.

Number 20.

Questions and Answers concerning the Divorce of the Marquess of Northampton.

Ex M. S. Dr. *Stilling-fleet.*

1. Quid dirimit Matrimonii Vinculum?
2. Quas ob causas dirimi poterit?
3. An dirimi poterit Conjugium a thoro, non a vinculo?
4. Quibus casibus possit sic dirimi?
5. An exceptio illa (*excepta Fornicationis causa*) etiam in Lucæ, Marci & Pauli locis, qui de his rebus tractant, est subaudienda?
6. An etiam Uxor, repudiata propter Adulterium, alteri poterit nubere?
7. An redire ad priorem maritum, repudiatæ Adulteræ liceat?
8. An Maritus, propter Adulterium, ab Uxore casta possit repudiari?

Ad primam Respondemus; Ipso Adulterii facto Matrimonii vinculum dirimi. Nam alioquin, ob solum Adulterium non liceret viro Uxorem repudiare: voluntas viri solicitat judices, Judices palam faciunt Ecclesiæ, virum licite talem repudiare Uxorem.

Ad secundam Resp. Quod ob solam causam stupri dirimitur Matrimonii vinculum: cujus ipso quidem facto, Conjugii dissolvitur nodus,& loquimur his, qui Sacrosancti Matrimonii jus agnoscunt.

Ad tertiam Resp. Quod non; quia Mulier quamdiu vixerit, *alligata & viro*, Rom. 7. *item ne fraudetis vos invicem*, 1 Cor. 7. item in eodem loco Uxori Vir debitam benevolentiam reddat simpliciter, & Uxor viro, *item Vir non habeat potestatem sui corporis*, sed Uxor similiter; *nec Uxor habeat potestatem sui corporis, sed Vir.*

Ad quartam patet in responsione ad tertiam.

Ad quintam Respondemus; quod exceptio ista, viz. *Nisi causa stupri*; est subaudienda in Luca, Marco & Paulo: alioquin manifesta erit repugnantia inter Matthæum & eos.

Ad sextam respond. Quod repudiata propter Adulterium, quia Uxor repudiantis desiit esse, ob idq; libera est sicut aliæ omnes post obitum virorum possunt aliis nubere; æquo jure juxta illud *Pauli, si non contineant, contrahant Matrimonium*, 1 Cor. 7.

Ad septimam respond. Quod non licet repudiatæ Adulteræ redire ad repudiantem, tanquam alligatæ ei Jugi vinculo Matrimonii.

Ultimæ Quæstio Nihil ad Nos.

Injunctions

Number 21.

Injunctions given by the King's Majesty's Visitors, to all and every the Clergie and Laity, now resident within the Deanry of Duncastre.

Ex MS. Dr. *Johnson.*

Item. YOu shall not hereafter, in the Pulpit or else-where, on the *Sunday*, or any other day, give knowledg to your Parishioners, when or what day in the Week any of the Abrogate Holy-days were solemnized or kept in the Church, but omit the same with silence as other Working-days, for the utter abolishing of the remembrance thereof.

Item. You shall teach your Parishioners, That Fasting in the *Lent*, and other days, is a meer Positive, that is to say, Man's Law; and by the Magistrates, upon considerations, may be altered, changed, and dispensed with: and that therefore all Persons having just cause of Sickness, or other Necessity, or being licensed thereto, may temperately eat all kinds of Meat, without scruple or grudge of Conscience.

Item. You shall every day, that an High Mass is said or sung at the High Altar, before the same Mass, read openly in your Churches the English *Suffrages*, for the preservation and safeguard of the King's Majesty's People, and prosperous success of his Affairs.

Item. You shall every *Sunday*, at the time of your going about the Church with Holy Water, into three or four places, where most audience and assembly of People is, for the declaration of the Ceremonies, say, distinctly and plainly, that your Parishioners may well hear and perceive the same, these words,

Remember Christ's Blood-shedding, by the which most holy sprinkling, of all your Sins you have free pardon.

And in like manner, before the dealing of the Holy Bread, these words,

Of Christ's Body this is a Token; which on the Cross for our Sins was broken; wherefore of his Death if you will be partakers, of Vice and Sin you must be forsakers.

And the Clarke in the like manner shall bring down the *Paxe*, and standing without the Church Door, shall say loudly to the People these words;

This is a Token of joyful Peace, which is betwixt God and Mens Conscience: Christ alone is the Peace-maker, which straitly commands Peace between Brother and Brother.

And so long as ye use these Ceremonies, so long shall ye use these Significations.

Item.

Item. The Church-Wardens of every Pariſh-Church ſhall, ſome one *Sunday*, or other Feſtival day, every Month, go about the Church, and make requeſt to every of the Pariſh for their charitable Contribution to the Poor; and the Sum ſo collected, ſhall be put in the Cheſt of Alms for that purpoſe provided. And foraſmuch as the Pariſh-Clark ſhall not hereafter go about the Pariſh with his Holy Water as hath been accuſtomed, he ſhall, inſtead of that labour, accompany the ſaid Church-Wardens, and in a Book Regiſter the Name and Sum of every Man that giveth any thing to the Poor, and the ſame ſhall intable; and againſt the next day of Collection, ſhall hang up ſome-where in the Church in open place, to the intent the Poor having knowledg thereby, by whoſe Charity and Alms they be relieved, may pray for the increaſe and proſperity of the ſame.

Item. The Church-Wardens, for the better relief of honeſt Poverty, ſhall, upon ſufficient Surety found for the repayment of the ſame, lend to ſome young married Couple, or ſome poor Inhabitants of their Pariſh, ſome part of the ſaid Alms, whereby they may buy ſome kind of Stuff: by the working, ſale, and gains whereof, they may repay the Sum borrowed, and alſo well relieve themſelves; or elſe the ſaid Church-Wardens to buy the Stuff themſelves, and pay the Poor for their working thereof; and after ſale of the ſame, to return the Sum, with the Gain, to the ſaid Cheſt, there to remain to ſuch-like uſe.

Item. Foraſmuch as heretofore you have not, by any means, diligence, or ſtudy, advanced your ſelves unto knowledg in God's Word, and his Scriptures, condignly, as appertaineth to Prieſts, and Diſpenſators of God's Teſtament; to the intent you may hereafter be of better ability to diſcharge your ſelves towards God, and your Offices to the World, you ſhall daily, for your own ſtudy and knowledg, read over diligently, and weigh with judgment, two Chapters of the New Teſtament, and one of the Old, in Engliſh, and the ſame ſhall put in ure and practice, as well in living as preaching, at times convenient, when occaſion is given.

Item. Foraſmuch as Drunkenneſs, Idleneſs, Brawls, Diſſention, and many other Inconveniences do chance between Neighbour and Neighbour, by the aſſembly of People together at Wakes, and on the Plough-*Mundays*; it is therefore ordered and enjoined, That hereafter the People ſhall uſe, make, or obſerve no more ſuch Wakes, Plough-*Mundays*, or drawing of the ſame, with any ſuch Aſſembly or Rout of People, or otherwiſe, as hath been accuſtomed, upon pain of forfeiting to the King's Highneſs 40 *s.* for every Default, to be paid by the Owner of the Plough and Houſholder, whereunto the ſaid Plough is drawn, or Wakes are kept.

The Names of the Viſitors.

Sir *John Markham.*	*Roger Tongue.*
John Hearn.	*William Moreton.*
Thomas Gragrave.	*Edmund Farley.*

Number 22.

A Proclamation against those that do innovate, alter, or leave down any Rite or Ceremony in the Church of their private Authority; and against them which Preach without License. Set forth the *6th* day of *February*, in the Second Year of the King's Majesty's most gracious Reign.

Ex Reg. Cranmer. Fol. 111.

The King's Majesty, by the advice of his most entirely beloved Uncle, the Duke of Somerset, Governor of his most Royal Person, and Protector of all his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and others of his Counsel; Considering nothing so much to tend to the disquieting of this Realm, as diversity of Opinions, and variety of Rites and Ceremonies concerning Religion, and worshipping of Almighty God; and therefore studying all the ways and means which can be to direct this Church, and the Cure committed to his Highness, in one and most true Doctrine, Rite, and Usage, yet is advertised, That certain private Curats, Preachers, and other Lay-men, contrary to their bounden Duties of Obedience, do rashly attempt, of their own and singular Wit and Mind, in some Parish-Churches, and otherwise, not only to perswade the People from the old and accustomed Rites and Ceremonies, but also themselves bringeth in new Orders every one in their Church, according to their Phantasies; the which, as it is an evident token of Pride and Arrogance, so it tendeth both to Confusion and Disorder, and also to the high displeasure of Almighty God, who loveth nothing so much as Order and Obedience. Wherefore his Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, That no manner of Person, of what Estate, Order, or Degree soever he be, of his private Mind, Will, or Phantasie, do omit, leave done, change, alter, or innovate any Order, Rite, or Ceremony, commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left undone at any time in the Reign of Our late Soveraign Lord, his Highness Father, other than such as his Highness, by the Advice aforesaid by his Majesty's Visitors, Injunctions, Statutes, or Proclamations, hath already, or hereafter shall command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed, but that they be observed after that sort as before they were accustomed, or else now sith prescribed by the Authority of his Majesty, or by the means aforesaid: upon pain, That whosoever shall offend contrary to this Proclamation, shall incure his Highness Indignation, and suffer Imprisonment, and other grievous Punishments, at his Majesty's Will and Pleasure. Provided always, that for not bearing a Candle upon Candlemass-day; not taking Ashes upon Ash-wednesday; not bearing Palm upon Palm-Sunday; not creeping to the Cross; not taking Holy Bread, or Holy Water; or for omitting other such Rites and Ceremonies concerning Religion, and the Use of the Church, which the most Reverend Father in God, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, by

by his Majesty's Will and Commandment, with the Advice aforesaid, hath declared, or hereafter shall declare to the other Bishops, by his Writing under Seal, as heretofore hath been accustomed to be omitted or changed, no Man hereafter be imprisoned, nor otherwise punished, but all such things to be reputed for the observation and following of the same, as though they were commanded by his Majesty's Injunctions. And to the intent that rash and seditious Preachers should not abuse his Highness People, it is his Majesty's Pleasure, That whosoever shall take upon him to Preach openly in any Parish-Church, Chappel, or any other open place, other than those which be licensed by the King's Majesty, or his Highness Visitors; the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, or the Bishops of the Diocess where he doth preach, except it be Bishop, Parson, Vicar, Dean, Warden, or Provost, in his or their own Cure, shall be forthwith, upon such attempt and preaching, contrary to this Proclamation, be committed to Prison, and there remain, until such time as his Majesty, by the advice aforesaid, hath taken order for the further punishment of the same; and that the Premisses should be more speedily and diligently done and performed, his Highness giveth straitly in Commandment, to all Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Constables, Headboroughs, Church-wardens, and all other his Majesty's Officers and Ministers, and Rulers of Towns, Parishes, and Hamlets, that they be diligent and attendent to the true and faithful execution of this Proclamation, and every part thereof, according to the intent, purport, and effect of the same. And that they of their proceedings herein, or if any Offender be, after they have committed the same to Prison, do certifie his Highness, the Lord Protector, or his Majesty's Council, with all speed thereof accordingly, as they tender his Majesty's Pleasure, the Wealth of the Realm; and will answer to the contrary at their uttermost perils.

God save the King.

Number 23.

An Order of Council for the Removing of Images.

AFter our right hearty Commendations to your good Lordship, where now of late, in the King's Majesty's Visitation, among other Godly Injunctions commanded to be generally observed throughout all Parts of this his Highness Realm, one was set forth for the taking down all such Images as had at any time been abused with Pilgrimages, Offerings, or Censings. Albeit that this said Injunction hath in many parts of the Realm been well and quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much strife and contention hath arisen, and daily ariseth, and more and more increaseth, about the execution of the same: some Men being so superstitious, or rather willful, as they would by their good-wills, retain all such Images still, although they have been most manifestly abused; and in some places also the Images, which by the said Injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up *Regist. Cranmer. Fol. 32.*

 again;

again; and almost in every place is contention for Images, whether they have been abused or not. And whiles these Men go about on both sides contentiously to obtain their Minds, contending whether this or that Image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, Parties have in some places been taken, in such sort, as further inconvenience is very like to ensue, if Remedy be not provided in time. Considering therefore that almost in no places of the Realm is any sure quietness, but where all Images be wholly taken away and pulled down already; to the intent that all Contention in every part of the Realm for this Matter may be clearly taken away, and that the lively Images of Christ should not contend for the dead Images, which be things not necessary, and without which the Churches of Christ continued most Godly many Years, We have thought good to signify unto you, That his Highness Pleasure, with advice and consent of us the Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council, is, That immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order, that all the Images remaining in any Church or Chappel within your Diocess be removed and taken away, but also by your Letters signify unto the rest of the Bishops within your Province, this his Highness Pleasure, for the like Order to be given by them, and every of them within their several Diocess; and in the execution hereof We require, both you and the rest of the said Bishops, to use such foresight, as the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the People as may be. Thus fare your good Lordship well. From *Somerset* House, the 21 of *February*, 1547.

Your Lordships assured Friends,

E. *Somerset.*	*T. Seymor.*
Jo. Russel.	*Anthony Wingfield.*
Henricus Arundel.	*William Paget.*

Number 24.

The Copy of a Letter sent to all those Preachers which the King's Majesty hath licensed to Preach, from the Lord Protector's Grace, and other of the King's Majesty's most honourable Council; the 13th day of May, *in the Second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign* Lord, *King* Edward *the Sixth.*

AFter our right hearty Commendations, as well for the Conservation of the quietness and good order of the King's Majesty's Subjects, as that they should not, by evil and unlearned Preachers, be brought unto Superstition, Error, or evil Doctrine, or otherwise, be made stubborn and disobedient to the King's Majesty's Godly Proceedings, his Highness, by our Advice, hath thought good to inhibit all manner of Preachers, who have not such License, as in the same Proclamation is allowed, to preach, or stir the People, in open and common preachings of Sermons, by any means, that the devout and godly Homilies,

Homilies, might the better, in the mean while, ſink into his Subjects Hearts, and be learned the ſooner, the People not being toſſed to and fro with ſeditious and contentious Preaching, while every Man, according to his Zeal, ſome better, ſome worſe, goeth about to ſet out his own Phantaſie, and to draw the People to his Opinion. Nevertheleſs it is not his Majeſty's Mind hereby clearly to extinct the lively Teaching of the Word of God, by Sermons made after ſuch ſort, as for the time the Holy Ghoſt ſhall put into the Preacher's Mind, but that raſh, contentious, hot, and undiſcreet Preachers, ſhould be ſtopped; and that they only which be choſen and elect, be diſcreet and ſober Men, ſhould occupy that place, which was made for Edification, and not for Deſtruction; for the Honour of God, and Peace and Quietneſs of Conſcience to be ſet forward, not for private Glory to be advanced; to appeaſe, to teach; to inſtruct the People with Humility and Patience, not to make them contentious and proud; to inſtil into them their Duty to their Heads and Rulers, Obedience to Laws and Orders, appointed by the Superiors who have Rule of God; not that every Man ſhould run before their Heads hath appointed them what to do, and that every Man ſhould chuſe his own way in Religion: The which thing yet being done of ſome Men, and they being rather provoked thereto by certain Preachers, than dehorted from it, it was neceſſary to ſet a ſtay therein: And yet foraſmuch as we have a great confidence and truſt in you, that you will not only Preach truly and ſincerely the Word of God, but alſo will uſe circumſpection and moderation in your Preaching, and ſuch Godly Wiſdom as ſhall be neceſſary and moſt convenient for the Time and Place. We have ſent unto you the King's Majeſty's Licenſe to Preach, but yet with this Exhortation and Admoniſhment, That in no wiſe you do ſtir and provoke the People to any Alteration or Innovation, other than is already ſet forth by the King's Majeſty's Injunctions, Homilies, and Proclamations; but contrariwiſe, That you do in all your Sermons exhort Men to that which is at this time more neceſſary; that is, to the emendation of their own Lives, to the obſervance of the Commandments of God, to Humility, Patience, and Obedience to their Heads and Rulers; comforting the Weak, and teaching them the right way, and to flee all old Erroneous Superſtitions, as the Confidence in Pardons, Pilgrimages, Beads, Religious Images, and other ſuch of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Traditions and Superſtitions, with his uſurped Power; the which things be here in this Realm moſt juſtly aboliſhed; and ſtraitly rebuking thoſe, who of an arrogancy and proud haſtineſs, will take upon them to run before they be ſent, to go before the Rulers, to alter and change things in Religion, without Authority, teaching them to expect and tarry the time which God hath ordained, to the revealing of all Truth, and not to ſeek ſo long blindly and hidlings after it, till they bring all Orders into contempt. It is not a private Man's Duty to alter Ceremonies, to innovate Orders in the Church; nor yet it is not a Preachers part to bring that into contempt and hatred, which the Prince doth either allow, or is content to ſuffer. The King's Highneſs, by our Advice, as a Prince moſt earneſtly given to the true knowledg of God, and to bring up his People therein, doth not ceaſe to

labour and travel by all godly means, that his Realm might be brought and kept in a most Godly and Christian Order, who only may and ought to do it. Why should a private Man, or a Preacher, take this Royal and Kingly Office upon him; and not rather, as his Duty is, obediently follow himself, and teach likewise others to follow and observe that which is commanded. What is abolished, taken away, reformed, and commanded, it is easy to see by the Acts of Parliament, the Injunctions, Proclamations, and Homilies: the which things most earnestly it behoveth all Preachers in their Sermons to confirm and approve accordingly, in other things which be not yet touched, it behoveth him to think, that either the Prince doth allow them, or else suffer them; and in those it is the part of a Godly Man, not to think himself wiser than the King's Majesty, and his Council: but patiently to expect and to conform himself thereto, and not to intermeddle further, to the disturbance of a Realm, the disquieting of the King's People, the troubling of Mens Consciences, and disorder of the King's Subjects.

These things we have thought good to admonish you of at this time, because we think you will set the same so forward in your preaching, and so instruct the King's Majesty's People accordingly, to the most advancement of the Glory of God, and the King's Majesty's most Godly Proceedings, that we do not doubt but much profit shall ensue thereby, and great conformity in the People the which you do instruct; and so we pray you not to fail to do: and having a special regard to the weakness of the People what they may bear, and what is most convenient for the time; in no case to intermeddle in your Sermons, or otherwise, with Matters in contention or controversion, except it be to reduce the People in them also to Obedience, and following of such Orders as the King's Majesty hath already set forth, and no others, as the King's Majesty and our Trust is in you, and as you tender his Highness Will and Pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at your Peril.

Fare you well.

Printed at *London*, *June* 1. 1548.

Number

Number 25.

Queries put concerning some Abuses of the Mass; with the Answers that were made by many Bishops and Divines to them.

Quest. 1.

Whether the Sacrament of the Altar was instituted to be received of one Man for another, or to be received of every Man for himself? Ex M.S. Dr. *Stillingfleet.*

Answers.

THE Sacrament of the Altar was not instituted to be received of one Man for another, but to be received by every Man for himself. *Cantuarien.*

The Sacrament of the Altar was not instituted to be received of one Man for one other, but of every Man for himself. *Eboracen.*

I think that the Sacrament of Thanks was not instituted to be received of one Man for another, but of every Man for himself. *London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven.*

The Sacrament of the Altar was instituted, to be received of every Man by himself, to make him a Member of Christ's Mystical Body, and to knit and unite him to Christ our Head; as St. *Paul* saith, 1 *Cor.* 10. *Unus Panis, & unum Corpus, multi sumus omnes qui de uno pane participamus.* *Dunelm.*

The Sacrament of the Altar was not instituted to be received of one Man for another Sacramentally, no more than one Man to be Christened for another: notwithstanding the Grace received by him that is Housled, or Christened, is profitable and available to the whole Mystical Body of Christ, and therefore to every lively Member thereof. *Sarisburien.*

The Sacrament (as they call it) of the Altar, was not instituted to be received of one for another, but of every Man for himself: For Christ, the Institutor of this Sacrament, saith, with manifest words, *Take, eat,* &c. *Mat.* 26. And also, *John* 6. *Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you. Whoso eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal Life.* Nor the receiving of one Man doth avail or profit any other; otherwise than by the way of Example, whereby the People present are provoked to the imitation of the thing that is good. *Lincoln.*

The

Elien. The Sacrament of the Altar was not instituted to be received of one Man for another, but of every Man for himself.

Covent. & Litchfield. I think and suppose, that the Sacrament of the Altar was instituted to be received of every Man for himself; for so are the words of Christ, *Comedite & bibite*, speaking to them present, and to every one of them.

Carliolen. The Sacrament of the Altar was not ordained or instituted to be received of one Man alone, but of all, and for all, because it is the General and continual Remedy, help, and succour of all, which maketh no let or stop of themselves, and their own unfaithful or sinful Life.

Roffen. Of every Man for himself.

Bristollen. The Sacrament of the Altar was not instituted to be received of one Man for another Sacramentally, no more than one Man to be Christened for another, but every Man to receive it in Faith and cleanliness of Life for himself.

Meneven. The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ was not instituted, that one Man should receive it for another, but every Man for himself. *Probet autem seipsum homo, & sic de pane illo edat, & de poculo illo bibat.* Cor. 11.

Dr. Cox. The Sacrament of Thanks was instituted to be received of every Man for himself, and not of one for another.

Dr. Tyler. Of every Man for himself.

Quest. 2.

Whether the Receiving of the said Sacrament of one Man doth avail and profit any other?

Answers.

Cantuarien. THe Receiving of the said Sacrament by one Man, doth avail and profit only him that receiveth the same.

Eboracen. The Receiving of the Sacrament only availeth the Receivers thereof, except it be by reason of such Communion as is among the Members of the Mystical Body of Christ.

London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven. I think that the Receiving of the said Sacrament doth not avail or profit any other, but only as all other good Works done of any Member of Christ's Church, be available to the whole Mystical Body of Christ, and to every lively Member of the same, by reason of mutual participation,

Participation, and ſpiritual Communion between them. And alſo it may be profitable to others, as an Example whereby others may be ſtirred to Devotion, and to like Receiving of the ſame.

The Receiving of the Sacrament of one Man doth profit another, as the health and good-liking of one Member, doth in part ſtrengthen the Body, and other Members of the ſame: for St. *Paul* ſaith, *Multi unum corpus ſumus in Chriſto, ſinguli autem alter alterius membra*, Rom. 12. & 1 Cor. 12. *Si gaudet unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra.* And in a Myſtical Body, the good living of one Man, ſtirreth another to the ſame. *Dunelmen.*

The Oblation made after the Conſecration in the Maſs, is the offering unto the Father of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, by the Miniſter, with the Commemoration of the Paſſion, and with Thankſgiving for the ſame, and with the Prayers of the Miniſter and People, that it may be available to all Chriſtian People. *Sarisburien.*

The Receiving thereof of one Man, doth not avail or profit any other, but as all good Deeds profit the Congregation; and as one Member healed or taking nouriſhment, profiteth another Member. *Elien.*

And I ſuppoſe alſo, that the Receiving of one Man doth not avail or profit another, but as every good Act or Deed of one Member doth profit to the whole Body. *Covent. & Litchfield.*

The Receiving of the Sacrament, as it noteth the Act of him who receiveth, it may be, that it neither availeth or profiteth him who receiveth, nor any other, but alſo hurts the Receiver, if he preſume to take it raſhly or unworthily. But as touching the thing which is Sacred, offered, and diſtributed by the Common Miniſter in the *Maſs*, repreſenting the Holy Church, or Myſtical Body of Chriſt, and is received both of him and other that will, whatſoever the Receiving or Receiver be, it availeth and profiteth all preſent, abſent, Living and Dead. *Carliolen.*

No, but as the receipt of wholſome Doctrine, the receipt of the Fear of God, the receipt of any Godly Gift that is profitable to any one Member of Chriſt's myſtical Body, may be ſaid generally to profit the whole Body, becauſe there is a myſtical Communion, and a ſpiritual Participation amongſt all the Members of Chriſt in all Godlineſs; as there is in the natural Body a natural participation of all natural Affections both good and evil. *Roffen.*

It appeareth, by the words of St. *Cyprian*, *Epiſt. 6. Lib. 3.* that it ſhould be profitable and available to others, foraſmuch as he wrote theſe words of the faithful Chriſtians which departed this World in Priſon, and ſaid; *Quanquam fideliſſimus & devotiſſimus frater noſter, inter cætera ſolicitudinem & curam ſuam cum fratribus in omni obſequio operationis impertitur, qui nec illic curam corporum —— ſcripſerit ac ſcribat ac ſignificat mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres noſtri ad immortalitatem* *Briſtollen.*

litatem gloriosæ mortis exitu transeant & celebrentur, hic a nobis Oblationes & Sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum, quæ cito vobiscum, domine prosperante, celebrabimus. Ita enim docuit Apostolus Christi unus Panis & unum
1 Cor. 1. *Corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de uno Pane, & de uno Calice participamus. Nec loquitur de his solis qui eo tempore* Corinthi *conveniebant, & Sacramentum ab unius Sacerdotis manu recipiebant; Verum potius de seipso tunc procul a* Corintho *agente, &* Corinthiis *ipsis omnibusq; in Christum credentibus ubi tandem constituti essent quos omnes significat unum esse Corpus qui toto orbe de uno Pane communicantes participarent.*

Meneven. The Sacrament profiteth him only, that receiveth it worthily; likeas it damnifieth him only that receiveth it unworthily. *Nam qui edit aut bibit indigne, judicium sibi ipsi edit ac bibit,* 1 Cor. 11.

Dr. *Cox.* The Receiving of the said Sacrament, doth avail and profit the Receiver only, and none other, but by occasion to do the like.

Dr. *Tyler.* So much as the Christening of Man profiteth another, which after my Opinion profiteth nothing.

Quest. 3.

What is the Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ in the Mass?

Answers.

Cantuarien. THe Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ in the *Mass* is not so called, because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the Priest and the People, (for that was done but once by himself upon the Cross) but it is so called, because it is a Memory and Representation of that very true Sacrifice and Immolation which before was made upon the Cross.

Eboracen. The Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ in the *Mass*, is the presenting of the very Body and Blood of Christ to the Heavenly Father, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, consecrated in the Remembrance of his Passion, with Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Universal Church.

London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven. I think it is the Presentation of the very Body and Blood of Christ being really present in the Sacrament; which Presentation the Priest maketh at the *Mass*, in the Name of the Church, unto God the Father, in memory of Christ's Passion and Death upon the Cross; with thanksgiving therefore, and devout Prayer, that all Christian People, and namely they which spiritually join with the Priest in the said Oblation, and of whom he maketh special remembrance, may attain the benefit of the said Passion.

Dunelm. The Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ in the *Mass*, is the presenting of Christ by the Priest, in commemoration of his Passion, being our eternal and permanent Sacrifice, present in the Sacrament by his Omnipotent

potent Word left to us, to have his Death and Passion in remembrance, with giving thanks for the same, and Prayer of the Minister, and them which be present, that the same may be available to the whole Church of Christ, both Quick and Dead in the Faith of Christ.

Which Oblation, commemoration of Christ's Passion, giving of Thanks and Prayer, taketh effect only in them which by their own proper Faith shall receive the same effect. *Sarisburie.*

There is properly no Oblation nor Sacrifice, but a remembrance of the One Oblation of Christ upon the Cross, made once for all; a giving of Thanks for the same, and the Prayer of the publick Minister for the whole Congregation; which Prayer only taketh effect in them, who by their own proper Faith receive the benefit of Christ: And where many of those Authors do say there is an Oblation and Sacrifice, they spoke so, because in this Sacrament we be admonished of the Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross. *Lincoln.*

If Oblation be taken *pro re Oblata*, then, as old Ancient Doctors write, it Is, *Corpus & Sanguis, scil. Verum, & Corpus, scil. Mysticum.* If ye take it *pro actu offerendi*, it is a Commemoration and Representation of Christ's Death once suffered upon the Cross, with Thanksgiving for the same. *Elien.*

I suppose the very Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ in the *Mass*, is this; That after the Benediction, that is to say, the words of Consecration spoken by the Priest, and the divine working of Christ presently, by the which there is the very precious Body, and the precious Blood of Christ present to be so received; then the Priest offereth up the holy Memory of our Redemption to God the Father, most humbly praying, That as it was once offered up by Christ upon the Cross, for the Redemption of Man-kind, so it may take effect now, and at all times, especially in those that with a true Faith, with a full Trust and hope shall so worthily receive it. *Covent. & Litchfield.*

The Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ in the *Mass*, is, even the same which was offered by Christ on the Cross, ever and every-where abiding and enduring of like strength, virtue and power. The difference is, That on the Cross Christ being there both Priest and Sacrifice, offered himself visibly; and in the *Mass*, being likewise both Priest and Sacrifice, offereth himself invisibly, by the common Minister of the Church, who in the name and stead of the whole faithful Congregation offereth and presenteth, as he bid and commanded by Christ. *Carliolen.*

The Representation and Commemoration of Christ's Death and Passion, said and done in the *Mass*, is called the Sacrifice, Oblation, or Immolation of Christ; *Non rei veritate*, (as learned Men do write) *sed significandi Mysterio.* *Roffen.*

It is in giving Thanks unto the Father, as Christ did himself at his Supper, taking the Bread and Wine into his hands, and with the words *Bristollen.*

 of

of Consecration, consecrating the same, and then making presentation of the very Body and Blood of Christ unto God the Father, in the Name of the Church, in the memory of Christ's most painful Passion and Death, suffered upon the Cross; and so worthily receiving the same, and with giving thanks again for the same at the latter end; as the Gospel saith, *Hymno dicto*; but what this Hymn or Prayer was, I find no mention.

Meneven. The Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ mentioned in the *Mass*, is a memorial of Christ's only Sacrifice upon the Cross, once offered for ever; *Unica enim Oblatione, perfectos effecit in perpetuum eos qui sanctificantur*, Heb. 10.

Dr. *Cox.* The Oblation of the Sacrifice of Christ in the *Mass*, is the Prayer, the Praise, the Thanksgiving, and the remembrance of Christ's Passion and Death.

Dr. *Tyler.* There is no Oblation, speaking properly; but some Ancient Doctors, and the use of the Church, calleth the receiving of it, with the Circumstances then done, an Oblation; that is to say, a Memorial and Remembrance of Christ's most precious Oblation upon the Cross.

Quest. 4.

Wherein consisteth the Mass *by Christ's Institution?*

Answers.

Cantuarien. THe *Mass*, by Christ's Institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists; *Matth.* 26. *Mark* 14. *Luke* 22. 1 *Cor.* 10, & 11.

Eboracen. The *Mass*, by Christ's Institution, consisteth in the Consecration and Oblation of the very Body and Blood of Christ, with Prayer, Thanksgiving, and Receiving of the same, as appeareth in the Evangelists, *Matth.* 26. 27. *Mark* 14. & 15. *Luke* 22. & 23. *John* 6. 1 *Cor.* 10, & 11. *Acts* 2.

London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven. I think it consisteth principally, in the Consecration, Oblation, and Receiving of the Body and Blood of Christ; with Prayers and Thanksgiving; but what the Prayers were, and what Rites Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the *Mass*, the Scripture declareth not.

Dunelm. The *Mass*, by Christ's Institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth by the Evangelists, *Mat.* 26. *Mark* 19. *Luke* 22. and *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 10, 11, & 12. and *Acts* 2. with humble and contrite Confession, the Oblation of Christ, as before: the Receiving of the Sacrament, giving of Thanks therefore, and Common Prayer for the Mystical Body of Christ.

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The *Mass*, by Christ's Institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists, *Matth.* 26. *Mark* 14. *Luke* 22. 1 *Cor.* 10, & 11. *Acts* 2, and 13. *Sarisburien.*

It consisteth in these things which be set forth *Matth.* 26. *Mark* 19. *Luke* 22. 1 *Cor.* 10. 11. *Acts* 2. *Lincoln.*

The *Mass*, by Christ's Institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists, *Matth.* 26. *Luke* 22. and 1 *Cor.* 10. 11. and *Acts* 2. *Elien.*

The *Mass*, by Christ's Institution, only expressing the Form of Christ by the Scripture, consisteth in the taking of the Bread, and giving thanks to God the Father, in the Benediction and Consecration, in the receiving or distribution, and receiving of them, to whom the distribution is made by the hands of the Priest: as the Eldest Authors affirme, in the renewing of the memory of our Redemption by an undoubted Faith, and for that to give most humble thanks; so calling to remembrance, as often as it is thus done, the inestimable benefit of our Redemption. What Thanks that Christ gave before this most holy Action, or what Thanks that he gave after it, by the general words of *Matthew*, *Hymno dicto*, are not expressed: So that there appeareth, both before this most Holy Action, and also after, to be a certain Ceremony appointed by Christ more than is expressed: Moreover, by the Doctrine of the Apostle, it behoveth every Man to be wise and circumspect, that he receive not this most blessed Sacrament unworthily and unreverently, not making difference betwixt the receiving of the most blessed Body of Christ, and other Meats. *Covent. & Litchfield.* Chap. 24. 1 Cor. 11.

The *Mass*, by Christ's Institution, consisteth in Consecrating, Offering, Receiving, and Distributing of the blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, according to that he himself did, willed, and commanded to be done. This we have manifested by the Evangelists, St. *Paul*, and St. *Luke*, in the *Acts*. But because Christ was, after his Resurrection long with his Disciples, communicating and treating of the Kingdom of God, what should be done here to come thither, it may be well thought, that whatsoever he or his Holy Spirit left with the Apostles, and they with others, after which also the whole Universal Congregation of Christian People useth and observeth, most ancient and holy Doctors in like form noteth, may likewise be said and taken as of Christ's Institution. *Carliolen.*

I am not able to say, that the *Mass* consisteth by Christ's Institution in other things, than in those which be set forth in the Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, in the *Acts*, and 1 *Cor.* 10. & 11. *Roffen.*

As I take it, the *Mass* by Christ's Institution, consisteth in those Things and Rites, which be set forth unto us, in the 26*th* of St. *Matthew*, the 14*th* of St. *Mark*, and the 22 of St. *Luke*; and also as mention is made in the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 10. *Bristollen.*

 and

and 11. and *Acts* 11. any other Institution I read not of by Scripture.

Meneven. Christ's Institution compriseth no more in the *Mass*, than the Communion of the Body and Blood to be ministred and received under both kinds, of Bread and Wine, according as is declared by the Evangelists, *Mat.*26. *Mark* 14. *Luke*, in the *Acts* 2.

Dr. *Cox.* The *Mass*, by Christ's Institution, consisteth in Thanksgiving to the Father, in distributing of the Body and Blood of Christ to the Congregation, to have the Death and Passion of Christ in remembrance, and in the end to laud and praise God.

Dr. *Tyler.* In giving of Thanks to God the Father, and blessing and breaking it, and reverently receiving the Holy Sacraments, with all such Rites and Circumstances as Christ did in both the kinds.

Quest. 5.

What time the accustomed Order began first in the Church, that the Priest alone should receive the Sacrament?

Answers.

Cantuarien. I Think the use, that the Priest alone did receive the Sacrament without the People, began not within six or seven hundred Years after Christ.

Eboracen. The accustomed Order that the Priest alone should receive the Sacrament, began about the time of *Zepherinus*; who when the common People had left their daily and frequent Communion, ordained that they should communicate, at the least once in the Year, that was at *Easter*; which Ordinance *Innocentius* the third confirmed.

London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwich. Chichester. St. Asaph. I know no further Order or Commandment of the Church, but what time the devotion of the People was so greatly decayed, that they would not come to receive the Sacrament, then the Priests were compelled to receive it alone.

Dunelm. The custom began, that the Priest alone should receive the Sacrament of necessity, when the People falling from Devotion would not come to the Communion, but cared more for their worldly Business, than for godly receiving the Sacrament: for in the beginning they receivedit daily by fervent Devotion; after, thrice a Week; after, on the *Sundays* only; after, thrice in the Year, at *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsunday*; after, only once in the Year, at *Easter*, by coldness of Devotion.

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The time certain is not known, most Men ascribe it unto *Gregory*, who was more than 600 Years after Christ; for that every Bishop of *Rome* bringing in his Portion, (some *Introitus*, some *Kyrie Eleison*, some *Graduale*); the *Mass* in the said *Gregory's* time, was grown to the full quantity it is now of, and Mens Inventions began to step before, and get ground of Christ's Institution; but from the beginning it was not so, for Christ did not eat and drink alone at his last Supper, but gave the Bread and Cup to all present. In the Primitive Church one did not eat alone, and the rest look on, but they did eat together, and drink together, as it is to be seen *Acts* 2. 1 *Cor.* 11. And *Anacletus* writes thus, *Peracta Consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint Ecclesiasticis caveant liminibus. De Conso. Dist.* 1. *Cum Episcopus*, &c. *Lincoln.*

The very time I know not, but is to be supposed, that that custom crept into the Church by negligence and slackness of the Lay-People, who would not so oft receive it as the Priest would; for in the beginning, the Communion with the Laity was *Quotidiane*, which the Priest observeth still unto this day, and not the Laity; and there be Canons that bindeth the Priest to the receiving of it as oft as he doth Consecrate; and the cause why the Priests did not receive it, after they had consecrated, should seem to be, that there was none to receive it with them, which was the occasion of these making of those Canons, as I suppose. *Eli.*

Because Scripture saith, *Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis est*, &c. Likewise *de Chalice, cui benedicimus*; and also, *bibite ex eo omnes.* And the Canons said to be of the Apostles, *Can.* 10. and 10. and of the *Antiochian* Council, *Can.* 2. *Anacletus* in an Epistle, commandeth the Sacrament to be received of more than of the Priest alone. *Dyonise* also declareth the same, and also long after, *Chrys.* St. *Ambrose*, and St. *Austin*, both complain of the slackness of some, and earnestly exhorteth the People to the receipt thereof. Therefore I suppose that custom, that the Priest should receive it alone, where it was celebrated openly, was not received in the Church of Christ by the space of four or five hundred Years at least after Christ. *Roffen.*

I know no such Order or Commandment of the Church, but what time the Devotion of the People began greatly to decay, and would not come to receive the Sacrament, then I think the Priests were compelled to receive it alone. *Bristol.*

I suppose not long after the Apostles time, the godly Devotions of the People decaying, who at the beginning used to come daily, and after that weekly, after that thrice in the Year, and at last but once in the Year, the Priest was forced to receive the Sacrament alone. *Dr. Cox.*

Quest.

Quest. 6.

Whether it be convenient that the same Custom continue still within this Realm?

Answers.

Cantuarien. I Think it more agreeable to the Scripture and Primitive Church, that the first usage should be restored again, that the People should receive the Sacrament with the Priest.

London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven. I would wish, that at every *Mass*, there would be some to receive the Sacrament with the Priest: Nevertheless if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the Priests of this Realm of *England* may say *Mass*, and receive the Sacrament alone.

Dunelm. It were much convenient that People were exhorted to come to it oftner, if they could be brought thereto. Nevertheless if none will communicate, it is not meet that the Priests stirred to communicate, or should forbear for coldness or lack of other Mens Devotion.

Lincoln. Nothing can be better, or more wisely devised than Christ did ordain, and the Apostles, according to his Ordinance, did use; we ought therefore to captivate our Senses and Understandings to the Wisdom of Christ; and think that most convenient, that to his Ordinance is most correspondent: And as St. *Paul* notes, By eating all of one Bread, and drinking all of one Cup, we be put in remembrance, that we be all one Body in Christ, and have received all one Spirit. Nevertheless the slackness of some ought not to be prejudicial to the rest, nor the refusing of one to be impediment to another.

Elien. If the Lay-Men could be brought to it, it were better not to continue; but if they cannot, it is not convenient that Priests, who would communicate for their own comfort, should be defrauded by other Mens slackness.

Roffen. I suppose it were best, that that Custom should be reformed unto the Rule of Scripture, and unto the Patern of the Primitive Church.

Bristollen. I think it were good, that at every *Mass* there were some to receive the Sacrament with the Priest; nevertheless, if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the Priest say *Mass*, and receive the Sacrament alone, when he is disposed, or by the Christian Congregation desired.

Dr. Cox. I think it not convenient that the said Custom should continue, if by any godly Mean the People might be brought to receive the Sacrament with the Priest.

Queſt. 7.

Whether it be convenient that Maſſes Satisfactory ſhould continue, (that is to ſay) Prieſts hired to ſing for Souls departed?

Anſwers.

I Think it not convenient that Satisfactory Maſſes ſhould continue. *Cantab.*

I think that ſuch of the School-men as do write of Maſſes Satisfactory, do define them otherwiſe than is declared in this Queſtion: Nevertheleſs I think, that it is not againſt the Word of God, but that Prieſts praying in the Maſs, both for the Quick and Dead, and doing other things in the Church about the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, may take a Living for the ſame. *London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norwich. Chicheſter. St. Aſaph.*

All Prieſts ſaying Maſs be bound in the ſame, to pray for the whole myſtical Body of Chriſt, Quick and Dead, though they be not hired thereto; and thoſe that be deputed thereto, if they ſay Maſs, muſt do the ſame though they were not hired: And yet, as St. *Paul* ſaith, Thoſe that be partakers of Spiritual Things with others, ought to miniſter unto them temporal Things in recompence, *Rom.* 15. *Dunelmen.*

St. *Paul* ſaith, *Heb.* 10. That *we are made Holy by the Offering of the Body of Jeſus once for all*; and *Heb.* 9. That *Chriſt by his own Blood, entred in once to the holy place and found eternal Redemption*; which Redemption and Satisfaction, unleſs we think inſufficient, it were meet Maſſes Satisfactory to be taken away, and not to count Chriſt and his Apoſtles, either unlearned, or unloving Teachers; and who could not or would not teach a thing ſo neceſſary. *Naucleras* does write, that *Gregory* the third gave commandment to Prieſts to pray and offer for the Dead. And though ancient Writers make oft mention of Prayer for the Dead, yet they never allow any Hireling to that purpoſe. *Lege Auguſt. ad Aurel. de coercenda temulentia.* *Lincoln.*

It is one thing to ſing Satisfactory, and another to be hired to ſing Maſs for the Souls departed: for the firſt importeth, that the Maſs ſhould be a Satisfaction for the ſins of the Soul departed; which is not ſo, but the ſecond, that is, to ſing or pray for the Souls departed, is a laudable cuſtom, and ſeemeth to have ſome ground in Scripture; which cuſtom hath been always continued from the Apoſtles time, and hath been uſed in the Maſs, as appeareth by Ancient Doctors, *Auſt. Amb. Chryſ.* and others; and therefore this to continue I think it meet. But to ſay Maſs for Mony, thinking it a Commutation or juſt Compenſation betwixt the Prayer and the Mony that he is hired for, I think it ſoundeth to Avarice and Simonie; and yet, *dignus eſt operarius mercede ſua.* Like-as, *Prædicans Evangelium, ſine ſumptu debet ponere Evangelium,* *Eli.*

lium, & tamen Dominus ordinavit his qui Evangelium annunciant de Evangelio vivere.

Carlile. If by this be meant, that any Thing, or Action either of the Priest, should be a full and perfect Satisfaction of Sins Venial and Mortal; I know we read not of any such Satisfactory, neither would I say that Priests be hired after that common fashion and contracts of the World, to sing for Souls departed, but rather that they, as they be ordered to do, do say and sing their Mass, having in their remembrance, both generally and specially, as shall most appertain both to the Living and the Dead; and then, as they be worthy, must have their Livings by the Altar which they serve, as St. *Paul* at large declareth. But as for the full and perfect Satisfaction of all manner of Sins, that is, to be attributed only to Christ, his Passion and Justification; yet after the mind of St. *Austin*, St. *Jerom*, with others, *Pro non valde malis propitiationes fiant & de levioribus peccatis, cum quibus obligati defuncti sunt, possunt post mortem absolvi*, &c.

Roffen. That Masses Satisfactory should continue to be sung for Souls departed, by Priests hired thereunto, I think it not convenient.

Bristol. I think that the Word of God, and St. *Paul* meant, that all Priests may offer Gifts and Sacrifices unto God for the Offences of the People, (as it is written in the 5*th* of the *Hebrews*) *Omnis Pontifex*, &c. and may receive and take (ministring the Sacrament and Sacramentals in the Church to the Congregation) a Living for the same.

Dr. Cox. Masses to be said for satisfaction of Sin, (since Christ is the only Satisfaction for all Sin) is an Abuse not to be continued: and Priests to be hired only to sing for Souls departed, seemeth to be a superfluous Function in Christ's Church.

Quest. 8.

Whether the Gospel ought to be taught, at the time of the Mass, to the understanding of the People being present?

Answers.

Cantab. I Think it very convenient, that the Gospel, concerning the Death of Christ, and our Redemption, should be taught to the People in the Mass.

York. It is expedient that the Gospel be taught at the time of the Mass, to the Understanding of the People being present.

London, &c. I think it not necessary to have a Sermon at every Mass, but the oftner the same is done to the edifying of the People (so that the service of their Vocation be not thereby defrauded.) the more it is to be commended.

It

It is much convenient that the Goſpel be taught to the underſtanding of the People being preſent, when it may be. Howbeit, it is not ſo of the Subſtance of the Maſs, but the Maſs may be done without it, and it done at other times as well as at the Maſs. *Dunelm.*

Chriſt diſtributing the Sacrament to his Diſciples, does ſay, (as it is *Luke* 22.) *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem:* And if St. *Paul* doth thus write to the *Corinthians*, *Quotieſcunq; manducabitis panem hunc ac calicem bibitis, mortem domini annunciabitis donec veniet.* The glad Tydings therefore, the great Benefit that we receive by Chriſt's Death and Sufferings, (which we ſee as in a Glaſs, in this Holy Sacrament) ought to be ſet forth and preached to the People, ſo oft as they come to the Holy Communion. *Lincoln.*

That the Goſpel be read or taught at the time of the Maſs, that the People there preſent may underſtand; it is good and godly, and convenient it ſhould be ſo. *Elien.*

I think it convenient and neceſſary, that as the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, his moſt dear Uncle my Lord Protector's Grace, with the moſt honourable Council beſide, hath already appointed and enjoined to be done, that at all ſuch times as the People (as they ought) be moſt gathered together, in the Principal and High Maſs, the Goſpel be taught and declared to the beſt underſtanding of the People. *Carliolen.*

The Annunciation of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion, and the Benefit of the ſame, that the forgiveneſs of Sins, to all the true and faithful Believers therein, ought evermore to be ſet forth in the Maſs to the edification of the People; which thing cannot be done, according to St. *Paul*'s mind and meaning, 1 *Cor.* 14. as I ſuppoſe, except it be ſet forth to the Peoples underſtanding. *Roffen.*

I think it is not againſt God's Word, but the oftner the ſame is done to the edifying of the People, received with Devotion, and intending redreſs of Life thereby, the more it is to be affected and uſed. *Briſtollen.*

In the Maſs-time, it were convenient to have ſome Doctrines, after the Example of the Primitive Church, that at the Bleſſed Communion the people might be edified. Dr. *Cox.*

Quest. 9.

Whether in the Mass it were convenient to use such Speech as the People may understand?

Answers.

Cantuarien. I Think it convenient to use the Vulgar Tongue in the Mass, except in certain secret Mysteries, whereof I doubt.

Eboracen. It were convenient to use such Speech in the Mass, as the People might understand.

London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven. To have the whole Mass in English, I think it neither expedient, neither convenient.

Dunelm. It is convenient that the common Latin Tongue to these West parts of Christendom, be used in the Mass, being the Common-Prayer of the whole Church, namely, in the Mysteries thereof, lest rude People should vilely prophane the Holy Mysteries thereof by contempt. Nevertheless certain Prayers might be in the Mother Tongue, for the instruction and stirring of the Devotion of the People, as shall be thought convenient.

Lincoln. St. *Paul* would all things in the Congregation, and Publick Assembly, so to be spoken that they might edify; and in such a Language, that the People present might say *Amen* to our Thanksgiving. And long after the Apostles times, all the People present did answer the Priest, (he speaking in a Language that they did understand) like-as the Clark or Boy doth now answer (as he is taught) in a Language that he understands not. *Cypri. habet de Cons. distinct.* 1. *Ca. Quando.*

Elien. It was so used in *Dalmatia* in St. *Hierom*'s time, and in *Sclavonia* in *Cyril*'s time, who making suit to the Court of *Rome* for the same; and the Matter being debated in the Consistory, and having many Adversaries, suddenly there was heard a Voice, as it were, from Heaven; *Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis Lingua confiteatur ei.* Whereupon *Cyrillus* had his Petition granted him.

Elien. *Hæc jam mea est Opinio, sed, sic ut, auditis melioribus cedam.*

Carliolen. This Question was deeply searched and tried for, in the most excellent and of highest memory, King *Henry* the Eighth his time, by the best Clarks of his Realm, in his presence; and then and there concluded, and upon that same by Proclamation commanded, That Holy Scripture should not be evulgate in English. Yet after it was otherwise seen and provided for: Therefore therein I would wish, that were most to the quiet edification of Christian People, and shall submit my self

ſelf to my Superiors and Betters, ſubmitting mine Underſtanding to their Judgments.

I think it not only convenient that ſuch Speech ſhould be uſed in the Maſs, as the People might underſtand, but alſo to ſpeak it with ſuch an audible Voice, that the People might hear it, that they be not defrauded of their Own, which Saint *Paul* teacheth to belong to them; and alſo that they may anſwer, as *Cyprian* ſaith, the People did in his days, *Habemus ad Dominum.* Nevertheleſs, as concerning that part that pertaineth to the Conſecration, *Dioniſe* and *Baſil* moveth me to think it no inconvenience, that part ſhould be ſpoken in ſilence. *Roffen.*

If the Maſs ſhould be wholly in Engliſh, I think we ſhould differ from the Cuſtom and Manner of all other Regions: therefore if it may ſtand with the King's Majeſty's Pleaſure, I think it not good to be ſaid all in Engliſh. *Briſtollen.*

Per me Paulum *Epiſcopum* Briſtollenſem.

Queſt. 10.

When the Reſervation of the Sacrament, and the hanging up of the ſame firſt began?

Anſwers.

THe Reſervation of the Sacrament began, I think, ſix or ſeven hundred Years after Chriſt: The hanging up, I think, began of late time. *Cantuarien.*

Polidore Virgil doth write, that *Innocentius* the Third decreed the Sacrament to be kept, to be in a readineſs for the Sick. And *Honorius* the third confirmed the ſame; adding, that it ought to be reſerved *in loco ſingulari, mundo, & ſignato.* Commanding alſo the Prieſts that they ſhould often inſtruct the People reverently to bow down at the Elevation-Time, and when it is born to the ſick. As for the hanging up of the Sacrament over, or ſetting it upon the Altar, is of a later time, not yet received in divers places of Chriſtendom. *Lincoln.*

Some Questions, with Answers made to them by the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Chichester*, and *Hereford*.

The Question.

What or wherein John's *Fasting, giving Alms, being Baptized, or Receiving the Sacrament of Thanks in* England, *doth profit and avail* Thomas *dwelling in* Italy, *and not knowing what* John *in* England *doth?*

The Answer.

Worcester. Chichester. Hereford. THE distance of place doth not lett nor hinder the Spiritual Communion which is between one and another, so that *John* and *Thomas*, wheresoever they be, far and sundry, or near together, being both lively Members of Christ, receive either of others Goodness some Commodity; although to limit what or wherein, is unsearchable, and only pertaineth to the Knowledg of God.

The Question.

Whether the said Acts in John *do profit them that be in Heaven, and wherein?*

The Answer.

Luc. 15. *Gaudium est in Cœlo super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente*, &c.

The Question.

Whether it lieth in the said John, *to defraud any Member of Christ's Body of the benefit of his Fasting, Alms-Deeds, Baptism, or Receiving of the Sacrament, and to apply the same benefit to one Person more than to another?*

The Answer.

Charity defraudeth no Man of any such benefit that might come to him; and it lieth in God only to apply the same, and not in any Man, otherwise than by desire and prayer; but the better the Man is, the more available his Prayer is to them, for whom he especially prayeth.

The Question.

What thing is the Presentation of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Mass, which you call the Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ? and wherein

"*wherein ſtandeth it, in Act, Geſture, or Words; and in what Act, Geſture, or Words?*

The Anſwer.

The Preſentation, *&c.* ſtandeth in ſuch Words, Prayers, Supplications, and Actions, as the Prieſt uſeth at the Maſs, having the Body and Blood of Chriſt there preſent in the Sacrament.

The Queſtion.

Is there any Rite or Prayer not expreſſed in the Scripture, which Chriſt uſed or commanded at the firſt Inſtitution of the Maſs, which we be now bound to uſe; and what the ſame be?

The Anſwer.

That Chriſt uſed Rites and Prayers at the Inſtitution and Diſtribution of the Sacrament, the Scripture declareth: But what Rites and Prayers they were we know not; but I think we ought to uſe ſuch Rites and Prayers as the Catholick Church hath, and doth uniformly obſerve.

The Queſtion.

Whether in the Primitive Church there were any Prieſts that lived by ſaying of Maſs, Mattins, and Even-ſong, and praying for Souls only? And whether any ſuch ſtate of Prieſthood be allowed in the Scripture, or be meet to be allowed now?

The Anſwer.

There were Prieſts in the Primitive Church which preached not, but exerciſed themſelves in Prayer for the Quick and the Dead, and other Spiritual Miniſtrations in the Church; and accuſtomably uſed common Prayers both Morning and Evening; and ſuch ſtate of Prieſthood is not againſt the Scripture.

The Queſtion.

For what Cauſe it were not expedient nor convenient to have the whole Maſs in Engliſh?

The Anſwer.

This Queſtion is anſwered by *Dyoniſe* and *Baſil, De Spiritu Sancto*; and alſo an uniformity of all Churches in that thing is to be kept.

Number

Number 26.

A Collection of ſome of the Chief Indulgences then in the Engliſh Offices.

Horæ B. Mariæ Virg. ad uſum Sarum; Printed *at Paris*, 1526.

Folio 38.

TO all them that be in the State of Grace, that daily ſay devoutly this Prayer before our Bleſſed Lady of Pity, ſhe will ſhew them her bleſſed Viſage, and warn them the Day and the Hour of Death; and in their laſt End, the Angels of God ſhall yield their Souls to Heaven; and he ſhall obtain 500 Years, and ſo many *Lents* of Pardon, granted by five Holy Fathers, Popes of *Rome*.

Folio 42.

Our Holy Father *Sixtus* the 4*th*, Pope, hath granted to all them that devoutly ſay this Prayer before the Image of our Lady, the ſum of 11000 Years of Pardon.

Folio 44.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *Sixtus*, hath granted, at the inſtance of the high-moſt and excellent Princeſs *Elizabeth*, late Queen of *England*, and Wife to our Soveraign Liege Lord King *Henry* the 7*th*, (God have mercy on her ſweet Soul, and all Chriſtian Souls) that every day in the Morning, after three tollings of the *Ave*-Bell, ſay three times the whole Salutation of our Lady, *Ave Maria Gratia*; that is to ſay, at ſix of the Clock in the Morning three *Ave Maries*; at twelve of the Clock at Noon three *Ave Maries*; and at ſix of the Clock at Even; for every time ſo doing, is granted of the Spiritual Treaſure of Holy Church, 300 days of Pardon, *toties quoties*. And alſo our Holy Father, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and *York*, with other nine Biſhops of this Realm, have granted, three times in the day, forty days of Pardon to all them that be in the ſtate of Grace, able to receive Pardon; the which began the 26*th* day of *March*, *Anno* 1492. *Anno Henrici* 7. and the ſum of the Indulgence and Pardon for every *Ave Maria*, 860 days, *toties quoties*. This Prayer ſhall be ſaid at the tolling of the *Ave*-Bell.

Folio 47.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *Bonifacius*, hath granted to all them that devoutly ſay this lamentable contemplation of our Bleſſed Lady ſtanding under the Croſs weeping, and having compaſſion with her ſweet Son Jeſus, ſeven Years of Pardon, and forty *Lents*. And alſo Pope *John* the 22*d* hath granted 200 days of Pardon.

Folio 50.

Theſe be the fifteen Oo's, the which the Holy Virgin S. *Bridget* was wont to ſay daily before the Holy Rood in S. *Paul*'s Church at *Rome*; whoſo ſays this a whole Year, ſhall deliver fifteen Souls out of Purgatory of his next Kindred, and convert other fifteen Sinners to good

good Life; and other fifteen Righteous Men of his kind shall persevere in good Life; and what ye desire of God ye shall have it, if it be to the Salvation of your Souls.

Folio 54.

To all them that before this Image of Pity devoutly say five *Pater Nosters*, and five *Ave Maries*, and a *Credo*, piteously beholding those Arms of Christ's Passion, are granted 32755 Years of Pardon; and *Sixtus* the 4*th* Pope of *Rome*, hath made the fourth and the fifth Prayer, and hath doubled his foresaid Pardon.

Folio 56.

This Epistle of our Saviour, sendeth our Holy Father, Pope *Leo*, to the Emperor *Carolo Magno*; of the which we find written, Who that beareth this Blessing upon him; and saith it once a day, shall obtain forty Years of Pardon, and eighty Lentings, and he shall not perish with sudden Death.

Folio 57.

This Prayer made by S. *Austin*, affirming who that says it daily kneeling, shall not die in Sin; and after this Life shall go to the everlasting Joy and Bliss.

Folio 58.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *John* 22*d*, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this Prayer, after the Elevation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3000 days of Pardon for deadly sins.

Ibid.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *Bonifacius* the Sixth, hath granted to all them that say devoutly this Prayer following, between the Elevation of our Lord, and the three *Agnus Dei*, 10000 Years of Pardon.

Folio 61.

Our Holy Father, *Sixtus* the 4*th*, hath granted to all them that be in the state of Grace, saying this Prayer following immediately after the Elevation of the Body of our Lord, clean remission of all their Sins perpetually enduring. And also *John* the Third, Pope of *Rome*, at the request of the Queen of *England*, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this Prayer before the Image of our Lord Crucified, as many days of Pardon, as there were wounds in the Body of our Lord in the time of his bitter Passion, the which were 5465.

Folio 65.

These five Petitions and Prayers made S. *Gregory*, and hath granted unto all them that devoutly say these five Prayers, with five *Pater Nosters*, five *Ave Maries*, and a *Credo*, 500 Years of Pardon.

Folio 66.

These three Prayers be written in the Chappel of the Holy Cross in *Rome*, otherwise called, *Sacellum Sanctæ Crucis septem Romanorum*, who that devoutly say them, they shall obtain ten hundred thousand Years of Pardon for deadly Sins, granted of our Holy Father *John*, 22*d* Pope of *Rome*.

Folio 68.

Who that devoutly beholdeth these Arms of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall obtain 6000 Years of Pardon of our Holy Father S. *Peter*, the first Pope of *Rome*, and of thirty other Popes of the Church of *Rome*, Successors after him. And our Holy Father, Pope *John* the 22*d*, hath

hath granted unto all them, very contrite and truly confessed, that say these devout Prayers following, in the commemoration of the bitter Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3000 Years of Pardon for deadly Sins, and other 3000 for venial Sins, and say first a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*.

Folio 71.

Our Holy Father, Pope *Innocentius* the Second, hath granted to all them that say this Prayer devoutly, in the worship of the Wound that our Lord had in his blessed Side, when he was dead, hanging in the Cross, 4000 days of Pardon.

Folio 72.

This most devout Prayer, said the Holy Father S. *Bernard*, daily kneeling in the worship of the most Holy Name Jesus. And it is well to believe, that through the Invocation of the most excellent Name of *Jesu*, S. *Bernard* obtained a singular Ward of perpetual Consolation of our Lord Jesu Christ. And these Prayers written in a Table that hanged at *Rome* in S. *Peter's* Church, nigh to the High Altar there, as our Holy Father the Pope evely is wont to say the Office of the Mass; and who that devoutly, with a contrite Heart, daily say this Orison, if he be that day in the state of eternal Damnation, then his eternal Pain shall be changed him in temporal pain of Purgatory; then if he hath deserved the pain of Purgatory, it shall be forgotten and forgiven, through the infinite Mercy of God.

Number 27.

Injunctions for a Visitation of Chauntries.

To the Parson, Vicar, Curat, Chaunter, Priests, Church-wardens, and two of the most honest Persons of the Parish of being no Founders, Patrons, Donors, Lessees, nor Farmers of the Promotions or Corporations hereafter recited, nor of any part thereof, and to four of them at the least.

Ex MS. Dr. *Johnson.*

FIrst, Ye shall make diligent search and inquiry, immediately upon the receit hereof, of the number; and how many Chauntries, Hospitals, Colleges, free Chappels, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds and Salaries, or Wages of Stipendiary Priests, being Perpetuities now charged, or that ought to be charged, or chargeable, to the paiment of the first Fruits and Tenths, and of all Colleges chargeable, and not chargeable to the said paiment of Tenths and first Fruits, which be within your Church and Parish.

Also you shall enquire of the Orders, Ordinances, Kinds, Qualities, Degrees, Uses and Abuses, or Misuses, Conditions, Estates, and Necessities, of and concerning all and every the said Chantries, Fraternities, Guilds, Stipends, or Wages, and other the Premises; and by what Names, Sir-names, Corporations, or Titles, they and every of them be taken or known; and to what intents, purposes, and deeds of

of Charity they and every of them were founded, ordained, and made; and ye shall take into your hands, and also bring with you, at the day of your Certificate, the Foundations, and all other Writings which you have or can attain, for the true declaration and proof of the same.

Also you shall enquire, how and what manner or sort the Revenues and Profits of the Lands and Possessions of all the aforesaid Promotions, and every of them, be used, expended, imploied, or bestowed.

Also how many of the said Promotions be Parish-Churches.

Also how far space or distance the said Chantries and Chappels be, and stand from the Parish-Churches, of the Parishes wherein they do stand.

Also ye shall enquire of all the Houses, Lands, Tenths, Rents, Possessions and Revenues, united, annexed, or appertaining to the aforesaid Chantries, Hospitals, Guilds, and other Promotions abovesaid, and to every of them, and of the yearly value thereof, and shall make a true and perfect Rental or other Book thereof.

And ye shall enquire of all the Resolutes, Deductions, and yearly paiments or charges going forth of the Premises, and of every part thereof, and shall certifie the same in writing; that is to say, for every Chantry, or other the aforesaid Promotions severally by it self; and over this, to bring with you all such Rentals of the same, and every of them, as ye have or may attain or come by.

Also ye shall enquire of all the Lands, Rents, Possessions, and Hereditaments, which were or be united, annexed, or pertaining to the aforesaid Promotions or Corporations, or to any of them, which at any time since the fourth day of *February*, in the 27*th* Year of the King's Majesty's Reign, did appertain or belong to them, or any of them, and of the Goods, Jewels, and Ornaments, lately pertaining or belonging to the same.

Also ye shall enquire how many of the aforesaid Chantries, Hospitals, Guilds, and other the aforesaid Promotions and Corporations, and what Lands, Rents, or parcels thereof, sithence the 4*th* day of *February*, in the 27*th* Year of the Reign of our aforesaid Soveraign Lord, been or have been dissolved, purchased, or by any other means or ways taken, entred unto, or obtained by any of the King's Majesty's Subjects, by their own Authorities, without the King's License.

And ye shall enquire of the Lands, Tenths, Rents, and Hereditaments thereof, and of the yearly Value of the same, and of all the Goods and Ornaments of the same; and of the yearly Resolutes, Deductions, and Paiments going forth of the same; and shall make a true Rental or Book thereof, and shall certify the same particularly.

Also ye shall enquire of all the Plate, Jewels, Ornaments, Goods, and Chattels, meerly and truly pertaining or belonging to all the aforesaid Promotions or Corporations, and to every of them severally, and shall make one true Inventory thereof, with the Value of the same, and of every parcel thereof, that is to say, in true weight of all parcels of Plate, Chalices, and other; and the price or value of all other Ornaments, Goods, or Chattels, and in whose hands or possession the same be or remain.

Alſo, finally, ye ſhall make ready and finiſh your Certificate in writing, before the of all and ſingular the Premiſes, and of every Article above-ſaid ſeverally, and not in groſs, or in one whole Article, as ye will anſwer and be ſworn to the ſame: And that you, and every of you, being reſident or remaining within the ſaid Pariſh, ſhall Sign and Seal the ſame; and ye ſhall ſend the ſame your Certificate ſealed unto us, at ſuch day and place as hereafter ſhall be aſſigned unto you, by one of the moſt honeſt of the aforeſaid Church-wardens, and by all the Incumbents of the Chantries, Chappels, Hoſpitals, Guilds and Promotions aforeſaid, if there be but one Incumbent in the ſaid Promotions, or any of them; And if there be more Incumbents than one in the ſaid Promotions, or any of them being of one Foundation, that then one of the ſaid Incumbents, together with the ſaid honeſt Church-warden, and other Incumbents, being but one of one Foundation, as is aforeſaid. Foreſeeing always, that your Proceedings and Certificate of the Premiſes, and every part thereof, be executed, ordered, and done, with all dilligence, ſubſtantially and truly, that the ſame may ſo appear unto us at our repair to view and ſurvey the Premiſes, as ye will then have condign thanks for the ſame, and avoiding your extream damage, which may enſue of the contrary.

Robert Arch-Biſhop.	Mr. *Wallay.*
Sir *Michael Stanhope.*	Mr. *Norton.*
Sir *Leonard Bekworth.*	Mr. *Chaloner.*
Mr. *Robert Henneage.*	Mr. *Gargrave.*
Mr. ——*Babthorpe.*	Mr.——*Auditor.*

Number 28.

The Protector's Letter *to* Gardiner, *concerning the Points he was to handle in his Sermon.*

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.*

WE commend us unto you; We ſent to you yeſterday our Servant *William Cecil*, to ſignifie unto you our Pleaſure and Advice, That you ſhould, in this your next Sermon, forbear to intreat upon thoſe Principal Queſtions, which remain amongſt the number of learned Men in this Realm, as yet in controverſy, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Maſs; as well for that your private Argument or Determination therein might offend the People, naturally expecting deciſions of litigious Cauſes, and thereby Diſcord and Tumult ariſe; the occaſions whereof we muſt neceſſarily prevent and take away; as alſo for that the Queſtions and Controverſies reſt at this preſent in conſultation, and with the pleaſure of God, ſhall be, in ſmall time, by publick Doctrine and Authority, quietly and truly determined. This Meſſage we ſend to you, not thinking but your own Wiſdom had conſidered ſo much in an apparent Matter; or at the leaſt, upon our remembrance, ye would underſtand it and follow it with good will, conſulting thereby your own Quiet in avoiding Offence, as obſerving our Pleaſure in avoiding Contention. Your Anſwer thereunto, our

said Servant hath declared unto us in this manner. Ye can no wise forbear to speak of the Sacrament, neither of the Mass; this last being the chief Foundation, as ye say, of our Religion, and that without it we cannot know that Christ is our Sacrifice; the other being so spoken of by many, that if you should not speak your mind thereof what ye think, you know what other Men would think of you; in the end, concluding generally, that you will speak the Truth, and that ye doubt not but that we shall be therewith content; adding also, as our said Servant reporteth unto us, That you would not wish that we our selves should meddle or have to do in these Matters of Religion, but that the care thereof were committed to you the Bishops, unto whom the blame, if any should be deserved, might well be imputed.

To this your Answer, if so it be, we reply very shortly, signifying unto you our express Pleasure and Commandment, on our Soveraign Lord the King's Majesty's behalf, charging you, by the Authority of the same, to abstain in your said Sermon from treating of any Matter in controversy concerning the said Sacrament and the Mass, and only to bestow your Speech in the expert explication of the Articles prescribed unto you, and in other wholsome Matter, of Obedience of the People, and good Conversation and Living; the same Matters being both large enough for a long Sermon, and not unnecessary for the time. And the treatie of other, which we forbid you not meet in your private Sermon to be had, but necessarily reserved for a publick Consultation, and at this present utterly to be forborn for the common Quiet.

This our express Pleasure, wherein we know how reasonably we may command you, and you (we think) know how willingly ye ought to obey us. For our intermedling with these Causes of Religion, understand you, that we account it no small part of our Charge, under the King's Majesty, to bring his People from Ignorance to Knowledg, and from Superstition to true Religion, esteeming that the chief Foundation to build Obedience upon: and where there is a full consent of others, the Bishops and learned Men, in a Truth, not to suffer you, or a few other, with wilful headiness, to disswade all the rest. And although we presume not to determine Articles of Religion by our Self, yet from God we knowledg it, we be desirous to defend and advance the Truth, determined or revealed, and so consequently we will not fail, but withstand the Disturbers thereof. So fare you well. From *Sion*, *June* 28. *Anno* 1548.

Your Loving Friend,

E. *Somerset*.

Number 29.

Some of the Collects and Hymns to the Saints in the Hours ad usum Sarum, *printed at* Paris, Anno 1520. *In which, immediate Adoration is offered to them, and those things are asked of them, which God only gives.*

Folio 4. SAncta Dei Genetrix, quæ digne meruisti concipere, quem totus orbis nequivit comprehendere; tuo pio interventu, culpas nostras ablue, ut perennis sedem gloriæ, per te redempti, valeamus scandere, ubi manes cum Filio tuo sine tempore.

Fol. 11. *S. Panthaleon.* Sancte Panthaleon Martyr Christi, militari ordine fuisti, quo promeruisti;—Demum heremiticam vitam acquisisti,—Tu vero hydropicum sanum reddidisti—Missus in equleo ungues perdidisti—Costas cum lampadibus adustus fuisti—Collum subdens gladio pronus pertulisti—Fundens lac pro sanguine vitam sic finisti—Cunctas febres diluc a plebe tam tristi—Qui Cœlestis Gloriæ Regna meruisti.

Fol. 12. *S.* Tho. *Cant.* Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit—*Versicle* gloria & honore coronasti, eum Domino: *Resp.* & constituisti, eum supra opera manuum tuarum.

Fol. 12. of Pope *Nicolaus.* And so in many other places. Ut ejus meritis & precibus a gehennæ incendiis liberemur.

Fol. 30. Sancta Maria succurre miseris, Juva pusillanimes, refove flebiles, ora pro populo: interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto femineo sexu.

Fol. 33. Virgo singularis, inter omnes mitis, nos culpis solutos, mites fac & castos: Vitam presta puram, iter para tutum, ut videntes Jesum, semper collætemur.

Fol. 44. *A Prayer to the Virgin, to the sayers of which, Pope* Calestine *granted* 300 *days of Pardon; a part of which is.*

Consolare peccatorem, & ne tuum des honorem, alieno vel crudeli; precor te Regina Cœli. Me habeto excusatum, apud Christum tuum natum, cujus iram expavesco, & furorem pertimesco, nam peccavi tibi soli. O *Maria* Virgo, noli esse mihi aliena, gratia Cœlesti plena; esto custos cordis mei, signa me timore Dei, confer vitæ sanitatem, & da morum honestatem: Et da peccata me vitare, & quod justum est amare, O dulcedo Virginalis, nunquam fuit nec est talis, &c.

Fol. 77. *S.* George. Georgi Martyr inclite, te decet laus & gloria: prædotatum militia, per quem puella Regia, existens in tristitia, coram Dracone pessimo, salvata est, & animo; te rogamus corde intimo, ut cum cunctis fidelibus, Cœli jungamur civibus, nostris abluti sordibus, ut simul cum lætitia, tecum simus in gloria, nostraq; reddant labia laudes Christo cum gloria.

Martyr

Martyr Christophore, pro salvatoris honore, fac nos mente fore, dignos deitatis amore, Promisso Christi, quia quod petis obtinuisti, da populo tristi, bona quæ moriendo petisti: confer solamen, & mentis tolle gravamen; judicis examen, fac mite sit omnibus Amen. *Ibid.* St. *Christopher.*

O Willielme Pastor bone, Cleri pater & patrone, munda nobis in agone, confer opem & depone, vitæ sordes & Coronæ Cœlestis da gaudia. *Fol.* 78.

O vos undena millia, puellæ gloriosæ, virginitatis filia, Martyrii Rosæ, in vita me defendite, prebendo mihi juvamen, in morte vos ostendite supremum ferendo solamen. *Fol.* 80. 11000 Virgins.

To St. Alban.

Te nunc petimus patrone, præco sedule, qui es nostra vera gloria, solve precum votis, servorum scelera.

To St. Peter *and St.* Paul.

Beate Petre qui Maxima referas, claudis verbo Cœli limina, sume pius vota fidelia, peccati cuncta dissolvendo vincula: Sacra Paule ingere dogmata, illustrans plebis pectora.

In die omnium Sanctorum.

Mariam primam vox sonet nostra, per quam nobis vitæ sunt data præmia: Regina quæ es mater, & casta, solve nostra per filium peccamina: Angelorum concio sacra, & Arch-Angelorum turma inclita, nostra diluant jam peccata præstando supernam Cœli gloriam.

Number 30.

Dr. Redmayn's *Opinion concerning the Marriage of the Clergie.*

An Original.

I Think that although the Word of God does exhort and counsel Priests to live in Chastity, out of the cumber of the Flesh and of the World, that thereby they may wholly attend to their Calling; yet the Bond of continuing from Marriage, doth only lie upon Priests in this Realm, by reason of Canons and Constitutions of the Church, and not by any Precept of God's Word, as in that they should be bound by any Vow: Which (in as far as my Conscience is) Priests in this Church of *England* do not make. Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cant.*

I think that it standeth well with God's Word, that a Man which hath been, or is but once married, being otherwise accordingly qualified, may be made a Priest.

And I do think, that for as much as Canons and Rules made in this behalf are neither Universal nor Everlasting, but upon Considerations may be altered & changed; Therefore the King's Majesty, and the higher Powers

Powers of the Church, may, upon such Reasons as shall move them, take away the Clog of perpetual Continence from Priests, and grant that it may be lawful for such as cannot, or will not contain, to marry a Wife; and if she die, then the said Priest to marry no more, remaining still in the Ministration.

John Redmayn.

Number 31.

Articles of High Treason, and other Misdemeanours against the King's Majesty, and his Crown, objected to Sir Thomas Seymour *Kt. Lord* Seymour *of* Sudley, *and High Admiral of* England.

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 236.

1. WHereas the Duke of *Somerset* was made Governor of the King's Majesty's Person, and Protector of all his Realms and Dominions, and Subjects; to the which you your self did agree, and gave your consent in writing; it is objected and laid unto your Charge, That this notwithstanding you have attempted and gone about, by indirect means, to undoe this Order, and to get into your hands the Government of the King's Majesty, to the great danger of his Highness Person, and the subversion of the State of the Realm.

2. It is objected, and laid to your Charge, that by corrupting with Gifts, and fair Promises, divers of the Privy Chamber, you went about to allure his Highness to condescend and agree to the same your most heinous and perilous purposes, to the great danger of his Highness Person, and of the subversion of the State of the Realm.

3. It is objected, and laid unto your Charge, that you wrote a Letter with your own hand; which Letter the King's Majesty should have subscribed, or written again after that Copy, to the Parliament House; and that you delivered the same to his Highness for that intent: With the which so written by his Highness, or subscribed, you had determined to have come into the Commons-House your self; and there, with your Fautors and Adherents before prepared, to have made a Broil, or Tumult, or Uproar, to the great danger of the King's Majesty's Person, and subversion of the State of this Realm.

4. It is objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you your self spake to divers of the Council, and laboured with divers of the Nobility of the Realm, to stick and adhere unto you for the Alteration of the State, and Order of the Realm, and to attain your other Purposes, to the danger of the King's Majesty's Person, now in his tender Years, and subversion of the State of the Realm.

5. It is objected, and laid unto your Charge, that you did say openly and plainly, You would make the Blackest Parliament that ever was in *England*.

6. It is objected, and laid to your Charge, That being sent for by the Authority, to answer to such things as were thought meet to be reformed in you, you refused to come; to a very evil Example of Disobedience, and danger thereby of the subversion of the State of the Realm.

7. It

7. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That sith the last Sessions of this Parliament, notwithstanding much clemency shewed unto you, you have still continued in your former mischievous Purposes; and continually, by your self and other, studied and laboured to put into the King's Majesty's Head and Mind, a misliking of the Government of the Realm, and of the Lord Protector's doings, to the danger of his Person, and the great peril of the Realm.

8. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That the King's Majesty being of those tender Years, and as yet by Age unable to direct his own things, you have gone about to instill into his Grace's Head, and as much as lieth in you, perswaded him to take upon himself the Government and managing of his own Affairs, to the danger of his Highness Person, and great peril of the whole Realm.

9. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you had fully intended and appointed, to have taken the King's Majesty's Person into your own hands and custody, to the danger of his Subjects, and peril of the Realm.

10. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you have corrupted, with Mony, certain of the Privy-Chamber, to perswade the King's Majesty to have a credit towards you; and so to insinuate you to his Grace, that when he lacked any thing, he should have it of you and none other Body, to the intent he should mislike his ordering, and that you might the better, when you saw time, use his King's Highness for an Instrument to this purpose, to the danger of his Royal Person, and subversion of the State of the Realm.

11. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you promised the Marriage of the King's Majesty at your Will and Pleasure.

12. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have laboured, and gone about to combine and confederate your self with some Persons: and specially moved those Noble-men, whom you thought not to be contented, to depart into their Countries, and make themselves strong; and otherwise to allure them to serve your purpose by gentle Promises and Offers, to have a Party and Faction in readiness to all your Purposes, to the danger of the King's Majesty's Person, and peril of the State of the Realm.

13. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have parted, as it were, in your imagination and intent the Realm, to set Noble-men to countervail such other Noble-men as you thought would lett your devilish Purposes, and so laboured to be strong to all your Devices; to the great danger of the King's Majesty's Person, and great peril of the State of the Realm.

14. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you had advised certain Men to entertain and win the favour and good-wills of the head Yeomen and Ringleaders of certain Countries, to the intent that they might bring the Multitude and Commons, when you should think meet, to the furtherance of your Purposes.

15. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you have not only studied and imagined how to have the Rule of a number of Men in your hands, but that you have attempted to get, and also gotten, divers Stewardships of Noblemens Lands, & their Mannoreds, to make your Party stronger, for your Purposes aforesaid; to the danger of the King's Majesty's Person, and great peril of the State of the Realm.

16. It

16. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you have retained young Gentlemen, and hired Yeomen, to a great multitude, and far above such number as is permitted by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, or were otherwise necessary or convenient for your Service, Place, or Estate, to the fortifying of your self towards all your evil Intents and Purposes; to the great danger of the King's Majesty, and peril of the State of the Realm.

17. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you had so travailed in that Matter, that you had made your self able to make, of your own Men, out of your Lands, and Rules, and other your Adherents, 10000 Men, besides your Friends, to the advancement of all your Intents and Purposes; to the danger of the King's Majesty's Person, and the great peril of the State of the Realm.

18. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you had conferred, cast, and weighed so much Mony as would find the said 10000 Men for a Month; and that you knew how and where to have the same Sum; and that you had given warning to have and prepare the said Mass of Mony in a readiness; to the danger of the King's Majesty's Person, and great peril to the State of the Realm.

19. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have not only, before you married the Queen, attempted and gone about to marry the King's Majesty's Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*, second Inheritor, in remainder to the Crown, but also being then let by the Lord Protector, and others of the Council, sithence that time, both in the life of the Queen, continued your old labour and love; and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to atchieve the said purpose of marrying the said Lady *Elizabeth*; to the danger of the King's Majesty's Person, and peril of the state of the same.

20. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you married the late Queen so soon after the late King's Death, that if she had conceived streight after, it should have been a great doubt whether the Child born, should have been accounted the late King's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might, and was like to have ensued to the King's Majesty's Succession, and Quiet of the Realm.

21. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you first married the Queen privately, and did dissemble and keep close the same, insomuch that a good space after you had married her, you made labour to the King's Majesty, and obtained a Letter of his Majesty's Hand, to move and require the said Queen to marry with you; and likewise procured the Lord Protector to speak to the Queen to bear you her favour towards Marriage; by the which colouring, not only your evil and dissembling Nature may be known, but also it is to be feared, that at this present you did intend to use the same practice in the marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Grace.

22. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you not only, so much as lay in you, did stop and lett all such things as, either by Parliament or otherwise, should tend to the advancement of the King's Majesty's Affairs, but did withdraw your self from the King's Majesty's Service; and being moved and spoken unto, for your own Honour, and for the Ability that was in you, to serve and aid the King's Majesty's Affairs, and the Lord Protectors, you would always

always draw back,and feign Excuses,and declare plainly that you would not do it.

Wherefore upon the discourse of all these foresaid things, and of divers others, it must needs be intended, that all these Preparations of Men and Mony, the attempts and secret practices of the said Marriage; the abusing and perswading of the King's Majesty, to mislike the Government, State, and Order of the Realm that now is, and to take the Government into his own hands; and to credit you, was to none other end and purpose, but after a Title gotten to the Crown, and your Party made strong both by Sea and Land, with Furniture of Men and Mony sufficient, to have aspired to the Dignity Royal, by some hainous Enterprize against the King's Majesty's Person; to the subversion of the whole State of the Realm.

23. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you not only had gotten into your hands the strong and dangerous Isles of *Silly*, bought of divers Men; but that so much as lay in your power, you travailed also to have *Londay*; and under pretence to have victualled the Ships therewith, not only went about, but also moved the Lord Protector, and whole Council, that you might, by publick Authority, have that,which by private fraude and falshood, and confederating with *Skarington*, you had gotten, that is, the *Mint* at *Bristol*, to be yours wholly, and only to serve your Purposes, casting, as may appear, that if these Traiterous Purposes had no good success, yet you might thither conveigh a good Mass of Mony; where being aided with Ships, and conspiring at all evil Events with Pirats, you might at all times have a sure and safe Refuge, if any thing for your demerits should have been attempted against you.

24. It is also Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That having knowledg that Sir *William Sharington* Kt. had committed Treason, and otherwise wonderfully defrauded and deceived the King's Majesty, nevertheless you both by your self, and by seeking Council for him, and by all means you could, did aid, assist, and bear him, contrary to your Allegiance and Duty to the King's Majesty, and the good Laws and Orders of the Realm.

25. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where you owed to Sir *William Sharington* Kt. a great sum of Mony, yet to abet, bear, and cloak the great falshood of the said *Sharington*, and to defraud the King's Majesty, you were not afraid to say and affirm, before the Lord Protector and the Council, that the same *Sharington* did owe unto you a great Sum of Mony, *viz.* 2800 *l.* and to conspire with him in that falshood, and take a Bill of that feigned Debt into your custody.

26. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you by your self and Ministers have not only extorted and bribed great Sums of Mony of all such Ships as should go into *Island*, but also as should go any other where in Merchandise, contrary to the Liberty of this Realm, and to the great discouragement and destruction of the Navy of the same; to the great danger of the King's Majesty, and the State of the Realm.

27. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where divers Merchants, as well Strangers as Englishmen, have had their goods

X x x piratously

piratously robbed and taken, you have had their Goods in your hands and custody, daily seen in your House, and distributed among your Servants and Friends, without any restitution to the Parties so injured and spoiled; so that thereby Forreign Princes have in a manner been weary of the King's Majesty's Amity, and by their Ambassadors divers times complained; to the great slander of the King's Majesty, and danger of the State of the Realm.

28. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where certain Men have taken certain Pirats, you have not only taken from the Takers of the said Pirats all the Goods and Ships so taken, without any reward, but have cast the said Takers, for their good Service done to the King's Majesty, into Prison; and there detained them a great time, some eight Weeks, some more, some less, to the discouraging of such as truly should serve the King's Majesty against his Pirats and Enemies.

29. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That divers of the Head Pirats being brought unto you, you have let the same Pirats go again free unto the Seas; and taking away from the Takers of them, not only all their Commodity and Profit, but from the true Owners of the Ships and Goods, all such as ever came into the Pirats hands, as though you were authorised to be the chief Pirat, and to have had all the Advantage they could bring unto you.

30. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where Order hath been taken, by the Lord Protector and the whole Council, that certain Goods, piratically taken upon the Seas, and otherwise known not to be Wreck nor Forfeited, should be restored to the true Owners, and Letters thereupon written by the Lord Protector and the Council; to the which Letters, you your self, among the other, did set to your Hand; Yet you, this notwithstanding, have given commandment to your Officers, That no such Letters should be obeyed; and written your private Letters to the contrary, commanding the said Goods not to be restored, but kept to your own use and profit, contrary to your own Hand before in the Council-Chamber written, and contrary to your Duty and Allegiance, and to the perilous Example of others, and great slander and danger of the Realm.

31. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where certain Strangers, which were Friends and Allies to the King's Majesty, had their Ships, with Wind and Weather broken, and yet came unwrecked to the Shore; when the Lord Protector and the Council had written for the restitution of the said Goods, and to the Country to aid and save so much of the Goods as might, you your self subscribing and consenting thereto; yet this notwithstanding, you have not only given contrary commandment to your Officers, but as a Pirat have written Letters to some of your Friends to help, that as much of these Goods as they could, should be conveyed away secretly by Night further off, upon hope that if the same Goods were assured, the Owners would make no further labour for them, and then you might have enjoyed them; contrary to Justice and your Honour, and to the great slander of this Realm.

32. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have not only disclosed the King's Majesty's Secret Council, but also where your

your

your ſelf, amongſt the reſt, have conſented and agreed to certain things for the advancement of the King's Affairs, you have ſpoken and laboured againſt the ſame.

33. It is further Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That your Deputy Steward, and other your Miniſters of the *Holt*, in the County of *Denbigh*, have now, againſt *Chriſtmaſs* laſt paſt, at the ſaid *Holt*, made ſuch proviſion of Wheat, Malt, Beefs, and other ſuch things as be neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of a great number of Men; making alſo, by all the means poſſible, a great Maſs of Mony; inſomuch that all the Country doth greatly marvel at it, and the more, becauſe your Servants have ſpread Rumours abroad, that the King's Majeſty was dead; whereupon the Country is in a great maze, doubt, and expectation, looking for ſome Broil, and would have been more, if at this preſent, by your apprehenſion, it had not been ſtaied.

The Lord Admiral's Anſwer to three of the former Articles.

TO the firſt, he ſaith, That about *Eaſter-Tyde* was twelve-months, he ſaid to *Fowler*, as he ſuppoſeth it was, that if he might have the King in his cuſtody as Mr. *Page* had, he would be glad; and that he thought a Man might bring him through the Gallery to his Chamber, and ſo to his Houſe: But this he ſaid he ſpoke merrily, meaning no hurt. And that in the mean time after he heard, and upon that ſought out certain Precedents, that there was in *England* at one time, one Protector, and another Regent of *France*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Governors of the King's Perſon; Upon that he had thought to have made ſuit to the Parliament-Houſe for that purpoſe, and he had the names of all the Lords, and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpoſe to labour them. But afterwards communing with Mr. Comptroller at *Ely*-place, being put in remembrance by him of his aſſenting and agreeing with own his Hand, that the Lord Protector ſhould be governor of the King's Perſon, he was aſhamed of his doings, and left off that ſuit and labour.

To the ſecond he ſaith, He gave Mony to two or three of them which were about the King. To *Mr. Cheek* he ſaith, he gave at *Chriſtmaſs*-tide was twelve-months, when the Queen was at *Enfield* 40 *l.* whereof to himſelf 20 *l.* the other for the King, to beſtow where it pleaſed his Grace amongſt his Servants. *Mr. Cheek* was very loath to take it, howbeit he would needs preſs that upon him; and to him he gave no more, at no time as he remembreth, ſith the King's Majeſty was crowned.

To the Grooms of the Chamber he hath at *Newyears-tydes* given Mony, he doth not well remember what.

To *Fowler*, he ſaith, he gave Mony for the King, ſith the beginning of this Parliament now laſt at *London*, 20 *l.*

And divers times, he ſaith, the King hath ſent to him for mony, and he hath ſent it. And what time *Mr. Latimer* preached before the King, the King ſent to him to know what he ſhould give *Mr. Latimer*, and he ſent to him by *Fowler* 40 *l.* with this word, that 20 *l.* was a good reward for *Mr. Latimer*, and the other he might beſtow amongſt his

Servants; whether he hath given *Fowler* any mony for himſelf he doth not remember.

To the third, he ſaith, It is true, he drew ſuch a Bill indeed himſelf, and proffered it to the King, or elſe to *Mr. Cheek*, he cannot well tell; and before that, he ſaith, he cauſed the King to be moved by *Mr. Fowler*, whether he could be contented that he ſhould have the Governance of him as *Mr. Stanhope* had. He knoweth not what anſwer he had; but upon that he drew the ſaid Bill to that effect, that his Majeſty was content, but what anſwer he had to the Bill he cannot tell, *Mr. Cheek* can tell.

Number 32.

The Warrant for the Admiral's Execution.

March 17.

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 247.

THis day, the 17*th* of *March*, the Lord Chancellor, and the reſt of the King's Council, meeting in his Highneſs Palace of *Weſtminſter*, heard the Report of the Biſhop of *Ely*, who by the ſaid Lords, and others of the Council, was ſent to inſtruct and comfort the Lord Admiral; after the hearing whereof, conſulting and deliberating with themſelves of the time moſt convenient for the execution of the ſaid Lord Admiral, now attainted and condemned by the Parliament, They did condeſcend and agree, that the ſaid Lord Admiral ſhould be executed the *Wedneſday* next following, betwixt the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon the ſame day, upon *Tower-Hill*. His Body and Head to be buried within the *Tower*. The King's Writ (as in ſuch Caſes as heretofore hath been accuſtomed) being firſt directed and ſent forth for that purpoſe and effect. Whereupon calling to the Council-Chamber the Biſhop of *Ely*, they willed him to declare this their Determination to the ſaid Lord Admiral; and to inſtruct and teach him, the beſt he could, to the quiet and patient ſuffering of Juſtice, and to prepare himſelf to Almighty God.

E. *Somerſet.*

T. Cantuarien.	*William Paget.*
R. Rich Cancel.	*Anthony Wingfield.*
W. St. John.	*William Petre.*
J. Ruſſel.	*A. Denny.*
J. Warwick.	*Edward North.*
F. Shrewsbury.	*R. Sadler.*
Thomas Southampton.	

Number

Number 33.

Articles to be followed and observed, according to the King's Majesty's Injunctions and Proceedings.

1. THat all Parsons, Vicars, and Curats, omit in the reading of the Injunctions, all such as make mention of the Popish Mass, of Chantries, of Candles upon the Altar, or any other such-like thing. Ex MS. Dr. *Johnson.*

2. *Item.* For an Uniformity, that no Minister do counterfeit the Popish Mass, as to kiss the Lord's Table; washing his Fingers at every time in the Communion; blessing his Eyes with the Paten or Sudary, or crossing his Head with the Paten, shifting of the Book from one place to another, laying down and licking the Chalice of the Communion; holding up his Fingers, Hands, or Thumbs, joined towards his Temples, breathing upon the Bread or Chalice, shewing the Sacrament openly before the distribution of the Communion; ringing or sacrying Bells, or setting any Light upon the Lord's Board at any time: And finally, to use no other Ceremonies than are appointed in the King's Book of Common Prayers, or kneeling otherwise than is in the said Book.

3. *Item.* That none buy or sell the Holy Communion, as in Trentals and such other.

4. *Item.* That none be suffered to pray upon Beads, and so the People to be diligently admonished; and such as will not be admonished, to put from the Holy Communion.

5. *Item.* That after the Homily, every *Sunday*, the Minister exhort the People, especially the Communicants, to remember the poor Mens Box with their Charity.

6. *Item.* To receive no Corpse but at the Church-yard, without Bell or Cross.

7. *Item.* That the Common-Prayer, upon *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, be diligently kept, according to the King's Ordinances, exhorting such as may conveniently come, to be there.

8. *Item.* That the Curats, every sixth Week at the least, teach and declare diligently the Catechism, according to the Book of the same.

9. *Item.* That no Man maintain Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the six Articles, Bedrolls, Images, Reliques, Lights, Holy Bells, Holy Beads, Holy Water, Palms, Ashes, Candles, Sepulchres Paschal, creeping to the Cross, hallowing of the Font of the Popish manner, Oil, Chresme, Altars, Beads, or any other such Abuses and Superstitions, contrary to the King's Majesty's Proceedings.

10. *Item.* That within any Church or Chappel, be not used any more than one Communion upon any day, except *Christmass*-day and *Easter*-day.

11. *Item.* That none keep the Abrogate Holy-days, other than those that have their proper and peculiar Service.

12. *Item.*

12. *Item.* That the Church-wardens ſuffer no buying nor ſelling, gaming, or unfitting Demeanour, in Church, or Church-yards, eſpecially during the Common-Prayer, the Sermon, and reading of the Homily.

13. *Item.* That going to the Sick with the Sacrament, the Miniſter have not with him either Light or Bells.

Number 34.

A Paper written by Luther *to* Bucer, *concerning a Reconciliation with the* Zuinglians.

An Original.

Ex M S. Col. C.Ch. *Cant.*

PRimo, Ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros ante Intellexerunt: Nam iſto Pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulneri: cum nec ipſi credamus utrimque hoc verum eſſe, & alii putabunt a nobis hoc fingi; ut ita magis ſuſpectam reddemus cauſam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus; cum ſit communis omnium, ut in tantis animorum turbis & ſcrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Secundo, Cum hactenus diſſenſerimus, quod illi ſignum, nos Corpus Chriſti aſſeruerimus plane contrarii: Nihilominus mihi videtur utile, ut mediam, ut novam ſtatuamus ſententiam, qua & illi concedant Chriſtum adeſſe vere & nos concedamus panem ſolum manducari. Conſiderandum certe eſt, quantam hic feneſtram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi & Orientium hinc fontes queſtionum & opinionum * Ut tutius multo ſit illos ſimpliciter manere in ſuo ſigno, cum nec ipſi ſuam, nec nos noſtram partem, multo minus utriq; totum orbem pertrahemus in eam ſententiam; Sed potius irritabimus ad varias Cogitationes, ideo vellem potius ut ſopitum maneret diſſidium in duabus iſtis ſententiis, quam ut occaſio daretur infinitis queſtionibus ad Epicuriſmum profuturis.

* Here a word is wanting, it is like it ſhould be *Occludendis.*

Iſtis ſalvis, nihil eſt quod a me peti poſſit: nam ut ego hoc diſſidium vellem (teſtis eſt mihi Chriſtus meus) redemptum Corpore & Sanguine meo. Sed quid faciam? Ipſi forte Conſcientia bona ſunt in altera ſententia. Feramus igitur eos: ſi ſinceri ſunt, liberabit eos Chriſtus Dominus. Ego contra captus ſum bona mea Conſcientia, niſi ipſi mihi ſum ignotus, in meam ſententiam: ferant & me, ſi non poſſunt mihi accedere.

Number 35.

The Sentence against Joan *of* Kent, *with the Certificate made upon it.*

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas, permissione divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas & Metrapolitanus, Thomas Smith Miles, Willielmus Cooke Decanus de Arcubus, Hugo Latimer Sacræ Theologiæ Professor, & Richardus Lyell Legum Doctor, illustrissimi, invictissimi in Christo Principis & Domini nostri Domini Edwardi sexti, Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. per Literas suas Regias Patentes, dat. duodecimo die mensis Aprilis, Anno Regni sui tertio, contra te Joannam Bocher, alias nuncupatam Joannam de Kente, coram nobis super hæretica pravitate, juxta & secundum Commissionem dicti Domini nostri Regis detectam & declaratam, ac in ea parte apud bonos & graves Notorie & Publice, diffamatam, rite & legitime procedentes, auditis, visis, intellectis, cognitis, rimatis, & matura deliberatione discussis & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis & circumstantiis, servatisq; in omnibus & per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis in quomodolibet requisitis : judicialiter & pro tribunali sendentes, Christi nomine invocato ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes ; Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, probata, confessata, ac per te sæpius coram nobis in eodem negotio recognita, comperimus & clare invenimus te, tum per confessiones, tum per recognitiones tuas coram nobis judicialiter factas, nefandum & intollerabilem errorem, hæresin damnatam & scandalosam opinionem subscriptam, juri Divino & Fidei Catholicæ obviantem, contrariam & repugnantem : viz. *That you believe, that the Word was made Flesh in the Virgins Belly ; but that Christ took Flesh of the Virgin, you believe not ; because the Flesh of the Virgin, being the outward Man, was sinfully gotten and born in Sin ; but the Word, by the consent of the inward Man of the Virgin, was made Flesh.* Quem quidem errorem, hæresin damnatam & scandalosam opinionem, juri divino & Fidei Catholicæ obviantem, contrariam & repugnantem, &c. Idcirco nos Thomas Archiep. &c. te Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kente prædictam, de meritis, culpis, obstinaciis & contumaciis, &c. de & super horrendo hæreticæ pravitatis reatu confessam, ad Ecclesiæ unitatem redire nolentem, hæreticam opinionem credentem, præmissorum prætextu fuisse & esse, cum animi dolore & cordis amaritudine Judicamus, teq; ex nunc tanquam pertinacem & obstinatam hæreticam, judicio sive curiæ seculari ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde sequi debeat, aut poterit, relinquendam fore decernimus & declaramus, & sic per præsentes de facto relinquimus ; Teq; Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kent, memoratam hæreticam, pertinacem, in majoris Excommunicationis sententiam occasione præmissorum incidisse & incurrisse, necnon excommunicatam fuisse & esse, etiam sententialiter & definitive pronunciamus & declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, quam ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis. Lecta fuit hæc sententia per prænominatos, Reverendum, &c.

Regist. Gran. Fol. 175.

Sermo

Sermo factus Domino Regi contra Joannam Bocher, alias dictam, Joannam de Kent pro Brachio Seculari.

ILlustrissimo & Invictissimo in Christo Principi, Domino nostro Edwardo sexto, Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Thomas Permissione Divina Cantuarien, &c. Thomas Smith & Commissarii prædicti & Inquisitores vestræ Celsitudinis, per Literas vestras Regias Patentes, dat. 12 Aprilis; Anno Regni vestri tertio, sufficienter & legitime deputati honorem & perpetuam fœlicitatem in eo, per quam Reges regnant & Principes dominantur. Vestræ Regiæ Celsitudini, Tenore præsentum significamus, quod nos adversus quandam, Joannam Bocher alias Joannam de Kent dictam, subditam vestram de & super nefando Crimine Hæreseos ac detestanda Anabaptistarum Secta apud bonos & graves enormiter defamatam, & super reatu earundem nobis detectam, delatam & denuntiatam, rite & legitime juxta literarum vestrarum Regiarum Commissionalium exigentiam, & tenorem procedentes, eandem Joannam, per nos examinatam, comperimus & invenimus Errores, Hæreses & damnatas Opiniones pertinaciter animo indurato sæpenumero manutenuisse, defendisse & in eisdem permansisse, & ab eisdem nullo modo resipiscisse, nec resipiscere curasse; sed ad Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ gremium redire penitus neglexisse: Ideo, cum animi amaritudine & cordis dolore, eandem Joannam, sæpius monitam & per nos ad Ecclesiæ unitatem redire hortatam, salutaribus nostris monitis parere omnino spernentem, de & cum consensu Collegarum nostrorum, tanquam ovem morbidam a grege domini (ne alios viros subditos sua contagione inficiat) ejiciendam & eliminandam fore decrevimus, ipsamq; Joannam occasione iniquitatis suæ inveteratæ, hæreticam ac hæreticis Opinionibus credentem, mediante nostra sententia definitiva, pronunciavimus & decrevimus. Cum igitur Sancta Mater Ecclesia non habeat, quod ulterius facere & exequi debeat, in hac parte vestræ Regiæ sublimitati & brachio vestro seculari dictam Hæreticam & relapsam relinquimus, condigna animadversione plectendam. In cujus rei testimonium; Nos Thomas Archiep. &c. Commissarius vester humillimus supradictus, de consensu Collegarum nostrorum, hic se subscribentium, Sigillum nostrum Archiepiscopale præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum ultimo die mensis Aprilis, Anno Dom. 1549. & Regni vestri fœlicissimi Anno tertio.

Folio 178. After this followeth the Process, and Sentence of Condemnation of one *George van Parre* a Dutch-man, for obstinately maintaining the like Opinions; together with a Petition imploring the execution thereof, and the assistance of the Secular Power, conform to the Tenour of that above-written, bearing date the *6th* of *April*, *Anno Dom.* 1551.

The Judges and Commissioners of this Process, were *Thomas* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas* Bishop of *London*, *William May*, *Griffin Leyson*, *John Oliver*, *Miles Coverdale*, *Richard Lyell*, *John Gosnold*, and *Christopher Nevison*.

His

His Heresy that he believeth, is, That *God the Father is only God: and that Christ is not very God, is non-Heresie.* And being askt, by an Interpreter, Whether he would abjure the said Opinion? He answered; *No.*

Number 38.

A Letter from the Protector to Sir Philip Hobby, *concerning the Rebellions at Home.*

KNowing that all such as be Ambassadors abroad, are not only desirous of News, for the love they bear to their own Country naturally, desiring often to hear of the estate of it, but also to confirm and confute such Rumors as be spread in the Parts where they lie, we have thought good to impart what sith our last Letters hath chanced. The *Devonshire* Men are well chastised and appeased; three other of their Captains have voluntarily come in, and simply submitted themselves to Sir *Thomas Pomery* Kt. *Wise* and *Harrice*, who before were fled, and could not be found; and the Country cometh in daily to my Lord Privy-Seal, by 100 and 1000, to crave their Pardon, and be put in some sure hope of Grace. *Burry*, and some one or two more of their blind Guids, that escaped from the Sword, have attempted, in the mean Season, to stir up *Somersetshire*, and have gotten them a Band or Camp; but they are sent after, and we trust by this, they have as they deserve. The Earl of *Warwick* lieth near to the Rebels in *Norfolk*, which faint now, and would have Grace gladly, so that all might be pardoned, *Ket*, and the other Arch-Traitors. The number upon that is at a stay, and they daily shrink so fast away, that there is great hope that they will leave their Captains destitute and alone, to receive their worthy Reward; the which is the thing we most desire, to spare, as much as may be, the effusion of Blood, and that namely of our own Nation. In *York-shire* a Commotion was attempted the Week last past; but the Gentlemen were so soon upon them, and so forwardly, that it was streight suppressed; and with weeping Eyes, the rest upon their Knees, they wholly together desired the Gentlemen to obtain their Pardons; the which the King's Majesty hath so granted unto them, as may stand with his Highness Honour: So that for the Inner Parts (thanks be to the Almighty God) the Case standeth in good Points. The Causes and Pretences of these Uproars and Risings, are divers and uncertain, and so full of variety almost in every Camp, (as they call them) that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know, is like to be of People without Head and Rule, and that would have that they wot not what: Some crieth, pluck down Inclosures and Parks, some for their Commons; others pretend the Religion; a number would Rule another while, and direct things as Gentlemen have done; and indeed all have conceived a wonderful hate against Gentlemen, and taketh them all as their Enemies. The Ruffians among them, and the Souldiers, which be the chief Doers, look for spoil. So that it seemeth no other

Cotton Libr. *Galba*. B. 12.

thing but a Plague and a Fury amongst the vilest and worst sort of Men: for except only *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, and they not past two or three, in all other Places not one Gentleman, or Man of Reputation was ever amongst them, but against their Wills, and as Prisoners. In *Norfolk*, Gentlemen, and all Servingmen, for their sakes, are as ill handled as may be; but this Broil is well asswaged, and in a manner at a point shortly to be fully ended, with the Grace of God.

On the other part of the Seas, we have not so good News; for the French King taking now his time, and occasions of this Rebellion within the Realm, is come unto *Bullingnois*, with a great number of Horsemen and Foot-men, himself in Person: And as we are advertised, of the Letters of the 24*th* of this present, from *Ambletue* or *Newhaven*, the *Almain* Camp, or *Almain* Hill, a piece appertaining to the said *Ambletue*, was that day delivered to the French, by traiterous consent of the Camp; their variance falling out, or feigned, between the Captain and the Souldiers, so that they are now besieged very near, and in a manner round. Howbeit they write, that they trust the piece it self of *Newhaven* will be well enough defended, God assisting them, who be in as good and stout a courage as any Men may be, and as desirous to win Honour, and give a good account of their Charge. Thus we bid you heartily farewel. *August* 24. 1549.

Number 37.

A Letter of *Bonner's* after he was deprived.

An Original.

The first part of this Letter, is the recommending the Bearer, that they might find a good Marriage for him.

——The Pears were so well accepted in every place, where I had so many Thanks for my Distribution, that I intend, by God's Grace, to send down to you your Frail again, to have an eching, either of more Pears, or else of Puddings, *&c.* ye do know what, *&c.* doth mean, by that Italian Proverb, *Dio me guarda da furia di villani, da Conscientia di preti, da chi odi due messe nel giorno, da quasibuglie di medici da &c. di notarii, da chi jura per la Conscientia mia.* I do not write to Sir *John Burne*, nor to my Lady, for any thing, their Conscience is not over-large; and the like is in Mr. *Hornvale*, and also my old Acquaintance *John Badger*. But if amongst you I have no Puddings, then must I say, as *Messer*, our Priest of the Hospital, said to his mad Horse, in our last journey to *Hostia*, *Al diavolo, al diavolo, ai tutti diavolli.* Our Lord preserve you, and all yours, with desire to be recommended to all. *Festo omnium Sanctorum*, in the *Marshalsea.*

To my dear beloved Friend, the Worshipful Richard Lechmore.

Your loving and assured old Acquaintance,

Edmond Bonner.

Num-

Number 38.

Letters and Instructions touching Proceedings with the Emperor, to Sir William Paget, *Knight of the Order, sent to the Emperor.* 1549.

FIrst, He shall communicate his Instructions, and the cause of his coming with Sir *Philip Hobbey* Ambassador, Resident with the Emperor, and accompanied with him at his access to the said Emperor, shall deliver his Letters of Credit; and for his Credit shall utter his Charge as followeth. *Cotton Libr. Galba.B.12.*

First, He shall declare what good Will we have to the continuance of the Amity, and the encrease of the same, by such means as may be devised on either Party; and how the Reciproque hath been promised on their behalf.

Item. To the intent they may as well perceive our forwardness there-in, as also the World see the same take effect indeed, he is sent to shew what We have thought upon for this purpose; and also if they be of a like forwardness, to hear again what they think meet in that behalf; and upon this Conference, either to conclude upon both Our Devices, or such one of them as shall be thought best for both Parties.

Item. We think good, that the Treaty already made between the Emperor and the King's Majesty of famous memory, deceased, be made perpetual, that is to say, confirmed by the Prince, and the Countries on both sides, whose Commodity depend upon the same Treaty.

Item. Before the Confirmation, the Treaty to be revised by him; and the Ambassador, and certain other to be appointed by the Emperor, to the intent it may appear whether we have both one understanding of the words of the Treatise.

Item. Where the debating to and from of the Amity with his Ambassador here, occasion hath risen to talk of Marriage, between the Infant of *Portugal* and the Lady *Mary*; to which thing we perceive the Emperor hath sithence been made privy; and that in case the Emperor mind to treat further of that Matter, he shall say he hath commission to hear and conclude thereof.

Item. To declare the State of our Affairs in *Scotland* at this time; and forasmuch as the Scots have been very much aided with Victuals, Ammunitions, and other Necessaries from his Dominions, by reason whereof they are more stiff and unwilling to come to Reason; the said Comptroller declaring this Consideration, shall do what he may to procure, that not only all safe Conducts granted by the Emperor, or the Regent may be cassed; but also his consent, that if any his Subjects traffique into *Scotland*, being common Enemies, if they be taken beyond *Barwick* thitherward, it may be lawful for our Men to take their Goods as forfeit.

Item. To declare our proceedings with *France* at this time, and of our ſending Commiſſioners upon the French Motion, who ſhall not conclude any thing prejudicial to the Amity or Treaties already paſſed, or now to be paſſed, between Us and the Emperor, but ſhall depend wholly upon his proceeding there; ſo as if the Emperor ſhall, upon conſultation of his Affairs, determine with us to do any thing to *France*, we will frame our Communications with the French thereafter: if otherwiſe, than the ſaid Commiſſioners now ſent to the French ſhall do accordingly.

Item. For making the Treaty perpetual, We think convenient, that the Prince of *Spain* do confirm and ſign the ſame, and the *Low-Countries* compriſed therein, do alſo in their General Parliaments or Aſſemblies make like Confirmation, and in their Courts to make Decrees thereof; and this, or ſuch form as hath been uſed in thoſe Parts heretofore in like Caſes, to be done for their part: And for our part, the King to Ratify it, the Parliament to Confirm it, and the Courts of *Chancery*, *King's Bench*, and *Common-Pleas*, to make Decrees thereof.

Item. In the reviſing of the Treaty, if any Doubt riſe for the underſtanding of it, which ſhall ſeem by his and the Ambaſſadors diſcretion to be for the King's Profit, to conclude upon it, if they will agree to the ſame; and if there ariſe doubt, which ſhall ſeem to their diſcretions againſt the King, then to advertiſe hither.

Item. For the caſe of the Marriage, to declare at the firſt what was left by the King's Majeſty deceaſed; and yet nevertheleſs afterward to offer 100000 Crowns, or the Revenue yearly which ſhe hath now upon convenable Dower. The ſaid 100000 Crowns, or Revenue, to be paid at *Calais*, if the Marriage take place; ſhe to be conveyed to *Calais* at the King's Charges; the Marriage to be made in the Emperor's Court, or elſe-where in the *Low-Country*, by his appointment; and for her Dowry to ask by the Year to be paid in caſe of the Infant's Death, at *Calais* yearly, at the Feaſts of and the Feaſt of and She to return into *England* with Jewels, Plate, Houſhold-ſtuff, ſuch as ſhould be agreed upon. And thus far to enter for the firſt Degree; and in caſe of further Communication, to advertiſe and receive anſwer from hence.

Item. Touching our Proceeding with *France*, to declare how we have continued in War with them, and *Scotland* theſe four Years alone, without help; and that we think it expedient for us, upon this occaſion now miniſtred by *France*, to give ear; in the which hearing, we mind to attribute much to the Emperor's Friendſhip; for loath we are to let ſlip from the King any one jot of his Right, if the Emperor will aſſiſt; but otherwiſe we muſt make ſuch a Bargain for the King, as we may with regard to his Honour and Surety. And in this Point the Comptroller ſhall preſs the ſaid Emperor to enter with us, and to put him in a remembrance of his Quarrels, and all ſuch other things as he can deviſe for this purpoſe; and to put him in hope generally, that we will enter gallantly with him. And if he deſcend to Particulars for the form of the Entry, to hear his Opinion, and to advertiſe, and then proceed as anſwer cometh from hence; but ſpecially to remember to ſet forth the comprehenſion of *Bulloign* for defence, upon a like Reciproque, for ſo ſhall he be brought to think we mind not to conclude with

with *France*, and thereby stay such practices, as upon occasion of the said Comptroller's going, either he with *France*, or *France* with him, might enter together. And so the Commissioners sent to *France*, may make the better Bargain for the King. Marry, this Point is not to be opened throughly, till he hear some likelihood that our Commissioners in *France* break off without conclusion.

Item. The said Comptroller shall essay, as of himself, whether they will accept *Bulloign* at the King's Majesty's Hands, for some other reasonable recompence.

Item. The said Comptroller shall use his discretion, to open the Points aforesaid to the Emperor, *Granveia*, or *D'arras*, either at one time, or several times, as to his discretion shall seem convenient; and shall address his Pacquets to the Commissioners for *France* lying at *Calais*, to the end they may see his Proceedings, and send them over with speed, directing their Charge the better hereafter.

Number 39.

An Account of a Conference the English Ambassadors had with the Emperor's Ministers, in a Letter to the Protector.

IT may like your Grace to be advertised, that upon the 20*th* of this Present, came to the Lodging of me the Comptroller, *Monsieur d' Arras*, and in his company the two Presidents of the Council, *St. Maurice* and *Viglius*; who after a few words of Office passed between them and us, entred the cause of their coming, saying, That the Emperor having been informed of such Conference as was passed this other day between me and *Granvela*, hath to declare his readiness to any thing that might satisfy his good Will and Affection to the intent of the King, sent us here to revisite the Treaties, and see how we do agree upon the understanding of the same. I the Comptroller answered, That it was not amiss, howbeit I had not so opened the Matters, nor looked to have it passed in such order. But first to know the Emperor's Resolution, how he can be contented with the Confirmation of the Treaty, in the form that I had moved, and then that agreed upon, to proceed to the revisitation of the same. In good Faith, quoth *d' Arras*, we did so understand it, and have so reported to the Emperor; and this Commission hath he now given us. Well, quoth I, seeing you are now here, and have brought the Treaty with you for that purpose, we may do somewhat in it, and afterwards be advised further, requiring, that in case any thing should be found in the passages of the Treaty meet to be considered, that we might, before further wading in the Matter, know the Emperor's Resolution, touching as well the Confirmation of the Treaty, as in such things as now might be moved: which they thought reasonable. And so we began to read the Treaty; and when we came to the sixth Article, wherein it is provided for the common Enmity in case of Invasion, and by the Establishment set forth, with what number the Invasion must be made; and that both for the Invasion, and the Number the Prince required to join, shall credit

Cotton Libr. Galba.B.12.

credit the Letters of the Prince requiring. I put this Case, quoth I, for the understanding of this Matter, that the King my Master will signify by his Letters to the Emperor, that such a day the Scots, our common Enemies, to the number of 7000 Men, with the aid of the French King, affronted the Borders of *England*, comprehended in the Treaty, and set above 2000 Men into the Realm to invade: who did indeed invade, and spoil, and burn, and take Prisoners; and therefore would require the Emperor, according to the Treaty, to take the French King, who had aided his Enemies, for his Enemies; for so doth he, and so will use him for his Enemies. Is not the Emperor bound to do it? What say you, quoth I, how do you understand this Article? It should seem yes, quoth *d' Arras*, but we will speak with the Emperor in it, and bring you an answer. The words be plain, quoth I, and cannot be avoided.

Then in the seventh Article, where it is said, That the Prince requiring for his Aid Mony instead of Men, must, if the Invasion made by the Enemy cease, restore the Mony again which remaineth. And afterwards says, That though the Invasion cease, yet if he will follow the Enemy, he may use the Aid for the time appointed in the Treaty; saying in generality, (*eo casu subsidiis auxiliaribus, &c.*) I asked, Whether in those general words, they mean not the Mony as well as the Men? Wherupon they seemed to doubt, and took a Note thereof, to know the Emperor's Pleasure in the same.

In the ninth Article, where it is treated for redress of Injuries done by one Subject to the other, there we fell into a brawl of half an hour, upon a Question that I moved, *viz.* When they took Justice to be denied? And their Answer was, That we used none at all. And here at length, I fell into their manner of Arresting of one whole Nation upon a Knave Mariner's Complaint. And he, What Thieves our Nation was upon the Sea, and Lawless People, and that they never proceed to such Extremities, but when their Subjects had been in *England* and Justice was denied. That hath never been seen, quoth I; but if any of your Subjects think himself grieved, streight he runneth to *Monsieur le Protecteur*; and he, by and by, setting all the King's Affairs apart, must attend to the Affairs of *Monsieur le Mariniure*, or else home runneth he with open cry, That he cannot have Justice in *England*, and you streight believe; and thereupon cometh these often Blusters. And do you think it reason, that *Monsieur G.* or you should attend to every private Man's Complaint; you should then have a goodly Office. No, you send them to the ordinary Justices, and so let that take place and way as it will; but you will never impeach your self more with the Matter. And reason, quoth he, but the Cause is not alike with you in *England*, for there, quoth he, all things come to the Lord Protector's Hand, there is none other Judg or Justice used or cared for in the Realm; no, and his Letters sometimes not esteemed, and that our Subjects fear full often, and therefore of force they must resort to *Monsieur Protecteur*. And this is not true, quoth I, and that *Monsieur Hobbey* knoweth, my Lord Protector, nor none of the Privy-Council, meddle with no private Matters whosoever it be, but only meddle with Matters of State, leaving all other things to the ordinary course of Justice, except only many times to gratify your Ambassador, and to shew himself glad

glad to nourish the Amity, he troubleth himself with the Complaints of your Subjects, which, by St. *Mary*, by my advice, he shall do no more, seeing it is so little considered, but shall refer them to the common Justice. Whither is that? (quoth he). To the Admiralty, quoth I. Marry, a goodly Justice, quoth he, for so shall the poor Man's Cause be tried before his Adversary. And why not tried in our Admiralty (quoth I) as well as in yours. Nay, quoth he, both be naught indeed; they were very ordinary Courts at the beginning of the redress of Matters upon the Sea, but now they feel the sweet of the Gain such, as they care little for Justice. And here, as well for relief of poor Men spoiled and robbed upon the Seas, as to avoid Arrests, and such other troublesome Proceedings on either side, we fell to devising, and came to this Point; If the Princes for their parts, upon their advertisement to the Emperor, and we to your Grace, shall like it, that Commission sufficient be given by the Emperor to two of his Privy-Council, to hear and determine by their discretion, summary, *& de pleno*, all Complaints by the King's Subjects here for criminal Causes upon the Sea; and the King's Majesty to do the like to two of his Privy-Council, for the Complaints in like case of the Emperor's Subjects.

And this was all was passed in open Conference, saying, That in the Discourse for the Confirmation in the Treaty by the Prince and their Countries, as they seemed to shew the Emperor's readiness, (but yet not so resolved) that the Prince should confirm the Treaty, and that further any other thing should be done that he might reasonably do, to declare his good Will to the entertainment and augmentation of his Amity and Affection to the King's Majesty. So he alleaged divers Reasons why the Emperor should not seek to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties with Forreign Princes. We alleaged the Example of the King, and the French King in times past; and what was said in that Case at *C.* in the presence of himself *de C.* and *Chap.* Whereunto he answered, That the State of *France* was more restrained than the Emperor's; and that the French King could give no piece of his Patrimony, nor bind his Country, without the consent of his Parliament at *Paris*, and the three Estates; but he thought the King of *England* to have a greater Prerogative, and the Emperor he was sure had a greater Prerogative; and so had all his Ancestors, and therefore would be loath now to put himself so far in their danger: They were, he said, fifteen or sixteen Parliaments, and if a thing should be proposed unto them, whereof they had never heard the like before, they would not only muse much at the Matter, but they would have also the scanning of it; and what would come of it, the Emperor could not tell, peradventure dash the Matter, and so prejudice his Prerogative with them. Yet now where he and his Ancestors do, and have always passed Treaties with other Princes, and bind their Subjects thereby without making them privy thereto, it would by this means come to pass, that from henceforth their Subjects would look to be privy to every Treaty, which were not convenient; marry, for the Prince which shall succeed to confirm the Treaty, he thought the Emperor could not take it but reasonable, and doubted not to bring a good Answer in the same. So as we see for this Point, it will come to the confirmation of the King and the Prince, and upon any condition

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or interpretation of the Treaty to them alſo, wherein we intend to go forwards, for ſo our Inſtruction beareth us, unleſs that before the concluſion and ſhutting up of the Matter, we hear from your Grace to the contrary.

The things being thus far paſſed, and our open Talk at a Point, and they ready to depart, *Monſieur d' Arras* taking occaſion (as it ſeemed) to ſtay becauſe of the Rain, took me aſide, and asked me if I would command him any other Service. I anſwered, No Service, but Friendſhip, and the continuance of his good Will to the King's Majeſty's Affairs; whereunto he making large Offers, I began to enter with him, how much your Grace, and all the reſt, repoſed themſelves in the friendſhip of the Emperor, and the good Miniſtry of his Father and him, to the furtherance of the King's Majeſty's Affairs; to whom, as in that behalf, they ſhewed themſelves great Friends, ſo did they, like good Servants to their Maſter, for the proſperous ſucceſs of the Affairs of the one, ſerved the turn of the other, and the contrary. Whereupon I diſcourſed largely, as far as my poor Capacity would extend, how neceſſary it was for the Emperor to aid and aſſiſt us in all things, ſo as we are not oppreſſed by force, or driven, for want of Friendſhip, to take ſuch ways to keep us in quiet, as both we our ſelves would be loath, and our Friends ſhould afterwards have peradventure cauſe to forethink.

I repeated firſt how we entred the Wars for your ſake; for the King might have made his Bargain honourable with France, which no Man knew better than I: how long we have endured the War, and how long alone; how favourable they are to our common Enemies the Scots; how ungentle the French be to us, and by indirect means think to conſume us, to make the Emperor the weaker.

I recited the practices of the French with the Turk, with the Pope, with the Germans, with *Denmark*; his Aid of the Scots, and all upon intent to impeach the Emperor when he ſeeth time, or at the leaſt attending a good hour, upon hope of the Emperor's Death; the weaker that we be, the eaſilier ſhall he do it; if we forgoe any our Pieces on this ſide, we muſt needs be the weaker; and that ſo we had rather do, than alone to keep War againſt *Scotland* and *France*. Wherefore if they will both provide for their own Strength, and give us courage to keep ſtill that which we have, the Emperor muſt be content to take * 13 into defence, as well as other places comprehended in the Treaty; which, I ſaid, we meant not, but upon a reaſonable Reciproque. What Reciproqe (quoth he) roundly? Thereupon adviſe you reaſonably, quoth I. O, quoth he, I cannot ſee how the Emperor can honourably make a true Treaty for that Point, without offence of his Treaty with *France*; and we mean to proceed directly and plain with all Men, quoth he. Why, quoth I, we may bring you juſtly, by and by with us, if we will advertiſe you, as I did even now put my Caſe. Yea, if your Caſe be true, quoth he; but herein we will charge your Honours and Conſciences, whether the Fact be ſo or no? for your Grace ſhall underſtand, that I talked in the Matter ſo ſuſpiciouſly, as though ſuch an Invaſion had been made, and that you would require common Enmity.

* This is a Cipher, and ſtands, I ſuppoſe, for *Bulloign.*

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In fine, Sir, after many Motions and Perſwaſions, and long Diſcourſes uſed on my behalf, to induce them to take 13 into defence. His refuge was only, That they would fain learn how they might honeſtly anſwer the French; albeit I ſhewed him ſome forms of Anſwers, which he ſeemed not to like; yet in the end I ſaid, He was a great Doctor, and as he had put the Doubt, ſo he was learned ſufficiently, if he liſted to aſſoil the ſame. He ſaid, he would open theſe Matters to the Emperor, and truſted to bring me ſuch an Anſwer as I ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied, and ſo departed; whereof, as ſoon as we have knowledg, your Grace ſhall be advertiſed accordingly. And thus we beſeech God, to ſend your Grace well to do all your Proceedings.

Number 40.

A Letter from Sir William Paget, *and Sir* Philip Hobbey, *concerning their Negotiation with the Emperor's Miniſters.*

An Original.

IT may like your Grace be advertiſed, That yeſterday at Afternoon, *Monſieur d' Arras*, accompanied with two Preſidents of the Council, St. *Maurice* and *Viglius*, came unto the Lodging of me the Comptroller; and after ſome words of Office paſſed on either part, *d' Arras* began to ſet forth the cauſe of their coming, ſaying, That the Emperor having at good length conſidered and debated the things proponed and communed of between us ſince my coming hither, had ſent them to report unto me his final Anſwer and Reſolution to the ſame. *Cotton Libr Galba. B. 12*

And firſt (quoth he) to your Caſe, That at our being together for the reviſitation of the Treaty, ye put forth upon the ſixth Article for the common Enmity in caſe of Invaſion, his Majeſty muſeth much, what ye ſhould mean thereby, for ſeeing the Caſe is not in ure, he thinketh, that doubting of his Friendſhip, ye go about, by theſe means, to grope and feel his Mind; which ye need not do, he having hitherto ſhewed himſelf ready in all things to ſhew the King, his good Brother, pleaſure, and to obſerve the Treaty in all Points to the uttermoſt; and if this Caſe ſhould happen to come in ure, then will he not fail to do whatſoever the Treaty bindeth him unto, till when he can make no other anſwer therein.

As to your Queſtion, moved upon the ſixth Article of the Treaty, *viz.* Whether Mony be not meant as well as Men by theſe words, *Subſidiis Auxiliaribus?* His Majeſty taketh the words to be plain enough, and thinketh they cannot be otherwiſe interpreted, than to be meant, as well for Mony as Men, for ſo doth he underſtand them.

Unto the Order that was communed upon for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice on both ſides, for matter of Spoil or Piracy upon the Sea, his Majeſty having weighed what is beſt to be done therein further, he hath good cauſe firſt to complain of the over many Spoils that your Men have made on his poor Subjects, and the ſmall Juſtice that hath

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been hitherto ministred unto them herein, whereof he hath continual Complaints, and therefore he thinketh it were meeter, e're ever any further Order shall be concluded upon, that his Subjects were first recompenced of these wrongs they have sustained, and the Matter brought to some equality, and his People put in as much good case as yours are; for I assure you (quoth he) the Wrongs our Men have sustained are many; among the rest a poor Jeweler, having gotten a safe conduct of the King that dead is, to bring into *England* certain Jewels, because after he had the King's Hand and Seal to the License, he had not the same sealed also with the Great Seal of *England*, his Jewels were taken from him; and he, being not present (although it were so named in the Sentence) condemned to lose them by the order of your Law, contrary to all Equity and Justice: Which seemeth strange, that the King's Hand and Seal should appear to be sufficient for a greater Matter than this. The Treaties also provide, That the Subjects of the one Prince may frankly, without impediment, traffique and occupy into the other Princes Country; but to shadow the Matter with all, one, I cannot tell who, hath been agreed withal, and so the poor Man and his Heirs put from their Right, which his Majesty wisheth to be considered. And albeit he thinketh that the King your Master, being under Age, cannot himself, by the order of the Law, conclude upon any thing now in his Minority, that shall be of due force and strength, able to bind him and his Country when he shall come to his perfect Age. Yet taking that his Tutors being authorised thereto, by the common Assent of your Parliament, may go through and conclude upon these, or like things in his Name, his Majesty thinketh it will do well, when his Subjects shall be recompenced of the Wrongs they have hitherto sustained, that some order be devised for the administration of Justice hereafter in like Cases.

As touching the Confirmation of the Treaty, considering that the same was first made between the Emperor and King *Henry* the Eighth, and not ratified by the King your Master since his Father's Death, his Majesty thinketh that he hath most cause to require the same: Wherefore because (as I told you even now) he thinketh that these things, the King himself should conclude upon during his Minority, cannot be of sufficient force, if his Tutors shall be, by the Authority of your Parliament enabled thereto, his Majesty is content the Treaty be confirmed by them in the King's Name, and by the Prince of *Spain*, in such form as shall be thought best for both Parties.

As to the comprehension of *Bulloign*, ye must know, that we have a Treaty with *France* as well as with you, which the Emperor cannot, without some touch of his Honour, break, without just Grounds: And albeit his Majesty would be loath to see the King, his good Brother, forgoe either that Peece, or any other Jot of his Right, yet can he not enter this Defence, unless he would break with *France* out of hand; which in respect of his other Affairs he cannot yet do, howbeit he will gladly assist his good Brother in any other thing the best he may, and will not fail to shew him all the Pleasure he can with regard to his Honour; but with *Bulloign* he cannot meddle at this time. And here he staying; Is this the Emperor's resolute and full Answer, *Monsieur d' Arras*? quoth I. Yea, (quoth he); wherewith he prayeth the

King, his good Brother, to rest satisfied, and take it in good part. Albeit (quoth I) I have no Commission to make any Reply thereto, because it was not known to your Grace what the Emperor's Resolution should be, yet in the way of talk I will be bold to say my mind herein; We have, *Monsieur d' Arras* (quoth I) always esteemed the Emperor's Friendship, and desired the observation of the Treaties, and the entertainment of the Amity, as a thing necessary and common to both the Parties; for the better establishment whereof, and that now and in this time some good Fruit, to the benefit of both, might appear to the World to follow of the same, I was sent hither, which was the chiefest cause of my coming: And because that the Amity between both Princes might be the firmer, and that all Doubts being taken away, no cause of Quarrel shall be left, we thought best to put you in mind of the Confirmation and Revisitation of the Treaty, to the intent, that by the one, the World might see an establishment of our Friendship by our deed; and that by the other, one of us might understand another, and consider whether any thing were to be added for the Commodity of both Parties, which I suppose standeth you as much upon to desire, as it doth us. And whereas ye say that the King's Majesty, because he is under Age, cannot conclude or go through with any thing that shall be of sufficient force, I must needs tell you plainly, That ye touch his Majesty's Honour over-near herein, for we think that the Majesty of a King is of such efficacy, that he hath even the same Authority, and full Power, at the first hour of his Birth, that he hath thirty Years after. And what your Laws are, I know not, but sure I am, that by our Laws, whatsoever is done by the King in his Minority, or by his Ministers in his Name, is of no less force and strength, than if it had been done in time of his full Age and Years, if once the Great Seal of his Realm have passed, there is no Remedy but needs must he stand thereto. Marry, let the Ministers take heed what they do, and look that they may be able to discharge themselves towards him of their Doings, if he shall require account of them when he cometh to Age, for it is they must answer him; but he must needs stand to whatsoever they have counselled him to agree unto during his Minority. And to prove that our Laws giveth him the same Authority now, that he shall have when he cometh to his perfect Age; if any Man, either for instruction of Learning, or any other Cause, should presume to lay hands on, or touch his Majesty in way of correction, he should by Law be taken for a Traitor. And if the Matter were as ye take it, we should then be in a strange and evil case, for neither might we conclude Peace, League, or Treaty, nor make Laws or Statutes, during the King's Minority, that should be of sufficient force to bind him and his to the observation of the same. But ye mistake the Matter much; and therefore if the Emperor mind to proceed to this Confirmation he may, or otherwise do as it shall please him.

And as touching my Case (quoth I) ye must understand, I did not move it without some just ground, for remembring that all your Commissioners, and all ours being together at *Utrecht* for the Esclarcisement of the Treaty, although the words of the Treaty were plain enough, and could receive none other interpretation than was there plainly written, yet would ye needs understand the Article for common Enmity,

mity, in case of Invasion, after your own minds. And whereas, by the words of the Treaty, no mention is made of any number, and therefore with howsoever few in number the Invasion be made, ought the Invaders to be taken for common Enemies? Your Commissioners did nevertheless interpret the Matter at their pleasure, and would needs prescribe a number of 8000 Men; under which number of Invasion were made, the Treaties in this case should not stand to any force. And like-as ye put a doubt here, where none was to be found, so thought I, ye might do in other things were they never so plain; and that moved me to put this case, to see whether ye understood this Point as ye ought to do, after the literal sense; and partly to know your minds therein, because perhaps the Matter hath been already in ure. This, I say, was the occasion why I put further this Question, and not for any mistrust of the Emperor's Friendship, whom I must confess we have always found our Well-willer, and so we doubt not he will continue; and therefore I need not grope his mind herein, neither did I mean any such thing hereby.

As to your Answer to the order of Justice, I see not that the Emperor hath so much cause to complain of lack of Justice in his Subjects Cases, as ye seem to set forth; for hitherto there hath not any Man complained in our Country, and required Justice, unto whom the same hath been denied. And although some Man abiding the order of our Law, or having had some Sentence that pleased him not, hath complained hither of delay or lack of Justice, ye must not therefore, by and by, judg that he saith true, or that there is not uprightness or equity used in our Country, for we have there, as ye have here, and else-where, Ministers that are wise, and well-learned in our Law, and Men of honesty and good Conscience, who deal and proceed justly, as the order of the Law leadeth them, without respect to favour or friendship to any Man.

And as for the Jewellers Case that ye moved, ye must understand, that as ye have Laws here in your Country, for the direction of your Common-Wealth, so have we also in ours; whereby amongst the rest we do forbid, for good respect, the bringing in, or transporting forth of certain Things, without the King's safe conduct or License. And although, as ye alleadged before, the Treaty giveth liberty to the Subjects of either Prince to traffique into the others Country, it is not for all that meant hereby, that they shall not be bound to observe the Law and Order of the Country whereunto they Traffique: for this liberty is only granted for the security of their Persons to go and come without impeachment, and maketh them not for all that Lawless. And whereas further it is provided by our Law, that in certain things to be granted by the King, the same Grant must pass under the Great Seal; Then if any of those things pass under any other Seal, they be not of due force until they have also passed the Great Seal of *England*; wherefore if the Jeweller, either by negligence or covetousness, of himself, or of those he put in trust, did not observe this Order; but thereto contrary, for sparing a little Cost, did presume to bring in his Jewels before his License came to the Great Seal, me thinketh neither he, nor any other, can have just cause to say that he was wronged, if according to our Laws he were sentenced to lose the same: and yet, after he was

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thus condemned, more to gratify the Emperor, than for that I took it to be so reasonable, I my self was a Suitor to my Lord Protector's Grace, for some Recompence to be made to the Jeweller's Wife, whom we knew, and none other to be Party: for she followed the Suit, she presented the Petitions, in her Name were they made; and finally she, and none others, was by the Emperor's Ambassador commended unto us.

I have seen the Sentence (quoth he) and do mislike nothing so much therein, as that the Man is condemned, and named to have been present, at the time of his Condemnation, when indeed he was dead a good while before.

He was present (quoth I) in the Person of his Wife, who was his Procurator, and represented himself; and I know, that those before whom this Matter passed, are Men both Learned and of good Conscience, and such as would not have done herein any thing against Right and Order of Law.

The Sentences that are given in our Country by the Justices and Ministers, they are just and true, and therefore neither can we, nor will we revoke them for any Man's pleasure, after they have once passed the Higher Court, from whence there is no further appellation, no more than you will here call back such final Order, as hath been in any case taken by your High Court of *Brabant*. And the cause why we for our part misliked not this order of Justice, was for the better establishment of the Amity, and to avoid the continual Arrests that are made on our poor Men; to the end also that this sort of Suiters might be the sooner dispatched, without troubling either my Lord Protector in *England*, or you here, when you are busied in other Affairs of more importance.

And as concerning the Comprehension of *Bulloign*, in good Faith, because we thought that if the same should happen to be taken from the King's Majesty by force, as I trust it shall not, the loss should be common, and touch the Emperor almost as near as us; We thought good, for the better security thereof, to move this Comprehension, which we take to be as necessary for the Emperor as us. And though we are not so wise and well seen in your things as your selves are, yet do we look towards you, and guess of your Affairs afar off, and perhaps do somewhat understand the state of the same, whereof I could say more than I now intend. But ye say this is the Emperor's Resolution herein; We take it as an Answer, and shall do accordingly. Marry, whereas you stick so much upon your Honour in breaking your Treaties with the French, I remember *Monsieur Granvela* your Father, at my being with him, did not let to say, That he had his Sleeve full of Quarrels against the French, whensoever the Emperor list to break with them.

Yea, so have we indeed (quoth he) but the time is not yet come: we must temporize our things in this case as the rest of our Affairs lead us.

Ye say well (quoth I) ye have reason to regard chiefly the well-guiding of your own things, and yet me thinketh some respect ought to be given to Friends. But seeing this is your Answer, I will reply no more thereto.

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Yet one thing, *Monsieur d' Arras*, (quoth I) I moved to your Father, which ye make no mention of, and I would gladly know your mind in, which is, the granting of safe Conducts to the common Enemy: which the Treaty, by plain and express words, forbideth either Prince to do.

Indeed, *Monsieur Ambassadeur*, (quoth he) the words of the Treaty are as ye say, plain enough; and yet the Matter were very strait, if it should be taken in such extremity; for hereafter, in time of War, ye might happen to have need of Wood, Canvas, or Wine, and we of the like, and other necessaries; and if in such Cases the Princes should not have Prerogative to grant safe Conducts, it shall be a great inconvenience, and a thing not hereafter seen; howbeit the Emperor for his part will not, I think, stick much hereupon, but observe the plain meaning of the Treaty. Neverthelefs I cannot say any thing expresly on his behalf herein, because *Monsieur Granvela* spake nothing thereof. And yet did we move him of it (quoth I) and he bad us grant none, and the Emperor for his part would not grant any. No more hath he done, quoth he, sithence his coming into this Country, nor intendeth not hereafter. He needeth not, quoth I, for those that have been given out before are sufficient for a great while. Nay, that they are not, quoth he, for the longest was granted but for a Year, and now are they expired; and whereas a while sithence, one presuming upon his safe Conduct, came into this Country to Traffiqe, because the time thereof was expired, he was taken and imprisoned.

The said *d' Arras*, after this talk, touched further unto me two Points, which the Emperor, he said, desireth may be reformed; The first was, Our Merchants, contrary to our Entercourse, do enhaunce the prices of their Woolls, and will not sell at such prices as they are bound by the Entercourse; wherewith the Merchants here do find themselves agrieved, and therefore the Emperor desireth some order may be taken herein.

Whereunto I answered, that I understood not the Matters, and yet I supposed our Men did not this but upon some grounds and just occasion, by reason of other breach of Order on their parts here. Howbeit I shewed him I would inform your Grace thereof, and doubted not, but if any thing were amiss on our parts, it shall be reformed; accordingly looking for the semblable on their behalf.

The other, he said, was, That our Men have of late begun to build a Bulwark, which standeth half on the King's Majesty's Ground, and half on the Emperor's Territory. And although *Monsieur de Rue* have viewed the same, and perceiving the Emperor to be wronged thereby, hath required our Folks to proceed no further therein; yet cease they not to build still, which the Emperor marvelleth much at, and thinks we would not take it well that he should attempt the like Fortification upon the King's Territory; and therefore requireth that some Redress may be given in time therein.

I answered, That I knew not of this thing; howbeit, as I went homeward, I would inform my self of the case, and make report thereof to your Grace, who I doubted not would take such order therein, as should stand with Reason.

And

And here *Monsieur d' Arras* setting forth with many good words the Emperor's Amity towards the King, and his readiness to shew his Majesty's Pleasure in all things that he conveniently may; and that in case we proceed to any further Treaty with *France*; he doubted not but we would have regard to them, according to our Treaties: and that also, if we grew to any Peace with the Scots, seeing that his Majesty is entred in Enmity chiefly for our sake, whereby his Subjects have been sundry ways endangered, he trusteth he will have consideration to see that convenient Recompence be made to them by the Scots, e're ever we go through with any conclusion; the rather, because the Scots have, and cease not still to offer, besides a large Recompence, very great Conditions, if his Majesty would fall to any Peace with them, which chiefly for our sakes he hath, and will refuse to do. We answered hereunto generally, That the King's Majesty, in such case, we doubted not, would have due respect to the Emperor's Amity, and proceed herein as appertaineth.

This was the substance of their cold Answer, as your Grace may see, of small effect, although interlaced with plenty of good words, which we also thought best to use towards them, and requite them with the like. And thus, after I had required of *d' Arras* a time to take my leave of the Emperor, and his promise to procure the same, as shortly as he might, we departed. And thus we beseech God to send your Grace as well to do as we do wish.

From *Bruges*, *July* 24. *William Paget.*

Philip Hobbey.

Number 41.

The Council's Letter to the King against the Protector.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. Titus B. 2.

MOst high and mighty Prince, our most gracious Soveraign Lord. It may please your Majesty to be advertised, That haviug heard such Message as it pleased your Majesty to send unto us by your Highness Secretary, Sir *William Petre*; like as it was much to our grief and discomfort to understand, that upon untrue Informations, your Majesty seemed to have some doubt of our Fidelites; so do we, upon our knees, most humbly beseech your Majesty to think, that as we have always served the King's Majesty, your most noble Father, and your Highness likewise, faithfully and truly, so do we mind always to continue your Majesty's true Servants, to the effusion of our Blood, and loss of our Lives. And for the security of your most Royal Person's safeguard, and preservation of your Realms and Dominions, have at this time consulted together, and for none other cause, we take God to witness. We have heretofore, by all good and gentle means, attempted to have had your Highness Uncle, the Duke of *Somerset*, to have

have governed your Majesty's Affairs, by the advice of us, and the rest of your Councellors; but finding him so much given to his own Will, that he always refused to hear Reason; and therewith doing sundry such things as were, and be most dangerous, both to your most Royal Person, and to your whole Realm, we thought yet again to have gently and quietly spoke with him in these things, had he not gathered Force about him, in such sort, as we might easily perceive him earnestly bent to the maintenance of his old wilful and troublous doings. For redress whereof, and none other cause, we do presently remain here ready to live and die your true Servants. And the Assembly of almost all your Council being now here, we have, for the better Service of your Majesty, caused your Secretary to remain here with us, most humbly beseeching your Grace to think in your Heart, that the only preservation of your Person, and your Estate, for the discharge of our Duties, enforceth us to devise how to deliver your Grace from the peril your Highness standeth in, and no other respect; for whatsoever is, or shall be said to your Hignes, no earthly thing could have moved us to have seemed to stand as a Party, but your only preservation, which your Majesty shall hereafter perceive (and we doubt not) repute us for your most faithful Servants and Councellors, as our doings shall never deserve the contrary; as God knoweth, to whom we shall daily pray for your Majesty's preservation; and with our Bodies, defend your Person and Estate as long as Life shall endure.

R. Rich Canc.
W. Saint John.
W. Northampton.
J. Warwick.
Arundel.
F. Shrewsbury.
Thomas Southampton.
T. Cheyne.
William Petre, Secretary.
Edward North.
John Gage.
R. Sadler.
Nicholas Wotton.
Edward Montague.
Richard Southwell.

Number 42.

Articles offered by me the Lord Protector, to the King's Majesty, in the presence of his Highness Council, and others his Majesty's Lords and Gentlemen, at Windsor, *to be declared on my behalf, to the Lords, and the rest of his Highness Council remaining at* London.

Cotton Libr. *Caligula* E.7

FIrst, That I do not, nor did not mean to apprehend any of them, or otherwise to disturb or molest them; but hearing tell of their such Meetings and Assemblies, and gathering of Horsemen, and other Powers, out of several Countries, not being privy of the Causes thereof, to avoid further inconveniences and danger which might ensue to your Majesty's Person; which by many Rumors, certain Intelligences, and sundry Messages, was declared imminent unto your Highness, and to me the

Lord

Lord Protector, was forced to seek this Defence, as I at the first beginning declared unto your Highness.

Secondly, That this Force and Power which here is assembled about your Majesty at this present, is to do none of them which be there at *London*, or else-where, either in Person or Goods, any damage or hurt, but to defend only, if any violence should be attempted against your Highness.

As for any contention and strife betwixt me the Lord Protector, and the Council there, I do not refuse to come to any reasonable end and conclusion, that should be for the preservation of your Majesty, and tranquillity of the Realm, if they will send any two of them with Commission on their behalfs, to conclude and make a good end betwixt us.

And I most humbly beseech your Majesty to appoint any two of such as be here about your Majesty, to join with the same; and whatsoever those four, or three of them shall determine, I do, and shall wholly and fully submit my self thereunto. And that for more confirmation, if it shall be so thought good to the said Persons, their Agreement and Conclusion to be established and ratified by Parliament, or any other Order that shall be devised. And I beseech your Majesty, that at my humble suit, and by the advice of me, and other of your Council here, for the better proceedings herein, and to take away all Doubts and Fears that might arise, to grant to them four, or any such two of them, which they shall send for the purpose above-said, free passage for themselves, and with each of them twenty of their Servants, to safely come, tarry here, and return at their pleasure. And I most humbly beseech your Majesty, that this Bill, signed with your Majesty's Hands, and ours, may be a sufficient Warrant therefore. Given and exhibited at the Castle of *Windsor*, *Octob.* 8. 1549.

Number 43.

Letters sent from the Lords at London, *to the King's Majesty.*

MOst high and mighty Prince, our most gracious Soveraign Lord, we have received, by Mr. *Hobbey*, your Majesty's most gracious Letters, of the *8th* of this Instant, and heard such further Matter as it pleased your Majesty to will to be declared by him. And sorry we be, that your Majesty should have these occasions to be troubled, especially in this kind of Matter; the beginning and only occasion whereof, as we be well able to prove to your Majesty, hath proceeded of the Duke of *Somerset*. It is much discomfort to us all, to understand that your Royal Person should be touched with any care of Mind; and most of all it grieveth us, that it should be perswaded your Majesty, that we have not that care that beseemeth us of the pacifying of these Uproars, and conservation of your Majesty's Common-Wealth and State from Danger; wherein whatsoever is informed your Highness, we humbly beseech your Majesty to think, we be as careful as any Men living may Ex Libro Concilii.

be; and do not, nor (we trust) shall not forget the Benefits received of your Majesty's most noble Father, nor any of our bounden Duties of Allegiance; the consideration,and the special care whereof,forced us to consult seriously, and to join in this sort: which thing, if we had not presently followed, not only your most Royal Person (whom Almighty God long preserve) but this your whole Estate being already much touched, and in great towardness of ruin, was most like to come, in short time, to most imminent danger and peril; the Causes whereof, as we do all well know, and can prove to have proceeded from the said Duke. So if we should not earnestly provide for the same, we should not be able to answer to your Majesty hereafter for not doing our Duties therein; therefore do we nothing doubt, but your Majesty, of your great clemency and good nature, will not think that all and every of us, being the whole state of your Privy-Council, one or two excepted, should be led in these things by private Affections, or would presume to write to your Majesty, that whereof we were not most assured; and much more, we trust that your Highness, of your goodness, will, without any jealousie or suspition, think that most expedient, both for your own most Royal Person, and all your Subjects, that by the Body of your Council may be thought expedient; to whom, and to no one Man, your Highness most grave Father, appointed by his last Will and Testament, the Care of your Majesty, and all your most weighty Affairs. We cannot therefore but think our selves much wronged, that your said most Royal Person is in this sort by the Duke only detained and shut up from us, to all our great heaviness, and the great fear of all other your Majesty's true Subjects, and wonder of all the World; sooner may one Man intend ill, than a multitude of us, who we take God to witness to be a thousand times more careful of Your Highness surety, than for all our own Lives. We trust also, that of Your Majesty's good Nature, You will not think that wilfulness, which Your whole Council doth, or shall agree upon, for Your Majesty's Surety and Benefit; where the more agreeable we be, the better Opinion we trust Your Majesty will conceive of us and our doings. It comforteth us much to see the great appearance of Your Majesty's natural clemency, even in these Your young Years; and the assured hope which we have thereof, encourageth us to be perswaded, that You both do, and will conceive good Opinion of us and all our doings; and that Your Majesty is, and so will continue, our gracious good Lord, with whom (as we trust) we never deserve willingly to be called in the standing of any Judgment with Your Majesty.

For the end of this Matter, touching the Duke of *Somerset*, if he have that respect to Your Majesty's Surety that he pretendeth; if he have that consideration of his Duty to God that his Promise and Oath requireth; if he have that remembrance of the performance of Your Majesty's Father's Will, that to the effect of a good Executor appertaineth; if he have the reverence to Your Law that a good Subject ought to have, Let him first quietly suffer us, Your Majesty's most humble Servants, and true Counsellors, to be restored to Your Majesty's presence; let him, as becometh a true Subject, submit himself to Your Majesty's Council, and the order of Your Highness Laws; let the Forces assembled be sent away, and then may we do our Duties, in

giving

giving our attendance upon Your Majesty; and after consult there with Your Majesty more freely, for such order as may be thought most meet for Your Grace's Surety: By these means Your Majesty's Subjects may be at quiet, and all occasions of stir taken away. And if the said Duke refuse to agree hereunto, we must think him to remain in his naughty and detestable determination. The Protectorship and Governance of your most Royal Person, was not granted him by your Father's Will, but only by agreement, first amongst us the Executors, and after of others. Those Titles and special Trust was committed to him during Your Majesty's Pleasure; and upon condition he should do all things by advice of Your Council. Which condition, because he hath so many times broken, and notwithstanding the often speaking to, without all hope of amendment, we think him most unworthy those Honours or Trust. Other particular things, too many and too long to be written to Your Majesty at this time, may at our next access to Your Royal Presence, be more particularly opened, consulted upon, and moderated, for the conservation of Your Majesty's Honour, Surety, and good Quiet of Your Realms and Dominions, as may be thought most expedient.

Number 44.

Letters from the Lords at London, *to the Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury *and Sir* William Paget, *&c.*

MY Lords, after our most hearty Commendations, we have received your Letters by Mr. *Hobbey*, and heard such Credence as he declared on the King's Majesty's and your behalfs unto us. The Answers whereunto, because they may at more length appear to you both, by our Letters to the King's Majesty, and by report also of the said *Mr. Hobbey*, we forbear to repeat here again; most heartily praying, and requiring your Lordships, and every of you; and nevertheless charging and commanding you, in the King's Majesty's Name, to have a continual earnest watch, respect and care, to the surety of the King's Majesty, our natural and most gracious Soveraign Lord's Person; and that he be not removed from his Majesty's Castle of *Windsor*, as you tender your Duties to Almighty God and his Majesty, and as you will answer for the contrary at your uttermost perils. We are moved to call earnestly upon you herein, not without great cause, and amongst many others, we cannot but remember unto you, That it appeareth very strange unto us, and a great wonder unto all true Subjects, that you will either assist or suffer his Majesty's most Royal Person to remain in the Guard of the Duke of *Somerset*'s Men, sequestred from his own old sworn Servants. It seemeth strange, that in his Majesty's own House, Strangers should be armed with his Majesty's own Armour, and be nearest about his Highness Person; and those to whom the ordinary Charge is committed, sequestred away, so as they may not attend according to their sworn Duties. If any ill come hereof, you can consi-

Ex Libro Concilii.

der to whom it must be imputed once; the Example is very strange and perilous. And now, my Lords, if you tender the preservation of his Majesty, and the State, join with us to that end: we have written to the King's Majesty, by which way things may soon be quietly and moderately compounded. In the doing whereof, we mind to do none otherwise than we would be done to, and that with as much moderation and favour as honourably we may. We trust none of you have just cause to note any one of us, and much less all of such cruelty, as you so many times make mention of. One thing in your Letters we marvel much at, which is that you write, that you know more than we know. If the Matters come to your knowledg, and hidden from us, be of such weight as you seem to pretend; or if they touch, or may touch his Majesty or the State, we think you do not as you ought, in that you have not disclosed the same unto us, being the whole State of the Council. And thus praying God to send you the Grace to do that may tend to the surety of the King's Majesty's Person, and tranquility of the Realm, we bid you heartily farewel, *&c.*

Number 45.

An Answer to the former Letter.

An Original.

Ex Libro Concilii.

IT may like your good Lordships, with our most hearty Commendations, to understand, That this morning Sir *Philip Hobbey* hath, according to the Charge given him by your Lordships, presented your Letters to the King's Majesty, in the presence of us, and all the rest of his Majesty's good Servants here, which was there read openly, and also the others to them of the Chamber, and of the Houshold, much to their Comforts, and ours also; and according to the Tenours of the same, we will not fail to endeavour our selves accordingly.

Now touching the marvel of your Lordships, both of that we would suffer the Duke of *Somerset*'s Men to guard the King's Majesty's Person; and also of our often repeating this word *Cruelty*; although we doubt not but that your Lordships have been throughly informed of our Estates here, and upon what occasion the one hath been suffered, and the other proceeded; yet at our convening together, (which may be when and where pleaseth you) we will, and are able to make your Lordships such an account, as wherewith we doubt not you will be satisfied, if you think good to require it of us. And for because this Bearer, Master *Hobbey*, can particularly inform your Lordships of the whole discourse of all things here, we remit the report of all other things to him, saving that we desire to be advertised, with as much speed as you shall think good, whether the King's Majesty shall come forthwith thither, or remain still here; and that some of your Lordships would take pains to come hither forthwith. For the which purpose, I the Comptroller, will cause

three

three of the best Chambers in the great Court to be hanged and made ready. Thus thanking God that all things be so well acquieted, we commit your Lordships to his tuition.

From *Windsor*, the 10*th* of *Octob.* 1549.

Your Lordships assured loving Friends,

T. Cant. *William Paget.* *T. Smith.*

Number 46.

Articles objected to the Duke of *Somerset.*

1. *THat he took upon him the Office of Protector, upon express condition, That he should do nothing in the King's Affairs, but by assent of the late King's Executors, or the greatest part of them.*

2. *That contrary to this condition, he did hinder Justice, and subvert Laws, of his own Authority, as well by Letters, as by other Command.*

3. *That he caused divers Persons Arrested and Imprisoned for Treason, Murder, Man-slaughter, and Felony, to be discharged; against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm.*

4. *That he appointed Lieutenants for Armies, and other Officers for the weighty Affairs of the King, under his own Writing and Seal.*

5. *That he communed with Ambassadors of other Realms alone, of the weighty Matters of the Realm.*

6. *That he would taunt and reprove divers of the King's most honourable Councellors, for declaring their Advice in the King's weighty Affairs against his Opinion; sometimes telling them that they were not worthy to sit in Council; and sometimes, that he need not to open weighty Matters to them; and that if they were not agreeable to his Opinion, he would discharge them.*

7. *That against Law he held a Court of Request in his House; and did enforce divers to answer there for their Freehold and Goods, and did determine of the same.*

8. *That being no Officer, without the advice of the Council, or most part of them, he did dispose Offices of the King's Gift for Mony; grant Leases, and Wards, and Presentations of Benefices pertaining to the King, gave Bishopricks, and made sales of the King's Lands.*

9. *That he commanded Alchimie, and Multiplication to be practised, thereby to abase the King's Coin.*

10. *That divers times he openly said, That the Nobility and Gentry were the only cause of Dearth; whereupon the People rose to reform Matters of themselves.*

11. *That against the mind of the whole Council, he caused Proclamation to be made concernig Inclosures; whereupon the People made divers Insurrections, and destroyed many of the King's Subjects.*

12. *That he sent forth a Commission, with Articles annexed, concerning Inclosures, Commons, High-ways, Cottages, and such-like Matters, giving the Commissioners authority to hear and determine those causes, whereby the*

the Laws and Statutes of the Realm were subverted, and much Rebellion raised.

13. *That he suffered Rebels to assemble and lie armed in Camp, against the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, without speedy repressing of them.*

14. *That he did comfort and encourage divers Rebels, by giving them Mony, and by promising them Fees, Rewards, and Services.*

15. *That he caused a Proclamation to be made against Law, and in favour of the Rebels, that none of them should be vexed or sued by any, for their Offences in their Rebellion.*

16. *That in time of Rebellion, he said, That he liked well the Actions of the Rebels; and that the Avarice of Gentlemen gave occasion for the People to rise; and that it was better for them to die, than to perish for want.*

17. *That he said, The Lords of the Parliament were loath to reform Inclosures, and other things, therefore the People had a good cause to reform them themselves.*

18. *That after declaration of the Defaults of* Bulloign, *and the Pieces there, by such as did survey them, he would never amend the same.*

19. *That he would not suffer the King's Pieces of* Newhaven, *and* Blackness, *to be furnished with Men and Provision; albeit he was advertised of the Defaults, and advised thereto by the King's Council; whereby the French King was emboldned to attempt upon them.*

20. *That he would neither give Authority, nor suffer Noblemen and Gentlemen to suppress Rebels in time convenient; but wrote to them to speak the Rebels fair, and use them gently.*

21. *That upon the 5th of* October *the present Year, at* Hampton-Court, *for defence of his own private Causes, he procured seditious Bills to be written in counterfeit Hands, and secretly to be dispersed into divers parts of the Realm; beginning thus, Good People; intending thereby to raise the King's Subjects to Rebellion and open War.*

22. *That the King's Privy-Council did consult at* London *to come to him, and move him to reform his Government; but he hearing of their Assembly, declared, by his Letters in divers places, that they were high Traitors to the King.*

23. *That he declared untruly, as well to the King as to other young Lords attending his Person, That the Lords at* London *intended to destroy the King; and desired the King never to forget, but to revenge it; and desired the young Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof; with intent to make Sedition and Discord between the King and his Nobles.*

24. *That at divers times and places, he said, The Lords of the Council at* London *intended to kill me; but if I die, the King shall die; and if they famish me, they shall famish him.*

25. *That of his own head he removed the King so suddenly from* Hampton-Court *to* Windsor, *without any provision there made, that he was thereby not only in great fear, but cast thereby into a dangerous Disease.*

26. *That by his Letters, he caused the King's People to assemble in great numbers in Armour, after the manner of War, to his Aid and Defence.*

27. *That*

27. *That he caused his Servants and Friends at* Hampton-Court *and* Windsor, *to be apparelled in the King's Armour, when the King's Servants and Guards went unarmed.*

28. *That he intended to fly to* Gernsey *or* Wales, *and laid Post-horses and Men, and a Boat to that purpose.*

Number 47.

A Letter written by the Council to the Bishops, to assure them, That the King intended to go forward in the Reformation.

By the KING.

Right Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas the Book entituled, the Book of *Common Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of* England; was agreed upon, and set forth by Act of Parliament; and by the same Act commanded to be used of all Persons within this our Realm. Yet nevertheless we are informed, that divers unquiet and evil-disposed Persons, sithence the apprehension of the Duke of *Somerset*, have noised and bruited abroad, That they should have again their old Latin Service, their Conjured Bread and Water, with such-like vain and superfluous Ceremonies, as though the setting forth of the said Book had been the only Act of the said Duke. We therefore, by the advice of the Body and State of our Privy-Council, not only considering the said Book to be our *Act*, and the *Act* of the whole State of our Realm assembled together in Parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon the Holy Scripture, agreeable to the Order of the Primitive Church, and much to the re-edifying of our Subjects, to put away all such vain expectation, of having the Publick Service, the Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies again in the Latin Tongue, which were but a preferment of Ignorance to Knowledg, and Darkness to Light, and a preparation to bring in Papistry and Superstition again; have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require, and nevertheless straitly do command and charge you, That immediately upon the receipt hereof, you do command the Dean and Prebendaries of your Cathedral Church; the Parsons, Vicar, or Curat, and Church-wardens of every Parish, within your Diocess, to bring and deliver unto you, or your Deputy, any of them for their Church or Parish, at such convenient place as you shall appoint, all Antiphonals, Missals, Graylles, Processionals, Manuels, Legends, Pies, Portasies, Journals, and Ordinals, after the use of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *York*, or any other private use: And all other Books of Service, the keeping whereof should be a lett to the using of the said Book of *Common Prayers*; and that you take the same Books into your hands, or into the hands of your Deputy, and them so to deface and abolish, that they never after may serve, either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a lett to that godly and uniform Order; which by Regist. Cran. Fol. 56.

by a common Consent is now set forth. And if you shall find any Person stubborn or disobedient in not bringing in the said Books, according to the tenour of these our Letters, that then ye commit the said Person to Ward, unto such time as you have certified us of his misbehaviour. And we will and command you, that you also search, or cause search to be made, from time to time, whether any Book be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenour of these our Letters, and the same Book to receive into your Hands, and to use all in these our Letters we have appointed. And further, whereas it is come unto our knowledg, that divers froward and obstinate Persons do refuse to pay towards the finding of Bread and Wine for the Holy Communion, according to the Order prescribed in the said Book, by reason whereof the Holy Communion is many times omitted upon the *Sunday*. These are to will and command you to convent such obstinate Persons before you, and then to admonish and command to keep the Order prescribed in the said Book; and if any shall refuse so to do, to punish them by Suspension, Excommunication, or other Censures of the Church. Fail you not thus to do, as you will avoid our Displeasure.

Westminst. Decemb. 25. *Regni tertio.*

Thom. Cantuarien.	*J. Russel.*
Rich. Chanc.	*H. Dorset.*
Will. St. John.	*W. Northampton.*

Number 48.

Cardinal Woolsey's *Letters to* Rome, *for procuring the Popedom to himself, upon Pope* Adrian's *death.*

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.*

MY Lord of *Bath*, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. *Hannibal*, I commend me unto you in my right hearty manner; letting you wit, That by Letters lately sent unto me from you my Lord of *Bath*, and Mr. *Hannibal*, dated at *Rome* the 14*th* day of *September*. Which Letters I incontinently shewed unto the King's Grace his Highness. And I have been advertised, to our great discomfort, That the said 14*th* day, it pleased Almighty God to call the Pope's Holiness unto his Infinite Mercy, whose Soul *Jesu* pardon. News certainly unto the King's Grace and to me right heavy, and for the universal weal or quiet of Christendom, (whereunto his Holiness, like a devout and virtuous Father of Holy Church was very studious) much displeasant and contrarious; Nevertheless, conforming our selves to the Pleasure of Almighty God, to whose Calling we all must be obedient; the Mind and Intention of the King's Highness, and of me both, is to put some helps and furtherances, as much as conveniently may be, that such a Successor unto him may now, by the Holy College of Cardinals, be named and elected, as may, with God's Grace, perform, atchieve, and fulfil the good and vertuous Purposes and Intents, concerning the Pacification of Christendom; whereunto our said late Holy Father, as much as the brevity of the time did suffer, was, as it should seem, minded and inclined;

inclined; which thing, how necessary it is to the state of Christs Religion, now daily more and more declining, it is facil and easie to be consider'd; and surely amongst other Christian Princes, there is none which as ye heretofore have perfectly understood, that to this purpose more dedicated themselves to give Furtherance, Advice, and Counsel, than the Emperor and the King's Grace, who as well before the time of the last Vacation, as sithence, by Mouth and by Letters, with Report of Ambassadors and otherwise, had many sundry Conferences, Communications, and Devices, in that behalf. In which it hath pleased them, far above my merits or deserts, of their goodness, to think, judg, and esteem me to be meet and able for to aspire unto that Dignity; persuading, exhorting, and desiring me, that whensoever opportunity should be given, I should hearken to their Advice, Counsel, and Opinion in that behalf; and offering unto me, to interpone their Authorities, Helps, and Furtherances therein to the uttermost. In comprobation whereof, albeit the Emperor, now being far distant from these Parts, could not, nor might in so brief time, give unto the King's Grace, new or fresh confirmation of his Purpose, Desire, and Intent herein: Yet nevertheless my Lady *Margaret*, knowing the inclination of his mind in this same, hath, by a long discourse made unto me semblable Exhortation; offering, as well on the Emperor's behalf, as on her own, that as much shall by them be done, to the furtherance thereof, as may be possible. Besides this, both by your Letters, and also by particular most loving Letters of the Cardinal's *de Medicis, Sanctorum Quatuor & Campegius*, with credence show'd unto me on their behalf, by their Folks here resident, I perceive their good and fast minds, which they, and divers other their Friends owe unto me in that matter. And finally, the King's Highness doth not cease, by all the gracious and comfortable means possible to insist, that I, for manifold, notable, urgent, and great respects, in any wise shall consent that his Grace and the Emperor do set forth the thing with their best manner. The Circumstances of whose most entire, and most firm mind thereunto, with their bounteous, godly, and beneficial Offers for the Weal of Christendom, which his Grace maketh to me herein, is too long to rehearse. For which Causes, albeit I know my self far unmeet and unable to so high a Dignity, minding rather to live and die with his Grace in this his Realm, doing Honour, Service, Good or Pleasure to the same, than now (mine old days approaching) to enter into new things; yet nevertheless, for the great zeal and perfect mind which I have to the exaltation of the Christian Faith; the honour, weal, and surety of the King's Grace, and the Emperor, and to do my Duty both to Almighty God and to the World, I referring every thing to God's disposition and pleasure, shall not pretermit to declare unto you such things, as the King's Highness hath specially willed me to signify unto you, on his Grace's behalf, who most effectually willeth and desireth you to set forth the same, omitting nothing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his special trust is in you.

First, Ye shall understand, that the mind, and entire desire of his Highness, above all earthly things, is, That I should attain to the said Dignity, having his perfect and firm hope, that of the same shall ensue, and that in brief time, a general and universal Repose, Tranquillity,

and Quietneſs in Chriſtendom; and as great Renown, Honour, Profit, and Reputation to this Realm as ever was; beſides the ſingular comfort and rejoice that the King's Grace, with all his Friends and Subjects ſhould take thereof; who might be well aſſured thereby, to compone and order their great Cauſes and Affairs, to their high Benefit, Commodity, and moſt Advantage. For this, and other great and urgent Cauſes, the Pleaſure of his Highneſs is, That like-as ye my Lord of *Bath*, and Mr. *Hannibal*, have right prudently and diſcreetly begun: ſo ye all, or as many of you as be preſent in the Court of *Rome*, and continue your Practices, Overtures, Motions and Labours, to bring and conduce this the King's inward Deſire to perfect end and effect.

And becauſe it is not to be doubted, but that before the receipt of theſe my Letters, ye having former Inſtructions, ſhall have far entred your Devices in this Matter, wherein the King's Grace truſteth ye do loſe no time or opportunity that poſſibly may be had; I ſhall therefore, briefly and compendiouſly touch ſuch this things,as the King's Highneſs would ye ſhould ſubſtantially note in this behalf.

One is, That albeit ye both before, and alſo now, know the King's mind and deſire herein, as is aforeſaid, taking that for your Foundation; yet nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as it appeareth by your ſaid Letters, and otherwiſe, that the *Cardinal de Medicis*, whoſe preferment (if this may not be had) both the King's Grace and I tendereth above all other, mindeth to experiment what may be done for himſelf, great policy and dexterity is in your Labours and Communications to be uſed, ſo that ye may firſt, by great enſearch and enquiry, perfectly underſtand, as nigh as may be, the Diſpoſition, Mind, Affection, and Inclination, as well of the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis*, as of all the reſidue, if it be poſſible; which thing, well known, well ponder'd and conſider'd, ye ſhall thereby have a great light to the reſidue of your Buſineſs, wherein always ye muſt ſo order your ſelves, that the Matter appearing unto you much doubtful and uncertain, your particular practices (the deſired Intent peradventure failing) ſhall not be cauſe of diſpleaſure or unkindneſs to be noted by any that may be elected; and for your introduction herein, the King's Grace ſendeth unto you at this time two Commiſſions under his great Seal, the one couch'd under general words, without making mention of any particular Perſon; and in the other, his Highneſs hath made mention of me by ſpecial Name: Beſides that, ye ſhall receive herewith two Letters from his Grace to the College of Cardinals, with the Copies of the ſame; the one in ſpecial recommendation of me, and the other in favour of the *Cardinal de Medicis*; beſide ſuch other particular Letters in my recommendation to certain Cardinals, and other, as by the Copies of them herewith encloſed ye ſhall now perceive. After the receipt thereof, if the Cardinals before that time ſhall not be entred into the Conclave, ye taking your Commodity, as by your Wiſdom ſhall be thought moſt expedient, ſhall deliver unto the *Cardinal de Medicis*, the King's Letters, and mine to him addreſſed, ſhewing unto him, with as good words and manner as ye can, that for his great Virtue, Wiſdom, Experience, and other commendable Merits, with the entire love and favour which the King's Grace and I bear unto him, thinking and reputing him moſt meet and able to aſpire unto the Papal Dignity before all other;

other. Ye have Commandment, Commiſſion, and Inſtruction, ſpecially and moſt tenderly, to recommend him unto the whole College of Cardinals, having alſo the King's and my Letters to them in his favour; upon which Declaration ye ſhall perceive his Anſwer to be made unto you in that behalf; whereupon, and by knowledg of the Diſpoſition of the Reſidue, ye may perceive how to govern your ſelves in the delivery of the reſt of your ſaid Letters; for in caſe it may evidently appear unto you, that any of the Cardinals, to whom the King's Letters be directed, have firmly eſtabliſh'd their minds upon the ſaid *Cardinal de Medices*, the more circumſpection is to be uſed with any ſuch in the delivery to him of the King's Letters, and overture of the ſecretneſs of your minds touching me; conſidering, that if the King's Intent might in no wiſe take effect for me, his Grace would, before all other, advance and further the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis*. Nevertheleſs, if either by his Anſwer to be made unto you, or by other good knowledg, ye ſhall perceive that he hath ſo many Enemies herein, that of likelihood he cannot attain the ſame, ye may be the more bold to feel his mind how he is inclin'd towards me; ſaying, as indeed the King's Grace hath written unto him, That in caſe he ſhould fail thereof, the King's Highneſs would inſiſt, as much as to his Grace were poſſible, for me; which ye may ſay were in manner one thing, conſidering that both the *Cardinal de Medices* and I bear one mind, zeal, and ſtudy, to the Weal and Quiet of Chriſtendom, the Increaſe and Surety of *Italy*, the Benefit and Advancement of the Emperor's and the King's Majeſty's Cauſes; and I being Pope, he in a manner (whom I above all Men love, truſt, and eſteem) were Pope, being ſure to have every thing according to his mind and deſire, and as much Honour to be put unto him, his Friends and Family, as might be deviſed in ſuch wiſe: That by theſe and other good words and demonſtrations, ye may make him ſure, as I think he be, that failing for himſelf, he with all his Friends do their beſt for me; and ſeeing no likelihood for him, ye may then right-well proceed to your particular labour and practices for me, delivering the King's Letters, both to the College of Cardinals, and to the other, apart, as ye ſhall ſee the caſe then to require; and ſolliciting them, by ſecret labours, alleadging and declaring unto them my poor Qualities, and how I having ſo great experience of the Cauſes of Chriſtendom, with the entire Favour which the Emperor and the King's Grace bear unto me; the knowledg alſo, and deep Acquaintance of other Princes, and of their great Affairs; the ſtudious mind that I have ever been in, both to the Surety and Weal of *Italy*, and alſo to the Quiet and Tranquility of Chriſtendom; not lacking, thanked be God, either Subſtance or Liberality to look largely upon my Friends; beſides the ſundry great Promotions, which by election of me ſhould be vacant, to be diſpoſed unto ſuch of the ſaid Cardinals, as by their true and faſt Friendſhip had deſerved the ſame; the loving Familiarity alſo which they ſhould find in me; and that of my Nature I am not in great diſpoſed to rigour or auſtereneſs, but can be contented, thanked be God, frankly, pleaſantly, and courteouſly, to participate, diſpoſe, and beſtow, ſuch things as I have, or ſhall come to my diſpoſition, not having any ſuch Faction, Family, or Kinſman, to whom I might ſhew any partiality in beſtowing the Promotions and Goods of the Church;

and

and which is higheſt to be regarded, that is likely and in manner ſure, that by my means, not only *Italy* ſhall be put in perfect ſurety for ever, but alſo a final reſt, peace, and quiet, now moſt neceſſary eſtabliſhed betwixt all Chriſtian Princes; whereupon the greateſt and moſt notable Expedition might be made againſt the Infidels that hath been heard of many Years. For the King's Highneſs in that caſe would be contented, and hath fully promiſed, God willing, to come in Perſon, when God ſhall ſend time, unto *Rome*; whither alſo I ſhould not doubt to bring many more of the Chriſtian Princes, being determined, if God ſhould ſend me ſuch Grace, to expone mine own Perſon in God's Quarrel; by mean of which my preſence many things ſhould be ſtated, that for Superiority and otherwiſe, in times paſt, hath been occaſion of diſagreement amongſt Princes; Albeit peradventure the greateſt reſpect ſhall not now be had hereunto, nor this be the beſt Elective to win the Cardinals Favour; wherein you muſt therefore uſe your ſelf by your wiſdoms, as you ſhall ſee the time, ſeaſon, and care to require; aſſuring them, for the removing of the doubt in changing of the See, or not ſpeedy repair thither; that after the Election once paſſed and notified to me, I would not fail, by God's Grace, within three months to be in *Rome*; there, and in the parts thereabout, to remain during my Life, whereof ye may make faithful aſſurance. By theſe, and other good means and promiſes on the King's behalf of large Rewards, which his Highneſs referreth to your diſcretion, and is contented to perform that which ye do therein; It is not to be doubted but that you ſhall obtain the Favours of many of them; ſo as if reſpect may be had to the Honour of the See Apoſtolic, and the Surety of *Italy*, the Tranquility of Chriſtendom, the Defence of the ſame againſt the Infidels, the Exaltation of the Faith, the Perſecution of Chriſt's Enemies, the Increaſe and Weal of the College of Cardinals, with their Advancement and Promotion; gentle, frank, and liberal entertainment of them, and generally to the benefit of all Holy Church. The King's Grace ſuppoſeth his mind and deſire herein, with your good means, diligence, and ſollicitations, is not unlike to take good effect; wherein, for the more authority, and better conducing of your purpoſe, the pleaſure of his Grace is, That you join with the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, as far as you may ſee and perceive them to favour this the King's Intent, likeas his Grace thinketh, that according to the often Conferences, Communications, Promiſes, and Exhortations made by the Emperor to me in this behalf, and according to my ſaid Lady *Margaret*'s deſire or offer, they have commandment to do. In the politick handling of all which Matters, the King's Highneſs putteth in you his ſpecial truſt and confidence, ſo to order your ſelf in the Premiſes, as you ſhall perceive to accord with the inward deſire of his Grace, and the ſtate and diſpoſition of the thing there; for which purpoſe his Grace hath furniſhed you at this time, jointly or ſeverally, with two ſundry Commiſſions, the one general for me, and in my favour, by the which you have ample Authority to bind and promiſe, on the King's behalf, as well gift of Promotions, as alſo as large ſums of Mony to as many, and ſuch as you ſhall think convenient; and as ſure ye may be, whatſoever ye ſhall promiſe, bind his Grace, and do in that behalf, his Highneſs will inviolably obſerve, keep and perform, the other ſpecial, as afore Letters

to

to the College of two effects, the one for the *Cardinal de Medices*, and the other for me, with other particular Letters in my favour; all which his pleasure is, That you shall use in manner and form aforesaid; that is to say, If you shall perceive the Affair of the *Cardinal de Medicis* to be in such perfect train, that he is like to have the same Dignity, ye then proceed to that which may be his furtherance, using nevertheless your particular labour for me, if you think it may do good, after such sort as ye shall not conceive any ingratitude or unkindness therein. And if you may see that the said *Cardinal de Medicis* be not in such great likelihood thereof; then considering, that as the King's Grace, and I think verily he will do his best for me, ye shall effectually set forth your practices for attaining and winning as many Friends for me as possible may be, delivering your Letters for the Intent, as you shall see cause. Wherein you being now furnished for both Purposes, and also having one of the Commissions general and indifferent, without any Person therein specially recommended, things be to be done or omitted, as you shall know to stand with the state or commodity of the Affairs there, with the Ground of the King's Mind to you now declared, shall be your best and perfect Instruction; and as you shall do or know herein, so the King's Grace desireth you often and speedily to advertise me, by your Letters, having no doubt but that his Highness will see your travels, diligence, and pains in this behalf, so to be considered, as you shall have cause to think the same well employed and bestowed.

And my Lord of *Bath*, as you do know well, because Mr. *Pace*, at the time of the last Vacation, was sent purposely from hence with Commission and Instruction for that Matter; the King, and I, supposing that upon knowledg of this news, he being at *Milan*, would incontinently repair unto *Rome*; hath therefore made the foresaid Commissions, and also this Letter to be directed unto you, jointly and severally willing you, in such substantial and discreet wise to proceed in that Matter, not forbearing any thing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his Grace, and my special Trust, is in you: And thus most heartily fare you well. At my Mannor of *Hampton-Court*, the 4*th* day of *October*.

The rest is the Cardinal's own Hand.

MY Lord of *Bath*, the King hath willed me to write unto you, That his Grace hath a marvellous Opinion of you; and you knowing his mind as you do, his Highness doubteth not but this Matter shall be by your Policy set forth in such wise, as that the same may come to the desired effect, not sparing any reasonable Offers, which is a thing, that amongst so many needy Persons is more regarded, than per-case the Qualities of the Person; ye be wise, and ye wot what I mean; trust your self best, and be not seduced by fair words, and specially of those which (say what they will) desire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit, great dexterity is to be used; and the King thinketh that all the Imperials shall be clearly with you, if Faith be in the Emperor. The young Men, which for the most part being needy, will give good ears to fair Offers, which shall be undoub-

undoubtedly performed; the King willeth you neither to spare his Authority, or his good Mony, or Substance. You may be assured, whatsoever you promise shall be performed; and our Lord send you good speed.

Your loving Friend,

T. *Cardinalis Eborac.*

Number 49.

A Memorial given by the King's Majesty, with the Advice of his Highness Council, to the Lord Russel *Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord* Paget *of* Beaudesert, *Sir* William Petre *Kt. and one of his Highness two Principal Secretaries, and Sir* John Mason *Kt. his Majesty's Secretary for the French Tongue; being sent at this present in Commission, to treat and conclude upon a Peace, with certain Commissioners sent from the French King at this time for the same purpose.*

An Original.

EDWARD R.

Cotton Libr. *Caligula* E. I

FIrst, As touching the Place of their Meeting, the same to be at *Calais* or *Bulloign*, if it may be so brought to pass; otherwise to be at such convenient Place, either within our Dominion, or the French; or sometime in the one, and sometime the other, as may be best agreed upon. In the appointing whereof, we would no Ceremony to be so much sticked upon, as the same should be any occasion of hindrance to the good success looked for at this meeting.

Secondly, If the French Commissioners shall require *Bulloign*, with the Members; and all such Grounds and Lands as was of late conquered by our late Father, of most noble memory, to be restored to the French King, we be pleased our said Commissioners shall on our Name agree and assent thereunto; so as the said French Commissioners do, and will likewise covenant and agree, in the Name of the said French King, to any of our Requests hereafter ensuing.

First, Our said Commissioners shall demand, in recompence for *Bulloign*, and the Members and Grounds as aforesaid, that the Treaties last made, between our said Father of famous Memory, and the Realm of *Scotland*, may in all things be performed; and the Person of the Young *Scotch* Queen delivered to us, to the intent the Marriage between us and her may be performed. They shall also demand, that the Fortifications at *Newhaven* and *Blackness* may be utterly ruinated, and no Fortifications made from hence-forth at any of those Places. They shall also require the continuance of paiment of our perpetual Pension, and all the Debts due unto us, by force of any former Treaties, before

before the commencement of these last Wars. And this for the first degree, which if it may not be obtained, then for

The second Degree, we be pleased to accept for a Recompence, if they will covenant for performance of the said Treaties with *Scotland*, to deliver the Scotch Queen, and continue from henceforth the paiment of the perpetual Pension.

But if that shall also be refused, then for the third Degree, our said Commissioners shall require the continuance of paiment of our Pension, the Arrearages due by any former Treaties, between our said Father and the late French King; and that the Forts of *Newhaven*, *Hambletue*, and *Blackness*, may be utterly ruinated, and no new Fortifications commenced at any of the said Places hereafter.

And if this may not be obtained, then for the fourth and last Degree our Pleasure is, That our said Commissioners shall require the continuance of paiment of our said Pension, and all such Debts as were due unto our said late Father before the commencement of his last War.

In the debating and discoursing whereof, we will that our said Commissioners shall employ themselves to their uttermost, to make as good and honourable a Bargain for us, and to attain all or as much of the Premises as they may; remembring unto the French Commissioners, our great Charges sustained in these last Wars commenced by them, contrary to the former Treaties.

Touching the Place, Day, Time, and other Circumstances to be used, as well in the delivery of *Bulloign*, the *Base Town*, the *Old Man*, the *Young Man*, with the Ground, Territories, and Members, to the said Pieces, or any of them belonging; as also of paiment of such Sums of Mony as shall be agreed upon for the same; Our said Commissioners shall, by their good discretions, devise with the said French Commissioners,all such ways as they can or may think most for our Honour and Surety: And such overtures or Discourses as shall be made by the said French Commissioners,touching the Premises, our said Commissioners shall advertise unto us or our Council.

And if any motion shall be made to have *Scotland* comprehended in this Peace, our said Commissioners shall say, That forasmuch as the Scots be common Enemies to us and the Emperor, we may not assent to the comprehension of them, without the Emperor's consent; or at the least, without such respect to our Treaties with the Emperor, and his Subjects, as the Amity between us requireth. And therefore if the Scots will covenant to stand to our Arbitrement and Judgment for all such Matters as be in difference between the said Emperor and them, we will be pleased that the Scots shall be comprehended; and one such Article, or of like effect, made for comprehension of them, as was made at the conclusion of the least Peace. And if the delivery, or razing of any Pieces,now by us possessed in *Scotland*, shall be required, we be pleased that our said Commissioners travelling first by all ways and means they may, to induce the other Commissioners to assent, that all the said Pieces, and the Lands by us now possessed, may remain to us, and our Heirs and Successors for ever, shall nevertheless, if that may not be received, assent in the end, that *Borthwickcraig*, *Lauder*, and *Dunglass*, shall be restored upon a convenient Recompence in Mony,

Money, ſo as the Forts of *Roxburgh* and *Haymouth*, with their Grounds adjoining, may be covenanted to remain to us and our Succeſſors for ever.

If the French Commiſſioners ſhall make any motion of Treaty for Marriage, between us and the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to the French King; our ſaid Commiſſioners excuſing the preſent talk thereof, in reſpect of our young Years, and for ſuch other Cauſes as they may think good, ſhall do all that they may to cut off that Talk: But if they ſhall be much preſſed therein, in reſpect of ſuch Overtures as have been made already, our Pleaſure is, that our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall, by general words, entertain the talk of that Matter; and thereof, and of ſuch other Matters as ſhall be proponed touching the ſame, advertiſe us or our Council.

In all the Treaty it muſt be remembred, to reſerve and have ſpecial regard to the preſervation of our Treaties with the Emperor, and other our Friends.

And if it ſhall ſeem expedient to our ſaid Commiſſioners, for the better expedition of our Affairs committed to their Charge, that a Surceance or Abſtinence of Wars be granted, as well on our behalf, as on the behalf of the French King, we be pleaſed that our Right truſty, and right well-beloved Couſin, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, our Lieutenant General of that ſide, ſhall, by the advice of our ſaid Commiſſioners, grant a Surceance or Abſtinence for ſuch time, and in ſuch manner and ſort, as by our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall be thought beſt, ſo as the like be alſo granted on the behalf of the ſaid French King.

Finally, Our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall advertiſe us, our Council attendant about our Perſon, from time to time, of their Proceedings; and further do as we or our Council ſhall appoint them, either by our Letters, or the Letters of our ſaid Council accordingly.

T. Cant.
R. Rich Canc.
W. Saint John.
H. Dorſet.
W. Northampton.
J. Warwick.
Thomas Southampton.
Thom. Ely.
Cuth. Dureſm.
T. Cheyne.
T. Wentworth.
Anthony Wingfield.
W. Herbert.
T. Darcy.
N. Wotton.
J. Baker.
Edward North.
Edward Montague.
Richard Southwell.

Number

Number 50.

Articles devised by the King's Majesty, with the Advice of his Highness Council, answering to certain Doubts moved in the Letters, bearing date the 27th of February *last past, sent from his Majesty's Commissioners, being on the other side the Seas, for the Treaty of Peace.*

An Original.

EDWARD. R.

FIrst, If the French Deputies require to have *Roxburgh* and *Aymouth* to be rendred unto the Scots, we will that our Commissioners shall, by all the best means they can devise, induce them to agree, that the said two places may and shall remain to Us: And in case the French will not so be persuaded; but require still to have them rendred, Our pleasure is, That our Commissioners shall stand most stifly in the denial of it, so far forth, that they shall come to the breaking of that days talk, rather than to condescend unto it. And in case, that move not the French to relent of their Request, our Commissioners shall afterwards send to the French Deputies to meet, or to talk again, and then they shall say, That rather than such a good work of Peace should fail, they will grant to the razing and abandoning of both the said Pieces; with special Capitulation, that neither the Scots nor the French shall re-fortify, nor cause to be re-fortified, in neither of those two Places; with the like Covenant for our part, if the French Deputies do require it. *Cotton* Libr. *Caligula* E. 1

Item. We are pleased, that the Reservance of our Rights and Titles, mentioned in our former Articles sent to our said Commissioners, be in general words, so as severally general reservance be made, as well for our Rights and Titles as to *Scotland*, as for our Matters with *France*.

Item. We are pleased, that for such Sums of Mony as shall be agreed upon to be paied unto Us for the delivery of *Bulloign*, Our said Commissioners shall take Hostages of the French, according to Our former Articles sent unto them in that behalf; the said Hostages to remain there, till the whole and last Sum so agreed upon be fully answered unto Us. And likewise in case the French Deputies will ask Hostages for the sure delivery of the Town of *Bulloign*, with the Members, Our said Commissioners may agree to the assigning of such Hostages as shall be thought sufficient for the same; which Hostages nevertheless shall not be bound to remain or continue there any longer, than till the said Town is delivered; but shall thereupon be suffered to return home at their Pleasure.

Item. Upon the Conclusion between our Commissioners, and the French Deputies, for the delivery of *Bulloign*, our pleasure is, That the term of the delivery of the same be appointed, as short as may be conve-

conveniently, having confiderance to a reafonable refpite for the removing and fafe conveyance away of the Artillery, Munition, Armour, and Goods belonging to Us or our Subjects, either by Sea or by Land, as fhall be thought moft commodious: and that our Men, departing out of the Town in the Forenoon, the French fhall abftain from entry into it till at three or four hours after, for avoiding the inconveniences which may chance upon the coupling of our Men with the French.

Item. Forafmuch as Our faid Commiffioners being upon the Place, can better confider any other thing not touched in the Premifes, concerning the manner and fafhion of the delivery of *Bulloign*, or retire of our Men, Artillery, and other things, other than we can do here, we are pleafed to remit that to their wifdoms and difcretions.

Item. As for *Alderney* and *Sark*, forafmuch as both thofe Places are Ours, reafon would that the French fhould raze their Fortifications at *Sark*, and the Fortifications at *Alderney*, being lawfully done by Us upon our own Ground, to remain at our Arbitrement. That in cafe the French Deputies fhall make no mention, neither of the one, nor of the other, We are pleafed that our Commiffioners fhall alfo pafs it over in filence; but if the French Deputies fhall mention the fame,and without the razing the Fortifications at *Alderney*, will not condefcend to a Peace, We are pleafed,our Commiffioners fhall conclude with them upon the razing and abandoning of the one and the other of the aforefaid Fortifications; ftanding firft as much in denial of the French Deputies Demands herein, as they may.

T. Cant.	*J. Warwick.*
R. Rich, Chanc.	*W. Northampton.*
W. Wilts.	*T. Ely.*
T. Wentworth.	*T. Cheyne.*
A. Wingfield.	*W. Herbert.*
T. Darcy.	*John Gage.*
N. Wotton.	*Edward North.*
R. Sadler.	

Number 51.

The King's Letters Patents to John a Lafco, *and the German Congregation.*

Rot. pat. 4to Reg. part. 5.

EDwardus Sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defenfor, & in Terra Ecclefiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ fupremum fub Chrifto Caput, omnibus ad quos prefentes literæ pervenerint falutem. Cum magnæ quædam & graves confiderationes nos ad prefens fpecialiter impulerunt, tum etiam cogitantes illud, quanto ftudio & charitate Chriftianos Principes in Sacrofanctum Dei Evangelium & Religionem Apoftolicam ab ipfo Chrifto inchoatam, inftitutam & traditam, animatos & propenfos effe conveniat, fine qua haud dubie politia & civile Regnum nec confiftere diu, neq; nomen fuum tueri poteft, nifi

nisi principes, cæteriq; præpotentes viri, quos Deus ad Regnorum gubernacula sedere voluit, id in primis operam dent, ut per totum Reipub. Corpus, casta sinceraq; Religio diffundatur, & Ecclesia in vere Christianis & Apostolicis opinionibus & ritibus instituta, atq; adulta per sanctos ac carni & mundo mortuos ministros conservetur: pro eo quod Christiani Principis officium statuimus, inter alias suas gravissimas de Regno suo bene splendideq; administrando cogitationes, etiam Religioni & Religionis causa calamitate fractis & afflictis exulibus consulere. Sciatis, quod non solum præmissa contemplantes & Ecclesiam a Papatus Tyrannide per nos vindicatam in pristina libertate conservare cupientes: verum etiam exulum ac peregrinorum conditionem miserantes, qui jam bonis temporibus in Regno nostro Angliæ commorati sunt voluntario exilio, Religionis & Ecclesiæ causa mulctati: quia hospites & exteros homines propter Christi Evangelium ex Patria sua profligatos & ejectos, & in Regnum nostrum profugos, præsidiis ad vitam degendam necessariis in Regno nostro egere, non dignum esse neq; Christiano homine, neq; principis magnificentia duximus, cujus liberalitas nullo modo in tali rerum statu restricta, clausave esse debet. Ac quoniam multi Germanæ nationis homines, ac alii peregrini qui confluxerunt, & in dies singulos confluunt in Regnum nostrum Angliæ, ex Germania & aliis remotioribus partibus, in quibus Papatus dominatur, Evangelii libertas labefactari & premi cœpta est, non habent certam sedem & locum in Regno nostro ubi conventus suos celebrare valeant, ubi inter suæ gentis & moderni idiomatis homines Religionis negotia & res Ecclesiasticas pro Patriæ ritu & more intelligenter obire & tractare possint: idcirco de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, necnon de avisamento Concilii nostri volumus, concedimus & ordinamus quod de cætero sit & erit unum templum, sive sacra ædes in Civitate nostra Londinensi, quod vel quæ vocabitur templum Domini Jesu, ubi Congregatio & conventus Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum fieri & celebrari possit, ea intentione & proposito, ut a Ministris Ecclesiæ Germanorum aliorumq; peregrinorum Sacrosancti Evangelii incorrupta interpretatio, Sacramentorum juxta Verbum Dei & Apostolicam observationem administratio fiat. Ac Templum illud, sive Sacram ædem illam de uno Superintendente & quatuor verbi ministris erigimus, creamus, ordinamus & fundamus per præsentes. Et quod idem Superintendens & ministri in re & nomine sint & erunt unum Corpus corporatum & politicum, de se per nomen Superintendentis & Ministrorum Ecclesiæ Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum ex fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti in Civitate Londinensi per præsentes incorporamus: ac corpus corporatum & politicum per idem nomen realiter & ad plenum creamus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus & constituimus per præsentes: & quod successionem habeant.

Et ulterius de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, necnon de avisamento Concilii nostri dedimus & concessimus, ac per præsentes damus & concedimus præfato Superintendenti & Ministris Ecclesiæ Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum in Civitate Londinensi, totum illud templum sive Ecclesiam nuper fratrum Augustinensium in Civitate nostra Londinensi, ac totam terram, fundum & solum Ecclesiæ prædictæ, exceptis toto choro dictæ Ecclesiæ, terris fundo & solo ejusdem habendum & gaudendum, dictum Templum sive Ecclesiam

 ac

ac cætera præmissa, exceptis præexceptis, præfatis Superintendenti & Ministris & Successoribus suis, tenendum de nobis, hæredibus & successoribus nostris in puram & liberam elyemosinam.

Damus ulterius de avisamento prædicto, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris prædictis per præsentes concedimus, præfatis Superintendenti & Ministris & successoribus suis plenam facultatem, potestatem & autoritatem ampliandi & majorem faciendi numerum ministrorum & nominandi & appunctuandi de tempore in tempus, tales & hujusmodi subministros, ad serviendum in Templo prædicto, quales præfatis Superintendenti & Ministris necessarium visum fuerit. Et quidem hæc omnia juxta beneplacitum regium.

Volumus præterea quod Joannes a Lasco natione Polonus, homo propter integritatem & innocentiam vitæ, ac morum & singularem eruditionem valde cælebris, sit primus & modernus Superintendens dictæ Ecclesiæ, & quod Gualterus Deloenus, Martinus Flandrus, Franciscus Riverius, Richardus Gallus, sint quatuor primi & moderni Ministri. Damus præterea & concedimus præfatis Superintendenti & Ministris & successoribus suis facultatem, autoritatem & licentiam, post mortem vel vacationem alicujus Ministri prædictorum, de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi & surrogandi alium, personam habilem & idoneam in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus & electus præsentetur & sistatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel successoribus nostris, & per nos, hæredes vel successores nostros instituatur in Ministerium prædictum.

Damus etiam & concedimus præfatis Superintendenti Ministris & successoribus suis facultatem, autoritatem & licentiam, post mortem seu vacationem Superintendentis de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi & surrogandi alium, personam doctam & gravem in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus & electus præsentetur & sistatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel successoribus nostris, & per nos, hæredes vel successores nostros instituatur in officium Superintendentis prædictum.

Mandamus & firmiter injungendum præcipimus, tam Majori, Vicecomitibus & Aldermanis Civitatis nostræ Londinensis & successoribus suis, cum omnibus aliis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Justiciariis, Officiariis & Ministris nostris quibuscunque, quod permittant præfatis, Superintendenti & Ministris, & sua, suos libere & quiete frui, gaudere, uti, & exercere ritus & ceremonias suas proprias, & disciplinam Ecclesiasticam propriam & peculiarem, non obstante quod non conveniant cum ritibus & cæremoniis in Regno nostro usitatis, absq; impetitione, perturbatione, aut inquietatione eorum, vel eorum alicujus, aliquo statuto, actu, proclamatione, injunctione, restrictione, seu usu in contrarium inde antehac habitis, factis, editis, seu promulgatis in contrarium non obstantibus. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmissorum, sive eorum alicujus, aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos præfatis Superintendenti, Ministris & successoribus suis ante hæc tempora factis, in præsentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, provisione, sive restrictione inde in contrarium factis, editis, ordinatis seu provisis, aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quacunq; in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teste

Meipso,

Meipſo, apud Leighes, viceſſimo quarto die Julii, Anno Regni noſtri quarto, per Breve de privato Sigillo, & de datis prædicta Autoritate Parliamenti.

R. Southwell.

Un. Harrys.

Number 52.

Injunctions given in the Viſitation of the Reverend Father in God, Nicholas *Biſhop of* London, *for an Uniformity in his Dioceſs of* London, *in the 4th Year of our Soveraign Lord King* Edward *the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of* England, *&c.*

London, *Anno Dom.* 1550.

FIrſt, That there be no reading of ſuch Injunctions as extolleth and ſetteth forth the Popiſh Maſs, Candles, Images, Chauntries; neither that there be uſed any Superaltaries, or Trentals of Communions. Reg. *Ridley.* Fol. 305.

Item. That no Miniſter do counterfeit the Popiſh Maſs, in kiſſing the Lord's Board; waſhing his Hands or Fingers after the Goſpel, or the receipt of the Holy Communion; ſhifting the Book from one place to another; laying down and licking the Chalice after the Communion; bleſſing his Eyes with the Sudarie thereof, or Patten, or croſſing his Head with the ſame, holding his Fore-fingers and Thumbs joined together toward the Temples of his Head, after the receiving of the Sacrament; breathing on the Bread, or Chalice; ſaying the *Agnus* before the Communion; ſhewing the Sacrament openly before the diſtribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the Sacrying Bell, or ſetting any Light upon the Lord's Board. And finally, That the Miniſter, in the time of the Holy Communion, do uſe only the Ceremonies and Geſtures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, ſo that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the Popiſh Maſs.

Item. That none be admitted to receive the Holy Communion, but ſuch as will, upon requeſt of the Curat, be ready, with meekneſs and reverence, to confeſs the Articles of the Creed.

Item. That none make a Mart of the Holy Communion, by buying and ſelling the Receipt thereof for Mony, as the Popiſh Maſs in times paſt was wont to be.

Item. Whereas in divers places, ſome uſe the Lord's Board after the form of a Table, and ſome of an Altar, whereby Diſſention is perceived to ariſe among the unlearned; therefore wiſhing a godly Unity to be obſerved in all our Dioceſs; and for that the form of a Table may more move and turn the ſimple from the old ſuperſtitious Opinions of the Popiſh Maſs, and to the right uſe of the Lord's Supper,

We

We exhort the Curats, Church-wardens, and Questmen here present, to erect and set up the Lord's Board, after the form of an honest Table, decently covered, in such place of the Quire or Chancel, as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the Ministers, with the Communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the People: and to take down and abolish all other by-Altars or Tables.

Item. That the Minister, in the time of the Communion, immediately after the Offertory, shall monish the Communicants, saying these words, or such-like, *Now is the time, if it please you to remember the poor Mens Chest with your charitable Almes.*

Item. That the Homilies be read orderly, without omission of any part thereof.

Item. The Common Prayer be had in every Church upon *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, according to the King's Grace's Ordinance; and that all such as conveniently may, shall diligently resort to the same.

Item. That every Curat be diligent to teach the Catechism, whensoever just occasion is offered, upon the *Sunday* or Holy-day, and at least every six weeks, once shall call upon his Parishioners, and present himself ready to instruct and examine the Youth of the same Parish, according to the Book of Service touching the same.

Item. That none maintain Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the Six Articles, Bedrowls, Images, Reliques, Rubrick Primars, with Invocation of Saints, Justification of Man by his own Works, Holy Bread, Palms, Ashes, Candles, Sepulchre Paschal, creeping to the Cross, hallowing of the Fire or Altar, or any other such-like abuses, and superstitions, now taken away by the King's Grace's most Godly Proceedings.

Item. That all Ministers do move the People to often and worthy receiving of the Holy Communion.

Item. That every Minister do move his Parishioners to come diligently to the Church; and when they come, not to talk, or walk, in the Sermon, Communion, or Divine Service-time, but rather at the same to behave themselves reverently, godly, and devoutly in the Church; and that they also monish the Church-wardens to be diligent Overseers in that behalf.

Item. That the Church-wardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outragious noise or tumult, or any other idle occupying of Youth in the Church, Church-porch, or Church-yard, during the time of Common Prayer, Sermon, or reading of the Homily.

Item. That no Persons use to minister the Sacraments, or in open audience of the Congregation, presume to expound the Holy Scriptures, or to preach, before they be first lawfully called and authorized in that behalf.

God save the King.

Number

Number 53.

Dr. Oglethorp's *Submission and Profession of his Faith.*

I Did never Preach or Teach openly any thing contrary to the Doctrine and Religion set forth by the King's Majesty, and authorised by his Grace's Laws, since the making and publishing of the same.

I suppose, and think his Grace's Proceedings (concerning Religion) to be good and godly, if they be used accordingly, as his Grace hath will'd they should, by his Laws and Instructions.

And further, I suppose the Order and Form of Doctrine, and Religion now set forth by his Grace, and used, in many things to be better and much nearer the usage of the Apostolick and Primitive Church, than it was before-times: if it be used godly and reverently, accordingly as I think it to be meant by his Grace's Highness, and his most Honourable Council.

Namely, in these things, in prohibiting that none should commune alone, in making the People whole Communers, or in suffering them to Commune under both kinds, in the Catechisation of young Chaplains in the Rudiments of our Faith, in having the Common Prayer in English, in setting forth the Homilies, and many other things; which I think very good and Godly, if they be used as is aforesaid.

The lately received Doctrine, concerning the Sacrament, and namely the Attribute of *Transubstantiation*, I do not like, and I think it not consonant to the Scriptures, and Ancient Writers; although I suppose that there is a certain and an ineffable presence of Christ's Body there, which I can neither comprehend nor express, because it so far passes the compass and reach of my Wit and Reason; wherefore I think it ought to be both ministred and received with a godly and reverent fear, and not without great premeditation and examination aforesaid, as well of the Minister, as of the Receiver. 1550.

Your Grace's poor well-willer, with his

Prayer and Service, as he is bound,

Owing Oglethorp.

Number 54.

A Letter from Dr. Smith *to Arch-Bishop* Cranmer.

An Original.

Right honourable, and my special good Lord.

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.*

I Commend me to your Grace most humbly, giving to the same thanks as I am bound, for your Grace's kindness toward my Sureties; for the which you have (and shall whiles I live) my good Word and Prayer. *Ignatii Epistolæ adhuc extant in Gymnasio Magdalenæ.* If it might please your Lordship, I would very gladly see some part of your Collection against my Book, *De Cælibatu Sacerdotum*; which I wrote then to try the truth out, not to the intent it should be printed, as it was, against my Will. Would God I had never made it, because I took then for my chief Ground, That the Priests of *England* made a Vow when they were made, which now I perceive is not true.

My Lord, I received my *Cap-case*, &c. *Sed tribus nummorum meorum partibus sublatis*; *Quod damnum æquo animo est ferendum, quod furti revinci non possit, qui abstulit.* My Lord, I am glad that your Grace is reported both gentle and merciful, of all such which have had to do with you for Religion of this University. For my part, if ever I may do your Graces basest Servant any pleasure, I will do it indeed. *Si aliter, atqui sentio, loquor, dispercam. Ignoscat hæc Honoranda Dominatio tam diutinum silentium mihi, quippe quod crebrioribus literis posthac pensabo. Deus optimus maximus tuam amplitudinem diu servet incolumem Christianæ Pietati propagandæ ac provehendæ. Oxonii* 28.

Tibi addictissimus,

Richardus Smithæus.

Number

Number 55.

Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other Learned Men, in the Convocation held at *London*, in the Year 1552. for the avoiding diversities of Opinions, and stablishing Consent touching true Religion.

Published by the King's Authority.

With Marginal Notes of the differences between these and those set out by Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1562.

I. *Of Faith in the Holy Ghost.*

THere is but one living and true God everlasting, without Body, Parts, or Passions; of infinite Power, Wisdom, and Goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in the unity of this God-head, there are three Persons, of one Substance, Power, and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. *The Word of God made very Man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the blessed Virgin, of her Substance: So that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the God-head and Manhood were join'd together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice, not only for Original Guilt, but also for Actual Sins of Men.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, *begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one Substance with the Father:* took Man's Nature in the Womb of the blessed Virgin, *&c.*

III. *Of the going down of Christ into Hell.*

As Christ died for us, and was buried; so also is it to be believed that he went down into Hell: * *For his Body lay in the Grave till his Resurrection, but his Soul being separate from his Body, remained with the Spirits which were detained in Prison, that is to say, in Hell, and there preached unto them*; as witnesseth that place of *Peter*.

* These words were left out.

IV. *The Resurrection of Christ.*

Christ did truly rise again from Death, and took again his Body, with Flesh, Bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth till he return to judg all Men at the last day.

Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance, Majesty, and Glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

V. *The Doctrine of the Holy Scripture is sufficient to Salvation.*

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to Salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought necessary or requisite to Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to Salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, *although sometimes it may be admitted by God's faithful People as pious, and conducing unto order and decency*; yet is not to be required of any Man that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite necessary to Salvation.

In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose Authority was never any doubt in the Church; that is to say, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1st *of* Samuel, 2*d of* Samuel, &c. *And the other Books (as* Hierom *saith) the Church doth read for example of Life, and instruction of Manners, but yet doth it not apply them to establish any Doctrine; such are these following,* The 3d of *Esdras*, the 4th of *Esdras*, the Book of *Tobias*, the Book of *Judeth*, the rest of the Book of *Hester*, the Book of *Wisdom*, &c. *All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them Canonical.*

VI. *The Old Testament is not to be rejected.*

The Old Testament is not to be rejected, as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. Forasmuch as in the Old Testament as in the New, everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator betwixt God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, who feign, that the old Fathers did look only for transitory Promises.

Although the Law given from God by Moses, *as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian Men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any Common-wealth; yet notwithstanding no Christian Man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral.*

VII. *The three Creeds.*

The three Creeds, *Nice* Creed, *Athanasius* Creed, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles* Creed, ought throughly to be received *; for they may be proved by most certain Warrants of the Holy Scripture.

* And believed.

VIII. *Original Sin.*

Original Sin standeth not in the following of *Adam*, (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk, * *and at this day is affirmed by the Anabaptists*) but it is the fault and corruption of every Man, that naturally is ingendred of the Off-spring of *Adam*, whereby Man is very far gone from

* Left out.

from Original Righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil; so that the Flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit; and therefore in every Person born into this World it deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation. And this Infection of Nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the Flesh, called in Greek φρόνημα σαρκὸς, which some do expound the Wisdom, some Sensuality, some the Affection, some the desire of the Flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that Concupiscense and Lust hath of it self the nature of Sin.

IX. *Of Free-will.*

We have no power to do good Works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us, when we have that good will.

The condition of Man after the Fall of Adam *is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good Works, to Faith and calling upon God.* Wherefore we have no power to do good Works pleasant and acceptable unto God, &c.

X. *Of Grace.*

The Grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost which is given by him, doth take from Man the heart of Stone, and giveth him a heart of Flesh. And though it rendereth us willing to do those good Works, which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do those evil Works, which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the will of Man; so that no Man when he hath sinned can excuse himself, as if he had sinned against his will, or upon constraint; and therefore that he ought not to be accused or condemned upon that account.

XI. *Of the Justification of Man.*

Justification by Faith only in Jesus Christ, in that sense wherein it is set forth in the Homily of *Justification*, is the most certain and most wholesome Doctrine for a Christian Man.

We are accounted Righteous before God only, for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own Works or deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by Faith, is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of *Justification.*

XII. *Of Good Works.*

Albeit the Good Works, which are the Fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our Sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable unto God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith, insomuch that by them, a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a Tree discerned by the Fruit.

XII. *Works before Justification.*

Works done before the Grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of Faith in Jesus Christ; neither do they make Men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School Authors say) deserve Grace of Congruity; yea rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of Sin.

XIII. *Works of Supererrogation.*

Voluntary Works besides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of *Supererrogation*, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them Men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake, than of bounden Duty is required; Whereas Christ saith plainly, *When you have done all that are commanded to you, say, we are unprofitable Servants.*

XIV. *None but Christ without Sin.*

Christ in the truth of our Nature, was made like unto us in all things, (sin only excepted) from which he was clearly void, both in his Flesh and in his Spirit: He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by Sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the Sins of the World; and Sin (as St. *John* saith) was not in him: But all we the rest (although baptized and born in Christ) yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the Truth is not in us.

XV. *Of the Sin against the Holy Ghost.*

Not every deadly Sin, willingly committed after Baptism, is Sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of Repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from Grace given, and fall into sin, and by the Grace of God (we may) arise again and amend our Lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which say, They can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny *the* * *place of Penance* to such as truly repent.

* Place of Forgiveness.

XVI. *The Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.*

The Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is then committed, when any Man, out of malice and hardness of heart, doth wilfully reproach and persecute in an hostile manner, the Truth of God's Word, manifestly made known unto him. Which sort of Men, being made obnoxious to the Curse, subject themselves to the most grievous of all wickednesses; from whence this kind of Sin is called unpardonable, and so affirmed to be by our Lord and Saviour.

XVII. *Of Predestination and Election.*

Predestination unto Life, is the everlasting Purpose of God, whereby (before the Foundations of the World were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his Counsel, secret unto us, to deliver from Curse and Damnation, those whom he hath chosen * out of Man-kind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting Salvation, as Vessels made to Honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's Purpose, by his Spirit working in due season, they through Grace obey the Calling, they be justified freely, they are made Sons of † Adoption, they are made like the Image of || the only begotten Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good Works, and at length, by God's Mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

* In Christ.
† God by.
|| His.

As the godly consideration of Predestination and Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly Persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the Works of the Flesh, and their Earthly Members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly Things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their Faith of eternal Salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So for curious and carnal Persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfal, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desparation, or into wretchlesness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desparation.

Furthermore, * *though the Decrees of Predestination be unknown to us, yet* must we receive God's Promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expresly declared unto us in the Word of God.

* Left out.

XVIII. *Everlasting Salvation to be obtained only in the Name of Christ.*

They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, That every Man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature: For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby Men must be saved.

XIX. *All Men are bound to keep the Precepts of the Moral Law.*

Although the Law given from God by *Moses*, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian Men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any Common-Wealth; yet notwithstanding no Christian Man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral. Wherefore they

they are not to be heard which teach, that the Holy Scriptures were given to none but to the *Weak*, and brag continually of the Spirit, by which they do pretend, that all whatsoever they preach is suggested to them, though manifestly contrary to the Holy Scripture.

XX. *Of the Church.*

The Visible Church of Christ, is a Congregation of faithful Men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to Christ's Ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* have erred, so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their Livings, and manner of Ceremonies, but also in Matters of Faith.

XXI. *Of the Authority of the Church.*

The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith. It is not lawful for the Church, &c.

It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another; Wherefore although the Church be a Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed, for necessity of Salvation.

XXI. *Of the Authority of General Councils.*

General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes. And when they are gathered together, forasmuch as they be an Assembly of Men, (whereof all be governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them, as necessary to Salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared, that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

XXIII. *Of Purgatory.*

The Doctrine of the School-men concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather *perniciously* repugnant to the Word of God.

XXIV. *No Man to minister in the Church except he be called.*

It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick Preaching, or ministring the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judg lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this

this Work by Men, who have publick Authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's Vineyard.

XXV. *All things to be done in the Congregation in such a Tongue as is understood by the People.*

It is most fit, *and most agreeable to the Word of God*, that nothing be read or rehearsed in the Congregation, in a Tongue not known unto the People; which *Paul* hath forbidden to be done, unless some be present to interpret.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the *Primitive Church*, to have publick Prayers in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a Tongue not understood by the People.

XXVI. *Of the Sacraments.*

Our Lord Jesus Christ gathered his People into a Society, by Sacraments very few in number, most easie to be kept, and of most excellent signification; that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them: And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; not as some say, *Ex opere operato*, which terms, as they are strange and utterly unknown to the Holy Scripture, so do they yield a sense which savoureth of little Piety, but of much Superstition: but they that receive them unworthily, receive to themselves damnation.

The Sacraments ordained by the word of God, be not only Badges or Tokens of Christian Mens Profession; but rather they be certain sure Witnesses, effectual signs of Grace, and God's good Will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us; and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

Sacraments ordained of Christ, be not only Badges and Tokens of Christian Mens Profession, but rather they be certain sure Witnesses, and effectual signs of Grace, and God's good Will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, That is to say, *Confirmation*, *Penance*, *Orders*, *Matrimony*, and *Extream Unction*, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments, with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed on, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as St. *Paul* saith.

XXVII. *The Wickedness of the Ministers takes not away the Efficacy of Divine Institutions.*

Although in the Visible Church, the Evil be ever mingled with the Good, and sometimes the Evil have chief Authority in the ministration of the Word and Sacraments; yet forasmuch as they do not the same

in

in their own Name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his Commission and Authority, we may use their Ministry both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments: Neither is the effect of Christ's Ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the Grace of God's Gifts diminished from such as by Faith rightly do receive the Sacrament, ministred unto them, which be effectual because of Christ's Institution and Promise, although they be ministred by evil Men.

Nevertheless it appertaineth to the Discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made after * *them*, and that they be accused by those that have knowledg of their Offences; and finally, being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed.

* *Evil Ministers.*

XXVIII. *Of Baptism.*

Baptism is not only a sign of Profession, and mark of Difference, whereby Christian Men are discerned from others that be not Christned; but it is also a sign of Regeneration, or New Birth, whereby, as by an Instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly, are grafted into the Church; the Promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our Adoption to be the Sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace increased, by virtue of Prayer unto God. * The Custom of the Church for baptising young Children, is both to be commended, and by all means to be retained in the Church.

*—*The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable to the Institution of Christ.*

XXIX. *Of the Lord's Supper.*

The Supper of the Lord, is not only a sign of the Love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's Death: Insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with Faith receive the same, the Bread which we break, is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the Cup of Blessing, is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the Substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; * but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, and hath given occasion to many Superstitions.

* —but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, *overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament*, and hath given occasion to many Superstitions.

Since the very Being of humane Nature doth require, that the Body of one and the same Man, cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place; therefore the Body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since (as the Holy Scriptures testify) Christ hath been taken up into Heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the World; it becometh not any of the Faithful to believe or profess, that there is a Real or Corporeal presence (as they phrase it) of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an Heavenly and Spiritual Manner, And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith.

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The

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was not by Christ's Ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

XXIX. *Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the Lord's Supper.*

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively Faith, altho they do carnally and visibly press with their Teeth (as St. *Augustine* saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX. *Of both Kinds.*] The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people: For both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament (by Christ's Ordinance and Commandment) ought not to be ministred to all Christian People alike.

XXX. *Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.*

The Offering of Christ once made, is a perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual, and there is none other Satisfaction for Sin but that alone: Wherefore the Sacrifices of Masses, in which it was commonly said, That the Priests did offer Christ for the Quick and the Dead, to have remission of Pain or Guilt, were * Fables, and dangerous Deceits. *blasphemous

XXXI. *A single Life is imposed on none by the Word of God.*

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of a single Life, or to abstain from Marriage.

Therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian Men, to Marry at their own discretion, as they shall judg the same to serve better to Godliness.

XXXII. *Excommunicated Persons are to be avoided.*

That Person which by open Denunciation of the Church, is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church, and Excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole Multitude of the Faithful, as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by Penance, and received into the Church, by a Judg that hath Authority thereunto.

XXXIII. *Of the Tradition of the Church.*

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one and utterly alike; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of Countries, Times, and Mens Manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and reproved

by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth againſt the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and woundeth the Conſciences of the weak Brethren.

Every Particular or National Church, hath Authority to ordain, change or aboliſh Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, ordained onely by Man's Authority, ſo that all things be done to edifying.

XXXIV. *Of the Homilies.*

The *Homilies lately delivered* and commended to the Church of *England* by the King's Injunctions, do contain a godly and wholſome Doctrine, and fit to be embraced by all Men; and for that cauſe they are diligently, plainly, and diſtinctly to be read to the People.

The ſecond Book of Homilies, the ſeveral Titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for the Times; as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were ſet forth in the time of *Edward* the *6th*: and therefore we judg them to be read in Churches by the Miniſters, diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtood of the People.

The Names of the Homilies.

Of the Right Uſe of the Church. Of Repairing Churches. Againſt the Peril of Idolatry. Of Good Works, *&c.*

XXXV. *Of the Book of Common Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of* England.

The Book lately delivered to the Church of *England* by *the Authority of the King and Parliament*, containing the manner and form of publick Prayer, and the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, in the ſaid Church of *England*; as alſo the Book publiſhed by the ſame Authority for ordering Miniſters in the Church, are both of them very pious, as to truth of Doctrine, in nothing contrary, but agreeable to the wholſome Doctrine of the Goſpel, which they do very much promote and illuſtrate. And for that cauſe they are by all faithful Members of the Church of *England*, but chiefly of the Miniſters of the Word, with all thankfulneſs and readineſs of mind, to be received, approved, and commended to the People of God.

The Book of Conſecration of Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, and ordering of Prieſts and Deacons, lately ſet forth in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth and confirmed at the ſame time by Authority of Parliament, doth contain all things neceſſary to ſuch Conſecration and Ordering. Neither hath it any thing that of it ſelf is ſuperſtitious and ungodly, And therefore whoſoever are Conſecrated and Ordered according to the Rites of that Book, ſince the ſecond Year of the afore-named King *Edward*, unto this time, or hereafter ſhall be Conſecrated or Ordered, according to the ſame Rites, we decree all ſuch to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully Conſecrated and Ordered.

XXXVI. *Of*

XXXVI. *Of the Civil Magistrates.*

The King of England *is after Christ*, the Supream Head on Earth of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*.

The Bishop of *Rome* hath no Jurisdiction in this Realm of *England*.

The Civil Magistrate is ordained and approved by God, and therefore is to be obeyed, not only for fear of Wrath, but for Conscience-sake.

Civil or Temporal Laws may punish Christian Men with Death for heinous and grievous Offences.

It is lawful for Christian Men, at the Commandment of the Magistrate, to wear Weapons, and to serve in the Wars.

The Queens Majesty hath the chief Power in this Realm of *England*, and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all Cases doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any Forreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queens Majesty the chief Government by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous Folks to be offended: We give not to our Princess the Ministry, either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments; the which thing the Injunctions lately set forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen, do most plainly testifie; but that only Prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes, in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all Estates committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil Doers.

The Bishop of *Rome* hath no Jurisdiction in this Realm of *England*.

The Laws *of this Realm* may punish Christian Men with Death, *&c.*

XXXVII. *The Goods of Christians are not common.*

The Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the Right, Title, and Possession of the same, as certain *Anabaptists* do falsly boast. Notwithstanding every Man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give Alms to the Poor, according to his Ability.

XXXVIII. *It is lawful for a Christian to take an Oath.*

As we confess that vain and rash Swearing is forbidden Christian Men, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and *James* his Apostle; so we judg that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a Man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a Cause of Faith and Charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in Justice, Judgment, and Truth.

These Articles were left out in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time.

XXXIX. *The Resurrection of the Dead is not past already.*

The Resurrection of the Dead is not past already, as if it belonged only to the Soul, which by the Grace of Christ is raised from the Death of Sin, but is to be expected by all Men in the last Day: for at that time (as the Scripture doth most apparently testify) the Dead shall be restored to their own Bodies, Flesh and Bones, to the end, that Man, according as either righteously or wickedly he hath passed this Life, may, according to his Works, receive Rewards or Punishments.

XL. *The Souls of Men deceased, do neither perish with their Bodies.*

They who maintain that the Souls of Men deceased, do either sleep, without any manner of sense, to the Day of Judgment, or affirm that they die together with the Body, and shall be raised therewith at the last Day, do wholly differ from the Right Faith, and Orthodox Belief, which is delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures.

XLI. *Of the Millenarians.*

They who endeavour to revive the Fable of the *Millenarians*, are therein contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and cast themselves down headlong into Jewish Dotages.

XLII. *All Men not to be saved at last.*

They also deserve to be condemned, who endeavour to restore that pernicious Opinion, That all Men (though never so ungodly) shall at last be saved; when for a certain time, appointed by the Divine Justice, they have endured punishment for their Sins committed.

Number

Number 56.

Instructions given by the King's Highness, to his right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Francis *Earl of* Salop, *and Lord President of his Grace's Council, resident in the North Parts; and to all others hereafter named and appointed by his Highness to be of his said Council, to be observed by the said Counsellors, and every of them, according as the same hereafter is declared.*

First, His Majesty much desiring the Quietness and good Governance of the People and Inhabitants in the North Parts of this Realm of *England*, and for the good, speedy, and indifferent administration of Justice to be there had, betwixt Party and Party, intendeth to continue in the same North Parts, his Right Honourable Council, called, *The King's Majesty's Council in the North Parts.* And his Highness knowing the approved Wisdom and Experience of his said Cousin, with his assured discretion and dexterity in the Execution of Justice, hath appointed him to be Lord President of the said Council; and by these Presents doth give unto him the Name of Lord President of the said Council, with Power and Authority to call together all such as be, or hereafter shall be, named and appointed to be of the said Council at all times, when he shall think expedient: And otherwise by his Letters, to appoint them, and every of them, to do such things for the Advancement of Justice, and for the repression and punishment of Malefactors, as by the Advice of such of the said Council as then shall be present with him, he shall think meet, for the furtherance of his Grace's Affairs, and for the due Administration of Justice between his Highness Subjects. Ex MS. Dr. *Johnson.*

And further, his Majesty giveth unto the said Lord President, by these Presents, a Voice Negative in all Councils, where things shall be debated at length for the bringing forth of a most perfect Truth or Sentence, which his Highness would have observed in all Cases that may abide Advisement and Consultation, to the intent that doubtful Matters should as well be maturely consulted upon, as also that the same should not pass without the consent and order of the said Lord President.

And his Highness willeth and commandeth, that all and every of the said Councellors, named and to be named hereafter, shall exhibit and use to the said Lord President, all such Honour, Reverend Behaviour, and Obedience, as to their Duty appertaineth; and shall receive and execute in like sort, all the Precepts and Commandments to them, or any of them, for any Matter touching his Majesty, to be addressed, or any Process to be done or served in his Grace's Name.

And his Highness Pleasure is, That the said Lord President shall have the keeping of his Graces Signet, therewith to Seal Letters, Processes, and all such other things as shall be thought convenient by the said Lord

Lord Prefident, or by two of the Council, being bound by thofe Articles, to daily attendance upon the faid Lord Prefident, with his affent thereunto.

And to the intent the faid Lord Prefident thus eftablifhed, for the above-faid Purpofes, may be furnifhed with fuch Numbers and Affiftants, as be of Wifdom, Experience, Gravity, and Truth, meet to have the Name of his Grace's Councellors; his Majefty, upon good advifement and deliberation, hath elected thofe Perfons, whofe Names enfue hereafter, to be his Counfellors, joined in the faid Council in the North Parts, with the faid Lord Prefident; that is to fay, The right Trufty and well-beloved Coufins, *Henry* Earl of *Weftmoreland*, *Henry* Earl of *Cumberland*; his right Trufty and well-beloved *Cuthbert* Bifhop of *Durefme*; *William* Lord *Dacres* of the North; *John* Lord *Conyers*; *Thomas* Lord *Wharton*; *John Hind* Kt. one of his Majefty's Juftices of the Common-Pleas; *Edmond Moleneux* Kt. Serjeant at Law; *Henry Savel* Kt. *Robert Bowes* Kt. *Nicholas Fairfax* Kt. *George Conyers* Kt. *Leonard Becquith* Kt. *William Babthorp* Kt. *Anthony Nevill* Kt. *Thomas Gargrave* Kt. *Robert Mennel* Serjeant at Law; *Anthony Bellafis* Efquire; *John Rockely* Doctor of Law; *Robert Chaloner*, *Richard Morton*, and *Thomas Eymis*, Efquires.

And his Highnefs, by thefe Prefents, doth appoint the faid *Thomas Eymis* to be Secretary to the faid Council, diligently and obediently to exercife the fame Room as he fhall be appointed by the faid Lord Prefident, or by two of the Council, whereof the one to be of the *Quorum*, with the affent of the Lord Prefident. And his Highnefs Pleafure is, That the faid Lord Prefident, and two others of the faid Council, being of the *Quorum*, fhall be fworn Mafters of the *Chancery*, to the intent that every of them may take recognifance in fuch Cafes, as by the faid Lord Prefident, or by two of the faid Council, being of the *Quorum*, fhall be thought convenient, and the Cafe fo requiring. All which number of Councellors before fpecified, as his Majefty doubteth not but that they, and every of them, according to his Grace's expectation and truft repofed in them, will be, at all times, diligent and willing towards, and ready to do unto his Grace fuch Service as they can devife or imagine may be beft to his contentation, and to the difcharge of their Duties towards his Highnefs, leaving apart all Refpects and Affections in all Matters that may touch their nigheft Kinfman, Friend, Servant, Tenant, or others, when the fame fhall come in queftion before the fame Lord Prefident and Council. So his Grace trufteth that every of the fame will have fuch regard to Malefactors as appertaineth, and to bring all fuch unto the faid Lord Prefident and Council, when they fhall be thereunto appointed, or may otherwife do it of themfelves; informing the faid Lord Prefident and Council of their Offences, as the fame fhall happen, in place where they have Rule and Authority, within the limits of their Commiffion.

And forfomuch as it fhould be very chargeable to many of the faid Councellors, if they fhould continually attend upon the faid Lord Prefident & Council, threfore his Highnefs, of his Grace's Goodnefs, minding to eafe that Charge, and to inftruct every of the faid Councellors how to demean themfelves for their Attendance; that is to wit, who fhall be

be bound to continual Attendance upon the ſame Council, and who ſhall attend but at times moſt requiſite, at their pleaſures, unleſs the ſame Lord Preſident ſhall require them to remain for a time, for ſome weighty Affairs or Purpoſes; the which Requeſts in ſuch Caſes, every of them ſhall accompliſh. His Majeſty therefore ordaineth that his Couſins, the Earls of *Weſtmoreland* and *Cumberland*; the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Conyers*, the Lord *Wharton*, Sir *John Hinde*, Sir *Edmond Molineux*, Sir *Henry Savell*, Sir *Nicholas Fairfax*, *George Conyers*, *Anthony Nevil*, Knights; *Robert Mennel* Serjeant at Law; *Anthony Bellaſis*, *John Rockbey* Doctor of Law, and *Richard Norton*, ſhall not be bound to continual Attendance, but to go and come at their pleaſures, unleſs they be required by the ſaid Lord Preſident to remain with him for a time, for ſome weighty and great Cauſes which then they ſhall accompliſh.

And further, his Grace's Pleaſure is, that they ſhall be preſent at ſuch of the general Sittings as ſhall be kept near unto their dwelling Places, and at other Sittings and Places, where they ſhall be commanded by the ſaid L. Preſident, all Excuſes ſet apart as appertaineth. And becauſe it ſhall be convenient that a Number ſhall be continually abiding with the ſaid L. Preſident, with whom he may conſult and commit the Charge and Hearing of ſuch Matters as ſhall be exhibited unto him for the more expedition of the ſame, his Highneſs, by theſe Preſents, doth ordain, that Sir *Robert Bowes*, Sir *William Babthorp*, Sir *Leonard Becquith*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, Knights; *Robert Chaloner*, and *Thomas Eymis* Secretary, Eſquires, ſhall give their continual attendance on the ſaid Lord Preſident, or at the leaſt two of them; and that none of them, appointed to continual Attendance on the ſaid Lord Preſident, ſhall depart at any time from him, without his ſpecial Licenſe, and the ſame not to exceed above ſix weeks at one ſeaſon.

And his Highneſs, by theſe Preſents, for the better entertainment of the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council of both ſorts, when they are, or any of them ſhall be preſent, doth give a yearly Stipend of 1000 *l.* by the Year to the ſaid Lord Preſident, towards the Furniture of the Diet of himſelf and the reſt of the ſaid Councellors, with ſuch number of Servants as hereafter ſhall be appointed and allowed to every of them; that is to wit, every Knight, being bound to continual Attendance, four Servants; and every Eſquire, being bound to like Attendance, three Servants. And his Highneſs ordaineth every of the ſaid Councellors, to ſit with the ſaid Lord Preſident at his Table, or in ſome other place in his Houſe, to be by him conveniently prepared for their Degrees and Behaviours; and their Servants allowed, as is before-ſaid, to have Sitting and Diet in the ſaid Lord Preſident's Hall, or in ſome other convenient place in his Houſe.

And further, his Highneſs, of his meer Goodneſs, and great Benignity, for the better entreatment, as well of ſuch of the ſaid Council as be not well able to forbear their own Affairs, and attend upon the ſaid Council, without further help for the charge of the Horſemeat and Lodgings, when they ſhall attend in Council to ſerve his Highneſs. As for ſuch others that might better themſelves with their Learning and Policies, if they were not detained there about his Grace's Affairs, doth by theſe Preſents limit and appoint, to divers of the

the aforesaid Councellors hereafter named, certain particular Fees, as ensueth; that is to say, To Sir *Robert Bowes* Kt. in respect of his Attendance, and towards his Horse-meat and other Charges, an hundred Merks yearly; to Sir *William Babthorp* Kt. for the like, 50 *l.* yearly; to Sir *Leonard Becquith*, for the like causes, an 100 Merks yearly; to Sir *Thomas Gargrave* Kt. for the like, 50 *l.* yearly; to *Robert Chaloner* Esquire, for the like, 50 *l.* yearly; to *Richard Norton* Esq; for his Fee, 40 *l.* to *Thomas Eymis* Secretary, for the like yearly Fee, 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* And further, his Grace doth appoint one Messenger to serve the said Council, who shall give continual attendance upon the said Lord President, and have his Meat, Drink, and Lodging, in the said Lord Presidents House, and to have yearly for his Fee, 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* And further, his Grace's pleasure is, That the said 1000 *l.* for the Lord President, and all the said other Fees, shall be paid yearly at the Feasts of the Annunciation of our *Lady*, and St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel, by even Portions, of the Revenues of his Graces Lands in those parts; and that for that purpose an Assignment and Warrant to be made to the Receiver General of his Grace's Revenues there.

And to furnish the said Lord President and Council in all things with Authority sufficient to execute Justice, as well in Causes Criminal, as in Matters of Controversy between Party and Party, his Majesty hath commanded and appointed two Commissions to be made out, under his Grace's Great Seal of *England*, by virtue whereof they shall have full Power and Authority in either Case, to proceed as the Matter occurrent shall require.

And for the more speedy expedition to be used in all causes of Justice, his Majesty's Pleasure is, That the said Lord President and Council, shall cause every Complainant and Defendant that shall have to do before them, to put and declare their whole Matter in their Bill of Complaint and Answer, without Replication, Rejoinder, or other Plea or Delay to be had or used therein; which Order the said L. President and Council shall manifest unto all such as shall be Councellors in any Matter to be intreated and defined before them; charging and commanding the said Councellors and Pleaders to observe this Order upon such Penalties as they shall think convenient, as they will eschew the danger of the same; and not in any ways to break it, without the special License of the said Lord President, and that only in some special Causes.

And further, his Highness, by these Presents, doth give full Power and Authority to the said Lord President and Council, as well to punish such Persons as in any thing shall neglect, contemn, or disobey their Commandments, or the Process of the Council, as all other that shall speak seditious Words, invent Rumors, or commit such-like Offences, (not being Treason) whereof any Inconvenience might grow, by Pillory, cutting their Ears, wearing of Papers, Imprisonment, or otherwise at their Discretions. And the said L. President and Council, at their discretions, shall appoint Counsellors, and other Requisites, to poor Suitors having no Mony, without paying Fees or other things for the same. And his Highness giveth full Power and Authority to the said L. President & Council being with him, or four of them at the least; whereof the said L. President, Sir *John Hind*, Sir *Edmond Molineux*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, Sir

Sir *Leonard Becquith*, Sir *Anthony Nevill*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, Knights; *Robert Mennell*, and *Robert Chaloner*, to be two with the Lord President, to assess Fines of all Persons that shall be convict or indicted of any Riot, how many soever they be in number, unless the Matter of such Riot shall be thought unto them of such importance, as the same shall be meet to be signified unto his Majesty, to be punished in such sort, by the Order of his Council attending upon his Grace's Person, as the same may be noted for an Example to others. And his Grace giveth full Power and Authority to the said Lord President and Council, or four of them at the least, whereof the Lord President and two others bound to continual Attendance; to be three to Award and Assess Costs and Dammages, as well to the Plaintiffs as to the Defendants, by their discretions, and to award execution of their Decrees and Orders; and to punish the breakers of the same, being Parties thereunto, by their discretions: All which Decrees and Orders, the Secretary shall be bound incontinently, upon the promulgation of the same, to write, or cause to be written, in one fair Book, which shall remain in the hands and custody of the said Lord President.

And to the intent it may appear to all Persons there, what Fees shall be paid and taken for all Processes and Writings to be used by the said Council, his Majesty therefore appointeth, that there shall be a Table affixed in every place where the said Lord President and Council shall sit, at any Sessions; and a like Table to hang openly, that all Men may see it, in the Office where the said Secretary and the Clerks shall commonly sit and expedite the said Writings; wherein shall be declared what shall be paid for the same. That is to say, For every Recognisance, wherein one alone or more standeth bounden: 12 *d.* for the cancelling of every like Recognisance, 12 *d.* For the entring of every Decree, 6 *d.* for the Copy of the same if it be asked, 6 *d.* For every Letter, Commission, Attachment, or other Precept or Process sent to any Person, 4 *d.* For every Dismission before the said Council (if it be asked) 4 *d.* For the Copies of Bills, and Answers, and other Pleas, for every ten lines, reasonably writ, 1 *d.* for the Examination of every Witness, 4 *d.* And his Grace's Pleasure is, That the Examination of Witnesses, produced in Matters before the said Council, shall be examined by such discreet Person and Persons, as shall be thought convenient and meet by the said Lord President, and two of the said Council, bound to continual Attendance; and that the said Lord President, with such-like two of the said Council, shall reform, appoint, and allow such Persons to write Bills, Answers, Copies, or other Process in that Court, as they shall think convenient, over and beside the said Secretary and his two Clerks; which Clerks also, the said Lord President and Council shall reform and correct, as they shall have cause and occasion. In which Reformation and Appointments, the said Lord President shall have a Voice Negative.

And for the more certain and brief determination of Matters in those parts, his Majesty, by these Presents, ordaineth, that the said Lord President and Council shall keep four general Sittings or Sessions in the Year, every of them to continue by the space of one whole Month; whereof one to be at *York*; another at *Kingston* upon *Hull*; one at *New-Castle*; and another at *Duresme*; within the limits whereof,

 the

the Matters rising there shall be ordered and decreed, if they conveniently so may be. And they shall, in every of the same Places, keep one Goal Delivery; before their departure from thence, his Grace nevertheless referring it to their Discretions, to take and appoint such other Place and Places for their said four general Sittings, as they, or the said Lord President, with three of the Council, bounden to continual Attendance, shall think most convenient for the time and purpose; so that they keep the full term of one Month in every such place, if they may in any wise conveniently so do.

And forsomuch as a great number of his Majesty's Tenants and Farmers have been heretofore retained with sundry Persons by Wages, Livery, Badg, or Connysance; by reason whereof, when his Grace should have had service of them, they were rather at Commandment of other Men, than (according to their Duties of Allegiance) of his Highness of whom they have their Livings; his Majesty's Pleasure, and express Commandment is, That none of his said Council, nor others, shall by any means retain or entertain any of his Graces Tenants, or Farmers in such sort, as they, or any of them, should account themselves bounden to do him or them any other Service, than as to his Highness Officers, having Office, or being appointed in Service there: unless the same Farmers and Tenants be continually attendant in the House of him that shall retain them. And the said Lord President and Council, shall, in every their General Sittings, give special notice and charge, That no Nobleman, nor other, shall retain any of the said Tenants and Farmers, otherwise than is aforesaid. Charging also the said Farmers and Tenants, upon pain of the forfeiture of their Farms and Holds, and incurring of his Majesty's further Displeasure and Indignation, in no wise to agree to any such Retainers, other than is beforesaid, but wholly to depend upon his Highness, and upon such as his Highness hath, or shall appoint to be Officers, Rulers, or Directors over them.

And his Grace's Pleasure further is, That in every such Sitting, and in all other Places where the said Lord President and Council shall have any notable Assemblies before them, they shall give strait Charge and Commandment to the People, to conform themselves in all things to the observation of such Laws, Ordinances, and Determinations, as be made, passed, and agreed upon by his Grace's Parliament touching Religion, and the most Godly Service, set forth in their own Mother Tongue, for their Comforts: And likewise to the Laws touching the abolishing of the usurped and pretended Power of the Bishop of *Rome* whose Abuses they shall so beat into their Heads, by continual inculcation, as they may smell and understand the same; and may perceive the same to be declared with their Hearts, and not with their Tongues only for a form.

And likewise they shall declare the Order and Determination taken and agreed upon, for the Abrogation of certain vain Holy Days, being appointed by the Bishop of *Rome* to blind the World; and to persuade the same, that they might make Saints at their pleasures; and thereby, through idleness, do give occasion of the increase of many and great Vices and Inconveniences: which Points his Majesty doth earnestly require, and straitly command, the said Lord President and Council, to set forth with

with all dexterity, and to punish extreamly, for example, all Offenders in the same.

And his Majesty willeth the said Council, as he doubteth not but they will most earnestly set forth all such other Things and Matters, as for the confirmation of the People in those Matters, and other the King's Majesty's Proceedings, and things convenient to be remembred, be, or shall be set forth or devised, and sent unto them for that purpose.

Further, his Highness Pleasure is, That the said Lord President and Council shall, from time to time, make diligent inquisition of the wrongful taking in and inclosing of Commons, and other Grounds, and who be extream therein; and in taking and exacting of unreasonable Fines and Gressomes, and overing or raising of Rents; and to call the Parties that have so evil used themselves therein before them; and leaving all Respects and Affections apart, they shall take such order for the Redresses of Enormities used in the same, as the poor People be not oppressed; but that they may live after their Sorts and Qualities.

And if it shall chance that the said Lord President and Council shall vary in Opinion, either in the Law, or for any Order to be taken in any Matter or Fact before them, if the case be of very great Weight and Importance, then the Opinion of the greater, or more part of the number of Counsellors appointed to give continual attendance, shall take place, and determine the Doubt; and if they be of like like number of Counsellors, bounden to continual Attendance, then that Party whereunto the Lord President shall give his Assent, shall be followed and take place. And if the Case and Matter be of great Importance, and the Question of the Law, then the Lord President and Council shall signify the Case and Matter to the Judges at *Westminster*, who shall, with diligence, advertise them again of their Opinions therein. And if the Matter be of great Importance, and an Order to be taken upon the Fact, then the said Lord President and Council, attendant upon his Person upon the same, whereupon they shall have knowledg again how to use themselves in that behalf.

And the said Lord President and Council shall take special regard, upon complaint of Spoil, Extortions, or Oppressions, to examine the same speedily, that the Party grieved may have due and undelayed Remedy and Restitution. And for want of Ability in the Offenders thereunto, they to be punished to the Example of others. And if any Man, of what degree soever he be, shall, upon a good, lawful, and reasonable Cause or Matter, and so appearing to the Lord President and Council, by Information, or otherwise, demand Surety of Peace or Justice against any great Lord or Nobleman of that Country, the said Lord President and Council shall, in that case, grant the Petition of the poorest Man, against the richest or greatest Lord, being of the Council or no, as they should grant the same (being lawfully asked) against Men of the meanest sort, degree, and behaviour.

And forasmuch as it may chance, the said Lord President to be sometime diseased, that he shall not be able to travel, for the direction of such Matters as then shall occur; or to be called to the Parliament, or other-

wise to be imploied in the King's Majesty's Affairs, or about other Business, for good Reformation or Order within his Rule, or for other reasonable cause by his discretion; To the intent therefore that the said Council may be and remain ever full and perfect, and that they may be at all times in the same, one Person to direct and use all things in such and the same order, sort, and form, as the said Lord President should and might do, by virtue of the afore-said's Commissions, and these Instructions, his Majesty's Pleasure is, That when the said Lord President shall be so diseased, absent, or letted, as is before-said, that he cannot conveniently supply his room himself, that then he shall name and appoint one of the said Commissioners, being appointed, to give continual attendance to supply his Room for that season, during his said Disease, Absence, or Lett; and shall deliver the Signet to the Person so appointed to keep, during the same time. And the King's Highness, during the same time, giveth unto the said Person so appointed, the Name of Vice-President; which Name nevertheless he shall no longer continue, than during the time that the said Lord President shall so be sick, absent, or letted, as is before-said. And his Majesty's Pleasure is, That for the time only, that any of the said Council, as is before-said, shall occupy the said Room and Place as a Vice-President, that all the rest of the Council shall in all things use him in like sort, and with like reverence, as they be bound by those Injunctions to use the Lord President himself; whereunto his Grace doubteth not but every of them will conform themselves accordingly.

And further, his Majesty by these Presents giveth full Power and Authority to the said Lord President and Council, That when the Condition of any Recognisance taken before them shall be fulfilled, they shall in open Court cause the same to be cancelled for the discharge of the Parties: Provided that no Recognisance be in any wise cancelled but before the Lord President, or Vice-President, and three others at the least, sitting in open Court with him.

And further, his Highness ordaineth, That no Attorney shall take, in one Sitting or Sessions, for one Matter, above 12 *d.* nor no Counsellor above 20 *d.*

The rest are wanting.

Number

Number 57.

The Memorial of the Charge committed by the King's Majesty to Sir Richard Morison *Kt. his Majesty's Ambassador with the Emperor, the 24th of* September.

An Original.

FIrst, You Sir *Richard Morison* ſhall, with all diligence, procure Audience of our good Brother the Emperor; and at your acceſs to him, deliver our Letters of Credence herewith ſent to you, with our moſt hearty Commendations, and earneſt Declaration, That we be moſt glad to have underſtanding of his good Eſtate and Health. After the ſame Delivery and Salutation, you ſhall further ſay, That We underſtanding his good and honourable Advancement towards his *Low Countries*, to the great comfort of the ſame. And having alſo the ſame love and good-will towards the proſperous ſucceſs of his ſaid Countries, that our late Father, and our other Progenitors have had theſe many Years paſſed, have willed you expreſly in our Names, to congratulate this his coming thitherward, and to ſhew him, that the good Succeſs which We wiſh to him, and his Affairs and Enterpriſes, is as much as We would to our Selves, and our own Countries and Patrimonies. *Galba.E.1?.*

Item. When you ſhall have opened thus much, with as good words as you may deviſe, ye ſhall begin to deſcend to this that followeth, uſing therein your earneſtneſs and frankneſs, as ye ſhall ſee by the former ſayings, occaſion given to you by our ſaid Brother's Acceptation thereof, either by his good Words, or other behaviour in his Geſture. Ye ſhall ſay, that where we have lately underſtood of the great Murders, Spoils, and Cruelties done and committed, both in *Hungary*, and upon the Coaſts of *Naples*, and in other parts of *Italy*, by the Turks, the old common Enemy, to the Name and Religion of all Chriſtianity. Likeas We cannot but from our very Heart lament the ſame, ſo We will, for our part, as may be thought expedient for the well-publick of Chriſtendom, ſhew our ſelf willing to accord with our ſaid good Brother, and other Chriſtian Princes and States, for the repulſe of the ſaid Turk. And if any ſuch good means may, by the great Wiſdom and policy of our ſaid good Brother the Emperor, be thought good and deviſed, to bring the ſame to ſome good purpoſe and effect; We for our part will ſhew our Self ſo ready and well-willing thereto, as our ſaid good Brother ſhall well perceive, that We have not only that Zeal to the Conſervation and Surety of Chriſtendom, which in a Chriſtian Prince is duly required; but alſo ſuch conſideration and regard to our ſaid good Brother, and our ancient Amity with the Houſe of *Burgundy*, as to Honour and Reaſon appertaineth.

Thus much being declared in ſuch good ſort, as you ſhall ſee occaſion doth require; We would that you ſhould ſtay and pauſe awhile, as it were, looking for ſome anſwer to be made hereto by our ſaid good Brother;

Brother; and if you ſhall perceive he taketh it in thankful part, then may you entertain the Talk modeſtly, with ſuch good words as may ſeem to your wiſdom beſt to confirm our good Affection to the continuance of the Amity, and our great Offence and Grief, with the entry of the Turks in Chriſtendom.

And if you ſhall perceive that the Emperor doth in ſo good part receive this our Overture, that he ſhall ſhew himſelf willing to enter any further Talk, or deviſe for the further proceeding in the ſame, you may, as of your ſelf, ſhew your readineſs and good-will to do all that you any ways well may, as a good Miniſter, for the bringing this Purpoſe to ſome profitable effect; which you may ſay, in your own Opinion, ſhall the better take good entry and ſucceſs, if by ſome ſpecial Man to be ſent hither, We might underſtand more fully Our ſaid good Brother's Mind in this Matter.

Item. If ye ſhall perceive that the Emperor doth not regard this Overture, either in not liking the Matter it ſelf, or not ſo regarding our Amity as Reaſon would, and as it is on our part offered, then may you uſe your ſelf, more coldly, and diminiſh the declaration of Our earneſtneſs, in like ſort as Our ſaid Brother ſheweth himſelf; and conclude, that thus having done the Meſſage committed to your Charge, you will leave the conſideration hereof to him as he ſhall think good.

And if in the opening of the Premiſes, Our ſaid Brother ſhall make any mention or interpretation againſt the French King, referring the Turks Invaſions to the ſaid French King as ſome occaſion thereof; and ſo ſhall demand directly or indirectly, whether this our Overture be meant to extend againſt the French King, or any others of Chriſtian Name that ſhall join in League or Amity with the ſaid Turks. You may thereto ſay, That you had no more in charge preſently than ye have ſaid; and therefore for further opening of our Mind therein, you think the ſame might be beſt had here.

And if at any time of this your Talk, our ſaid Brother ſhall gather occaſion to ask you, What We will do for giving Aid againſt theſe Invaſions made by the French King upon the *Low Countries?* You may anſwer, you have nothing to ſay therein, but that you think the Anſwer that was declared to his Ambaſſador here reſident upon the Letters ſent to Us from our good Siſter the Queen of *Hungary*, hath both been ſignified to him long before his time; and alſo as ye truſt in reaſon contented Her. And in this Point, although ye know what was anſwered, yet would we not ye ſhould enter into the diſpute thereof, meaning in this and the reſt of things to be treated with our ſaid Brother, that ye would rather procure the ſending of ſome ſpecial Man hither, than to treat any thing by his Ambaſſador here, who hitherto hath not appeared the fitteſt Man to encreaſe or enlarge the Amity betwixt Us and our ſaid Brother.

Finally, Our Pleaſure is, That you ſhall, in the execution of this preſent Charge, wholly extend your good Policy and Wiſdom, to mark and well-adviſe all ſuch words of moment, as the Emperor ſhall utter to you in this Talk, by what Order, Behaviour, Geſture, or other paſſion of Joy or Grief the ſame ſhall be ſpoken, ſo as We may ſimply,

simply, plainly, and very orderly have the true Declaration thereof from you; wherein We desire so express and special a report of this Matter, as upon the same We may better conceive what shall be expedient, to be further done in this and other our weighty Affairs.

Winchester.	*W. Northampton.*
Northumberland.	*J. Cobham.*
J. Bedford.	*T. Darcy.*
F. Huntingdon.	*Richard Cotton.*
E. Clinton.	*John Gate.*

Number 58.

A Letter written by *B. Ridley*, setting out the Sins of that Time.

To his Well-beloved, the Preachers within the Dioceß of London.

After hearty Commendations, having regard, especially at this time, to the Wrath of God, who hath plagued us diversly, and now with extream punishment of sudden Death poured upon us, for Causes certain, known unto his high and secret Judgment, and as may seem unto Man for our wicked living; daily encreasing unto such sort, that not only in our Conversations the Fear of God is, alas, far gone from before our Eyes, but also the World is grown into that uncharitableness, that one, as it appeareth plainly, goeth about to devour another; moved with insatiable Covetousness, both contrary to God's Word and Will, and to the extream peril and damnation of Christ's Flock, bought so dearly with his precious Blood, and to the utter destruction of this whole Common Wealth, except God's Anger be shortly appeased: wherein, as according to my bounden Duty I shall, God willing, in my own Person be diligent and labour; so I exhort and require you, first in God's Name, and by authority of him committed unto me in that behalf, and also in the King's Majesty's Name, from whom I have Authority and special Commandment thus to do, That as you are called to be setters forth of God's Word, and to express in your livings the same, so now in your Exhortations and Sermons, you do most wholsomely and earnestly tell unto Men their Sins, *Juxta illud annuncia populo meo scelera eorum*, with God's punishments lately poured upon us for the same, now before our Eyes: and specially to beat down and destroy, with all your Power and Wit, that greedy and devouring Serpent of Covetousness, that doth so now universally reign: calling upon God for Repentance, and provoking to Common Prayer, and amendment of life, with most earnest Petitions, that hereby God's Hands may be staied, the World amended, and obedience of Subjects, and faithfulness of Ministers declared accordingly. Thus I bid you heartily well to fare. From *London*, *July* 25. 1551. Regist. *Ridl.* Fol. 239.

Yours in Christ, *Nic. London.*

Number

Number 59.

Bishop Ridley's *Letter to the Protector, concerning the Visitation of the University of* Cambridg.

Right Honourable,

I Wish your Grace the holy and wholsome Fear of God, because I am persuaded your Grace's Goodness to be such unfeignedly, that even wherein your Grace's Letters doth sore blame me, yet in the same the advertisement of the Truth shall not displease your Grace; and also perceiving that the cause of your Grace's discontentation was wrong Information, therefore I shall beseech your Grace to give me leave to shew your Grace, wherein it appeareth to me that your Grace is wrong informed.

Your Grace's Letters blameth me, because I did not (at the first, before the Visitation began, having knowledg of the Matter) shew my Mind; the Truth is, Before God, I never had, nor could get any fore-knowledg of the Matter, of the uniting of the two Colleges, before we had begun, and had entred two days in the Visitation, and that your Grace may plainly thus well perceive.

A little before *Easter*, I being at *Rochester*, received Letters from Mr. Secretary *Smith*, and the Dean of *Pauls*, to come to the Visitation of the University, and to make a Sermon at the beginning thereof; whereupon I sent immediately a Servant up to *London*, to the Dean of *Pauls*, desiring of him to have had some knowledg of things there to be done, because I thought it meet that my Sermon should somewhat have savoured of the same.

From Mr. *Dean* I received a Letter, instructing me only, That the cause of the Visitation was, to abolish Statutes and Ordinances, which maintained Papistry, Superstition, Blindness and Ignorance; and to establish and set forth, such as might further God's Word and good Learning; and else, the Truth is, he would shew me nothing, but bad me be careless, and said, There was Informations how all things was for to be done; the which, I take God to Witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledg what they were, before we were entred in the Visitation two days, although I desired to have seen them in the beginning.

Now, when I had seen the Instructions, the Truth is, I thought peradventure, the Master and Company would have surrendred up their College; but when their consent, after labour and travel taken therein two dayes, could not be obtained, and then we began secretly to consult (all the Commissioners thinking it best that every Man should say his Mind plainly, that in execution there might appear but one way to be taken of all) there when it was seen to some, that without the consent of the present Incumbents, by the King's absolute Power, we might proceed to the uniting of the two Colleges, I did, in my course simply and plainly declare my Conscience, and that there only secretly, among our selves alone, with all kind of softness, so that no Man could be justly

justly offended. Also, I perceive, by your Grace's Letters, I have been noted of some for my barking there; and yet to bark, lest God should be offended, I cannot deny, but indeed it is a part of my Profession; for God's Word condemneth the dumb Dogs that will not bark and give warning of God's Displeasure.

As for that that was suggested to your Grace, that by my aforesaid barking, I should dishonour the King's Majesty, and dissuade others from the Execution of the King's Commission, God is my Judg, I intended, according to my Duty to God & the King, the maintenance and defence of his Highness Royal Honour and Dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, which the Prophet saith, *Honor Regis Judicium diligit*; and as the Commissioners must needs, and I am sure will all testify, that I dissuaded no Man, but contrariwise, exhorted every Man (with the quiet of other) to satisfy their own Conscience; desiring only, that if it should otherwise be seen unto them, that I might, either by my absence or silence, satisfy mine. The which my plainness, when some, otherwise than according to my expectation did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the good Opinion I had, and yet have, in your Grace's Goodness; and also specially, because your Grace had commanded me so to do) to open my mind, by my private Letters, freely unto your Grace.

And thus I trust your Grace perceiveth now, both that anon, after knowledg had, I did utter my Conscience; and also that the Matter was not opened unto me before the Visitation was two days begun.

If in this I did amiss, that before the knowledg of the Instructions, I was ready to grant to the Execution of the Commission; Truly, I had rather herein acknowledg my Fault, and submit my self to your Grace's Correction, then, after knowledg had, then wittingly and willingly commit that thing whereunto my Conscience doth not agree, for fear of God's displeasure.

It is a Godly Wish that is wished in your Grace's Letters, that Flesh, and Blood, and Country, might not more weigh with some Men than Godliness and Reason; but the truth is, Country in this Matter (whatsoever some Men do suggest unto your Grace) shall not move me; and that your Grace shall well perceive, for I shall be as ready, as any other, first thence to expel some of my own Country, if the Report which is made of them can be tried true.

And as for that your Grace saith of Flesh and Blood, that is the favour or fear of Mortal Man. Yea, marry Sir, that is a Matter of weight indeed, and the truth is, (alas my own feebleness) of that I am afraid; but I beseech your Grace, yet once again, give me good leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confess the Truth.

Before God, there is no Man this day, (leaving the King's Majesty for the Honour only excepted) whose favour or displeasure I do either seek or fear, as your Grace's favour or displeasure; for of God, both your Grace's Authority, and my bound Duty for your Grace's Benefits bind me so to do. So that if the desire of any Man's favour, or fear of displeasure, should weigh more with me than Godliness and Reason.

Truly, if I may be bold to ſay the Truth, I muſt needs ſay, that I am moſt in danger to offend herein, either for deſire of your Grace's favour, or for fear of your Grace's diſpleaſure. And yet I ſhall not ceaſe (God willing) daily to pray God ſo to ſtay and ſtrengthen my frailty with holy Fear, that I do not commit the thing for favour or fear of any Mortal Man, whereby my Conſcience may threaten me with the loſs of the favour of the Living God, but that it may pleaſe him, of his gracious Goodneſs, (howſoever the World goes) to blow this in the Ears of my Heart, *Deus diſſipavit oſſa eorum qui Hominibus placuerint*. And this, *Horrendum eſt incidere in manus Dei viventis.* And again, *Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus.*

Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Grace, for God's Love, not to be offended with me, for renuing of this my Suit unto your Grace, which is that whereunto my Conſcience cannot well agree; if any ſuch thing chance in this Viſitation, I may, with your Grace's Favour, have licenſe, either by mine abſence or ſilence, or other-like means, to keep my Conſcience quiet. I wiſh your Grace, in God, honour, and endleſs felicity, From *Pembrook-Hall* in *Cambridg*, *June* 1. 1549.

Your Grace's humble and daily Orator,

Nich. Roſſen.

Number 60.

The Protector's Anſwer to the former Letter.

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

AFter our right hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip, we have received your Letters of the firſt of *June*, again replying to thoſe which we laſt ſent unto you. And as it appeareth, ye yet remaining in your former Requeſt, deſires, if things do occur ſo, that, according to your Conſcience, ye cannot do them, that you might abſent your ſelf, or otherwiſe keep ſilence. We would be loth any thing ſhould be done by the King's Majeſty's Viſitors, otherwiſe than Right and Conſcience might allow and approve: And Viſitation is to direct things to the better, not to the worſe; to eaſe Conſciences, not to clog them. Marry, we would wiſh that Executors thereof ſhould not be ſcrupulous in Conſcience, otherwiſe than Reaſon would. Againſt your Conſcience, it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly do, or move any Man to that which is againſt Right and Conſcience; and we truſt the King's Majeſty hath not in this Matter. And we think in this ye do much wrong, and much diſcredit the other Viſitors, that ye ſhould ſeem to think and ſuppoſe, that they would do things againſt Conſcience. We take them to be Men of that Honour and Honeſty, that they will not. My Lord of *Canterbury* hath declared unto us, that this maketh partly a Conſcience unto you, that Divines ſhould be diminiſhed. That can be no cauſe; for, firſt, the ſame was met before in the late King's Time, to unite the two Colleges together; as we are ſure ye have heard, and Sir *Edward North* can tell:

And for that cauſe, all ſuch as were Students of the Law, out of the new-erected Cathedral Church, were diſappointed of their Livings, only reſerved to have been in that Civil College. The King's Hall being in manner all Lawyers, Canoniſts were turned and joined to *Michael*-Houſe, and made a College of Divines, wherewith the number of Divines was much augmented, Civillians diminiſhed. Now at this preſent alſo, if in all other Colleges, where Lawyers be by the Statutes, or the King's Injunctions, ye do convert them, or the more part of them, to Divines, ye ſhall rather have more Divines upon this change than ye had before. The *King*'s College ſhould have ſix Lawyers; *Jeſus* College ſome; the *Queen*'s College, and other, one or two apiece. And as we are informed, by the late King's Injunctions, every College in *Cambridg* one at the leaſt; all theſe together do make a greater in number, than the Fellows of *Clare-Hall* be, and they now made Divines, and the Statutes in that reformed Divinity ſhall not be diminiſhed in number of Students, but encreaſed, as appeareth, although theſe two Colleges be ſo united. And we are ſure ye are not ignorant, how neceſſary a Study that Study of Civil Law is to all Treaties with Forreign Princes and Strangers, and how few there be at this preſent to do the King's Majeſty's Service therein. For we would the encreaſe of Divines, as well as you. Marry, Neceſſity compelleth us alſo to maintain the Science; and we require you, my Lord, to have conſideration how much you do hinder the King's Majeſty's Proceedings in that Viſitation, if now you, who are one of the Viſitors, ſhould thus draw back and diſcourage the other, ye ſhould much hinder the whole Doings; and peradventure that thing known, maketh the Maſter and Fellows of *Clare-Hall* to ſtand the more obſtinate; wherefore we require you to have regard of the King's Majeſty's Honour, and the quiet performings of that Viſitation, moſt to the Glory of God, and Benefit of that Univerſity; the which thing is only meant in your Inſtructions. To the performing of that, and in that manner, we can be content you uſe your Doings as ye think beſt, for the quieting of your Conſcience. Thus we bid you right-heartily farewel. From *Richmond*, the 10*th* of *June*, 1549.

Your loving Friend,

E. Somerſet.

Number 61.

A Letter of Cranmer's *to King* Henry *the* 8*th, concerning a further Reformation, and against Sacrilege.*

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

IT may please your Highness to be advertised; that forasmuch as I might not tarry my self at *London*, because I had appointed, the next day after that I departed from your Majesty, to be at *Rochester*, to meet the next Morning all the Commissioners of *Kent* at *Sittingbourn*; therefore the same Night that I returned from *Hampton-Court* to *Lambeth*, I sent for the Bishop of *Worcester* incontinently, and declared unto him all your Majesty's Pleasure, in such things as your Majesty willed me to be done. And first, where your Majesty's Pleasure was, to have the Names of such Persons as your Highness, in times past, appointed to make Laws Ecclesiastical for your Grace's Realm. The Bishop of *Worcester* promised me, with all speed, to enquire out their Names, and the Book which they made, and to bring the Names, and also the Book, unto your Majesty; which I trust he hath done before this time.

And as concerning the ringing of Bells upon *Alhallow*-day at Night, and covering of Images in *Lent*, and creeping to the Cross, he thought it necessary that a Letter of your Majesty's Pleasure therein, should be sent by your Grace unto the two Arch-Bishops; and we to send the same to all other Prelats within your Grace's Realm. And if it be your Majesty's Pleasure so to do, I have for more speed herein drawn a Minute of a Letter, which your Majesty may alter at your Pleasure. Nevertheless, in my Opinion, when such things be altered or taken away, there would be set forth some Doctrine therewith, which should declare the Cause of the Abolishing or Alteration, for to satisfy the Conscience of the People: For if the Honouring of the Cross, as creeping and kneeling thereunto be taken away, it shall seem to many that be ignorant, that the Honour of Christ is taken away, unless some good teaching be set forth withal to instruct them sufficiently therein; which if your Majesty command the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester*, with other your Grace's Chaplains to make, the People shall obey your Majesty's Commandment willingly; giving thanks to your Majesty that they know the Truth, which else they would obey with murmuration and grutching. And it shall be a satisfaction unto all other Nations, when they shall see your Majesty do nothing but by the Authority of God's Word, and to the setting forth of God's Honour, and not diminishing thereof. And thus Almighty God keep your Majesty in his Preservation and Governance. From my Mannor at *Beckisbourn*, the 24*th* of *January*, 45.

Your Graces most bounden Chaplain

and Beadsman.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

I Beseech your Majesty, that I may be a Suitor unto the same, for your Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*; who to their great unquietness, and also great Charges, do alienate their Lands daily, and as it is said, by your Majesty's Commandment. But this I am sure, that other Men have gotten their best Lands, and not your Majesty. Wherefore this is mine only Suit, That when your Majesty's Pleasure shall be to have any of their Lands, that they may have some Letter from your Majesty, to declare your Majesty's Pleasure, without the which they be sworn, that they shall make no Alienation. And that the same Alienation be not made at other Mens pleasures, but only to your Majesty's Use. For now every Man that list to have any of their Lands, make suit to get it into your Majesty's Hands; not that your Majesty should keep the same, but by Sale, or Gift from your Majesty, to translate it from your Grace's Cathedral Church unto themselves.

T. Cantuarien.

The Draught of a Letter which the King sent to Cranmer, *against some superstitious Practices.*

To the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

FOrasmuch as you, as well in your own Name, as in the Name of the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester*, and other our Chaplains and Learned Men, whom We appointed with you to peruse certain Books of Service, which We delivered unto you, moved Us, that the Vigil, and ringing of Bells all the Night long upon *Alhallow*-day at Night, and the covering of Images in the Church in the time of *Lent*, with the lifting up the Veil that covereth the Cross upon *Palm-Sunday*, with the kneeling to the Cross at the same time, might be abolished and put away, for the Superstition, and other Enormities and Abuses of the same. First, Forasmuch as all the Vigils of our Lady, and the Apostles, and all other Vigils, which in the beginning of the Church were Godly used; yet for the manifold Superstition and Abuses which after did grow, by means of the same, they be many Years past taken away throughout all Christendom, and there remaineth nothing but the name of the Vigil in the *Calendar*, the thing clearly abolished and put away, saving only upon *Alhallows*-day at Night; upon which Night is kept Vigil, Watching, and ringing of Bells all the Night long. Forasmuch as that Vigil is abused as other Vigils were, Our pleasure is, as you require, That the said Vigil shall be abolished as the other be, and that there shall be no watching, nor ringing, but as be commonly used upon other Holy-days at Night. We be contented and pleased also, That the Images in Churches shall not be covered, as hath been accustomed in times past; nor no Veil upon the Cross; nor no kneeling thereto upon *Palm-Sunday*, nor any other

time.

time. And forasmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the Cross, which is a greater abuse than any of the other; for there you say, *Crucem tuam adoramus Domine*; and the Ordinal saith, *Procedant Clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus*: And after followeth in the same Ordinal, *Ponatur Crux ante aliquod Altare, ubi a populo adoretur*; which by your own Book, called, *A Necessary Doctrine*, is against the Second Commandment. Therefore Our Pleasure is, That the said creeping to the Cross shall likewise cease from hence-forth, and be abolished, with the other Abuses before rehearsed. And this We will, and straitly command you, to signify unto all the Prelats and Bishops of your Province of *Canterbury*, charging them, in Our Name, to see the same executed, every one in his Dioceß, accordingly.

FINIS.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

BOOK II.

Number 1.

The Proclamation of Lady Jane Grayes *Title to the Crown.*

JANE, by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of *England*, and also of *Ireland*; under Christ in Earth the Supream Head. To all our most Loving, Faithful, and Obedient Subjects, and to every of them, Greeting. Whereas our most dear Cousin *Edward* the *6th*, late King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; and in Earth, Supream Head, under Christ, of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*; by his Letters Patents, signed with his own Hand, and sealed with his Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the 21*st* day of *June*, in the seventh Year of his Reign; in the presence of the most part of his Nobles, his Councellors, Judges, and divers other grave and sage Personages, for the profit and surety of the whole Realm, thereto assenting and subscribing their Names to the same, hath, by the same his Letter Patents, recited, That forasmuch as the Imperial Crown of this Realm, by an Act made in the 35*th* Year of the Reign of the late King, of worthy memory, King *Henry* the 8*th*, our Progenitor, and great Uncle, was, for lack of Issue of his Body, lawfully begotten; and for lack of Issue of the Body of our said late Cousin King *Edward* the *6th*, by the same Act, limited and appointed to remain to the Lady *Mary* his eldest Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten: And for default of such Issue, the Remainder thereof to the Lady *Elizabeth*, by the Name of the Lady *Elizabeth* his second Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; with such Conditions as should be limited and appointed by the said late King of worthy memory, King *Henry*

Henry the 8*th*, our Progenitor, our Great Uncle, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his last Will in writing, signed with his Hand. And forasmuch as the said Limitation of the Imperial Crown of this Realm being limited, as is afore-said, to the said Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the Marriage had, between the said late King, King *Henry* the 8*th*, our Progenitor, and Great Uncle, and the Lady *Katherine*, Mother to the said Lady *Mary*; and also the Marriage had between the said late King, King *Henry* the 8*th*, our Progenitor, and Great Uncle, and the Lady *Ann*, Mother to the said Lady *Elizabeth*, were clearly and lawfully undone, by Sentences of Divorce, according to the Word of God, and the Ecclesiastical Laws; and which said several Divorcements, have been severally ratified and confirmed by Authority of Parliament, and especially in the 28*th* Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*, our said Progenitor, and Great Uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby, as well the said Lady *Mary*, as also the said Lady *Elizabeth*, to all intents and purposes, are, and been clearly disabled, to ask, claim, or challenge the said Imperial Crown, or any other of the Honours, Castles, Manours, Lordships, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, as Heir or Heirs to our said late Cousin King *Edward* the 6*th*, or as Heir or Heirs to any other Person or Persons whatsoever, as well for the Cause before rehearsed, as also for that the said Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, were unto our said late Cousin but of the half Blood, and therefore by the Ancient Laws, Statutes, and Customs of this Realm, be not inheritable unto our said late Cousin, although they had been born in lawful Matrimony; as indeed they were not, as by the said Sentences of Divorce, and the said Statute of the 28*th* Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*, our said Progenitor and Great Uncle, plainly appeareth. And forasmuch also, as it is to be thought, or at the least much to be doubted, that if the said Lady *Mary*, or Lady *Elizabeth*, should hereafter have, or enjoy the said Imperial Crown of this Realm, and should then happen to marry with any Stranger born out of this Realm, that then the said Stranger, having the Government and Imperial Crown in his Hands, would adhere and practise, not only to bring this Noble, Free Realm into the Tyranny and Servitude of the Bishops of *Rome*, but also to have the Laws and Customs of his or their own Native Country or Countries, to be practised and put in ure within this Realm, rather than the Laws, Statutes, and Customs here of long time used; whereupon the Title of Inheritance, of all and singular the Subjects of this Realm do depend, to the peril of Conscience, and the utter subversion of the Common-Weal of this Realm: Whereupon our said late dear Cousin, weighing and considering within himself, which ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said Succession, in the said Imperial Crown, if it should please God to call our said late Cousin out of this transitory Life, having no Issue of his Body. And calling to his remembrance, that We, and the Lady *Katharine*, and the Lady *Mary*, our Sisters (being the Daughters of the Lady *Frances*, our natural Mother, and then, and yet, Wife to our natural and most loving Father, *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*; and the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of the Lady *Elianor*, then deceased, Sister

to

to the said Lady *Frances*, and the late Wife of our Cousin *Henry* Earl of *Cumberland*) were very nigh of his Graces Blood, of the part of his Fathers side, our said Progenitor, and great Uncle; and being naturally born here, within the Realm. And for the very good Opinion our said late Cousin had of our said Sisters and Cousin *Margarets* good Education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had, and taken, by his said Letters Patents, declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself, our said late Cousin King *Edward* the Sixth, to decease, having no Issue of his Body lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Confines of the same, and his Title to the Crown of the Realm of *France*, and all and singular Honours, Castles, Prerogatives, Privileges, Preheminencies, and Authorities, Jurisdictions, Dominions, Possessions, and Hereditaments, to our said late Cousin K. *Edward* the Sixth, or to the said Imperial Crown belonging, or in any wise appertaining, should, for lack of such Issue of his Body, remain, come, and be to the eldest Son of the Body of the said Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in his Life-time, and to the Heirs Males of the Body of such eldest Son lawfully begotten; and so from Son to Son, as he should be of vicinity of Birth of the Body of the said Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in our said late Cousins Life-time, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of every such Son lawfully begotten. And for default of such Son born into the World in his life-time, of the Body of the said Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten; and for lack of Heirs Males of every such Son lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all and singular other the Premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the Name of the Lady *Jane*, eldest Daughter of the said Lady *Frances*, and to the Heirs Males of our Body lawfully begotten; and for lack of such Issue, then to the Lady *Katherine* aforesaid, our said second Sister, and the Heirs Male of her Body lawfully begotten, with divers other Remainders, as by the same Letters Patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithence the making of our Letters Patents, that is to say, on *Thursday*, which was the *6th* day of this instant Month of *July*, it hath pleased God to call unto his infinite Mercy, our said most dear and entirely beloved Cousin, *Edward* the Sixth, whose Soul God pardon; and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no Heirs of his Body begotten; and that also there remaineth at this present time no Heirs lawfully begotten, of the Body of our said Progenitor, and great Uncle, King *Henry* the Eighth; And forasmuch also as the said Lady *Frances*, our said Mother, had no Issue Male begotten of her Body, and born into the World, in the life-time of our said Cousin King *Edward* the Sixth, so as the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining, now be, and remain to us, in our Actual and Royal Possession, by Authority of the said Letters Patents: We do therefore by these Presents signify, unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects, That like-as we for our part shall, by God's Grace, shew our Self a most gracious and benign Soveraign Queen and Lady to all our good Subjects, in all their just and lawful Suits and Causes; and to the uttermost of our Power, shall preserve and maintain God's

most Holy Word, Christian Policy, and the good Laws, Customs, and Liberties of these our Realms and Dominions: so we mistrust not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all Times, and in all Cases, shew themselves unto Us, their natural Liege Queen and Lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient Subjects, according to their bounden Duties and Allegiance, whereby they shall please God, and do the things that shall tend to their own preservation and sureties; willing and commanding all Men, of all Estates, Degrees, and Conditions, to see our Peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our Laws, as they tender our Favour, and will answer for the contrary at their extream Perils. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witness our Self, at our *Tower* of *London*, the tenth day of *July*, in the first Year of our Reign.

God save the Queen.

Number 2.

A Letter sent by Queen Katherine, *to the Lady* Mary *her Daughter.*

Ex MS. *Norfolcianis* in Col. *Gresham.*

DAughter, I heard such tidings this day, that I do perceive (if it be true) the time is near that Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very glad of it, for I trust that he doth handle you with a good Love; I beseech you agree to his Pleasure with a merry Heart, and be you sure, that without fail he will not suffer you to perish, if you beware to offend him. I pray God, you good Daughter, to offer your self to him; if any pangs come to you, shrive your self, first make your self clean; take heed of his Commandments, and keep them as near as he will give you Grace to do, for then are you sure armed. And if this Lady do come to you, as it is spoken, if she do bring you a Letter from the King, I am sure, in the self-same Letter, you shall be commanded what you shall do. Answer you with few words, obeying the King your Father in every thing, save only that you will not offend God, and lose your Soul, and go no further with Learning and Disputation in the Matter; and wheresoever, and in whatsoever Company you shall come, obey the King's Commandments, speak few words, and meddle nothing. I will send you two Books in Latin, one shall be, *de Vita Christi*, with the Declaration of the Gospels; and the other, the Epistles of St. *Hierome*, that he did write always to *Paula* and *Eustochium*, and in them trust you shall see good things. And sometimes, for your Recreation, use your Virginals, or Lute, if you have any. But one thing specially I desire you, for the love that you owe unto God and unto me, to keep your Heart with a chaste Mind, and your Body from all ill and wanton Company, not thinking nor desiring any Husband, for Christ's Passion; neither determine your self to any manner of living, until this troublesome time be past, for I dare make you sure, that you shall see a very good end, and better than you can desire. I would God, good Daughter, that you

you did know with how good a Heart I do write this Letter unto you: I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well, that God loveth you, I beseech him of his goodness to continue it: And if it shall fortune that you shall have no Body to be with you of your Acquaintance, I think it best you keep your Keys your self, for whosoever it is, so shall be done as shall please them. And now you shall begin, and by likelihood I shall follow, I set not a rush by it, for when they have done the uttermost they can, then I am sure of the amendment. I pray you recommend me unto my good Lady of *Salisbury*, and pray her to have a good Heart, for we never come to the Kingdom of Heaven, but by Troubles. Daughter, wheresoever you become, take no pain to send to me, for if I may I will send to you.

By your loving Mother,

Katherine the Queen.

Number 3.

A humble Submission made by Queen Mary *to her Father.* Anno 1536.

An Original.

MOst humbly prostrate before the Feet of your most excellent Majesty, your most humble, faithful, and obedient Subject, which hath so extreamly offended your most gracious Highness, that mine heavy and fearful Heart dare not presume to call you Father, nor your Majesty hath any cause by my deserts, saving the benignity of your most blessed Nature, doth surmount all Evils, Offences, and Trespasses, and is ever merciful and ready to accept the Penitent, calling for Grace in any convenient time. Having received, this *Thursday* at Night, certain Letters from Mr. Secretary, as well advising me to make my humble submission immediately to your Self; which because I durst not, without your gracious License, presume to do before, I lately sent unto him; as signifying that your most merciful Heart, and fatherly Pity, had granted me your Blessing, with condition, that I should persevere in that I had commenced and begun, and that I should not eft-soons offend your Majesty by the denial or refusal of any such Articles and Commandments, as it may please your Highness to address unto me, for the perfect trial of my Heart and inward Affection. For the perfect declaration of the bottom of my Heart and Stomach.

Cotton Libr. *Otho*.C.20.

First, I acknowledg my self to have most unkindly and unnaturally offended your most excellent Highness, in that I have not submitted my self to your most just and vertuous Laws. And for mine Offences therein, which I must confess were in me a thousand fold more grievous than they could be in any other living Creature, I put my self wholly and entirely to your gracious Mercy, at whose hand I cannot receive that punishment for the same that I have deserved.

Secondly, To open mine Heart to your Grace, in these things which I have heretofore refused to condescend unto; and have now written with mine own hand, sending the same to your Highness herewith, I shall never beseech your Grace to have pity and compassion of me; if ever you shall perceive that I shall privily or apertly vary or alter from one piece of that I have written and subscribed, or refuse to confirm, ratify, or declare the same, where your Majesty shall appoint me.

Thirdly, As I have, and shall, knowing your excellent Learning, Vertue, Wisdom, and Knowledg, put my Soul into your direction; and by the same hath, and will in all things from henceforth direct my Conscience, so my Body I do wholly commit to your Mercy, and fatherly Pity, desiring no State, no Condition, nor no meaner degree of living, but such as your Grace shall appoint me: knowledging and confessing, That my State cannot be so vile, as either the extremity of Justice would appoint unto me, or as mine Offences have required or deserved.

And whatsoever your Grace shall command me to do, touching any of these Points, either for things past, present, or to come, I shall as gladly do the same, as your Majesty shall command me. Most humbly therefore beseeching your Mercy, most gracious Soveraign Lord and Benign Father, to have pity and compassion of your miserable and sorrowful Child, and with the abundance of your inestimable Goodness, so to overcome mine Iniquity towards God, Your Grace, and Your whole Realm, as I may feel some sensible Token of Reconciliation, which, God is my Judg, I only desire, without other respect. To whom I shall daily pray for the preservation of Your Highness, with the Queens Grace, and that it may please him to send You Issue.

From *Hunsdon*, this *Thursday*, at eleven of the Clock at Night.

Your Graces most humble

and obedient Daughter

and Handmaid,

MARY.

Number

Number 4.

Another of the same strain confirming the former.

An Original.

MOst humbly, obediently, and gladly, lying at the Feet of Your most Excellent Majesty, my most dear and benign Father, and Soveraign Lord, I have this day perceived Your gracious Clemency, and merciful Pity, to have overcome my most unkind and unnatural Proceedings towards You, and Your most Just and Vertuous Laws. The great and inestimable Joy whereof, I cannot express, nor have any thing worthy to be again presented to Your Majesty for the same Your fatherly Pity extended towards me, most ingrately on my part abandoned, as much as in me lie, but my poor Heart, which I send unto Your Highness to remain in Your Hand, to be for ever used, directed, and framed, whiles God shall suffer life to remain in it at Your only pleasure, most humbly beseeching Your Grace to accept and receive the same; being all that I have to offer, which shall never alter, vary, or change, from that Confession and Submission which I have made unto Your Highness, in the presence of Your Council, and other attending upon the same; for whose preservation, with my most gracious Mother the Queen, I shall daily pray to God, whom eft-soons I beseech to send You Issue, to his Honour, and the Comfort of Your whole Realm. *Cotton* Libr. *Otho*.C.20.

From *Hounsdon*, the 26*th* day of *June*.

Your Grace's most humble

and obedient Daughter

and Handmaid,

MARY.

Number

Number 5.

Another Letter written to her Father to the same purpose.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Otho*.C.20.

MY bounden Duty most humbly remembred to Your most Excellent Majesty: Whereas I am unable and insufficient to render and express to Your Highness those most hearty and humble thanks for Your gracious Mercy and fatherly Pity, surmounting mine Offences at this time extended towards me, I shall prostrate at Your most noble Feet, humbly and with the very bottom of my Stomach, beseech your Grace to repute that in me, which in my poor Heart remaining in Your most noble Hand, I have conceived and professed towards Your Grace, whiles the Breath shall remain in my Body; that is, that as I am now in such merciful sort recovered, being more than almost lost with mine own Folly, that Your Majesty may as well accept me justly Your bounden Slave by Redemption, as Your most humble, faithful, and obedient Child and Subject, by the course of Nature planted in this Your most noble Realm; so shall I for ever persevere and continue towards Your Highness, in such uniformity and due obedience, as I doubt not, but with the help of God, Your Grace shall see and perceive a will and intent in me, to redouble again that hath been amiss on my behalf, conformably to such Words and Writings as I have spoken and sent unto Your Highness, from the which I will never vary during my Life, trusting that Your Grace hath conceived that Opinion of me, which to remember is mine only comfort. And thus I beseech our Lord to preserve Your Grace in Health, with my very natural Mother the Queen, and to send you shortly Issue, which I shall as gladly and willingly serve with my Hands under their Feet, as ever did poor Subject their most Gracious Soveraign.

From *Hunsdon*, the 8*th* day of *July*.

Your Grace's most humble

and obedient Daughter

and Handmaid,

MARY.

Number

Number 6.

A Letter written by her to Cromwell, *containing a full Submission to the King's Pleasure, in all the Points of Religion. An Original.*

GOod Mr. Secretary, how much am I bound unto you, which have not only travelled, when I was almost drowned in folly, to recover me, before I sunk, and was utterly past recovery, and so to present me to the face of Grace and Mercy; but also desisteth not sithence, with your good and wholesome Counsels, so to arm me from any relapse, that I cannot, unless I were too wilful and obstinate, (whereof now there is no spark in me) fall again into any danger. But leaving the recital of your Goodness apart, which I cannot recount; For answer to the Particularities of your Credence, sent by my Friend Mr. *Wriothsley.* First, Concerning the Princess, (so I think I must call her yet, for I would be loth to offend) I offered, at her entry to that Name and Honour, to call her Sister; but it was refused, unless I would also add the other Title unto it; which I denied not then more obstinately, than I am now sorry for it, for that I did therein offend my most gracious Father, and his just Laws. And now that you think it meet, I shall never call her by other Name than Sister. Touching the nomination of such Women as I would have about me; surely, Mr. Secretary, what Men or Women soever the King's Highness shall appoint to wait on me, without exception, shall be to me right-heartily, and without respect, welcome; albeit, to express my mind to you, whom I think worthy to be accepted for their faithful Service done to the King's Majesty, and to me, sithence they came into my Company, I promise you, on my Faith, *Margaret Baynton,* and *Susanna Clarencieux,* have, in every condition, used themselves as faithfully, painfully, and diligently, as ever did Women in such a case; as sorry when I was not so conformable as became me, as glad when I enclined any thing to my Duty as could be devised. One other there is that was sometime my Maid, whom, for her Vertue, I love, and could be glad to have in my Company, that is, *Mary Brown,* and here be all that I will recommend; and yet my estimation of this shall be measured at the King's Highness, my most merciful Father's pleasure and appointment, as Reason is. Cotton Libr. Otho.C.10.

For mine Opinion touching Pilgrimages, Purgatory, Reliques, and such-like, I assure you I have none at all, but such as I shall receive from him that hath mine whole Heart in keeping, that is, the King's most gracious Highness, my most benign Father, who shall imprint in the same touching these Matters, and all other, what his inestimable Vertue, high Wisdom, and excellent Learning, shall think convenient, and limit unto me; to whose presence I pray God I may once come e're I die, for every Day is a Year till I may have the fruition of it. Beseeching you, good Mr. Secretary, to continue mine humble suit for the same, and for all other things whatsoever they be, to repute

my

my Heart ſo firmly knit to his pleaſure, that I can by no means vary from the direction and appointment of the ſame. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From *Hunſdon*, this *Friday*, at ten of the Clock at Night.

Your aſſured loving Friend,

during my Life,

MARY.

Number 7.

A Letter of *Bonners*, upon his being reſtored to his Biſhoprick.

An Original.

To my moſt loving and dearly beloved Friends, my Couſin Thomas Shirley, *the Worſhipful* Richard Leekmore, *and* Roger Leekmore *his Brother.*

IN moſt hearty wiſe I commend me unto you, aſſerting, that Yeſterday I was; by Sentence, reſtored again to my Biſhoprick, and repoſed in the ſame, even as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived; and by the ſaid Sentence, my Uſurper, Dr. *Ridley*, is utterly repulſed; ſo that I would ye did order all things at *Kidmerly* and *Buſhley* at your pleaſures, not ſuffering Sheeps-head, or Ships-ſide, to be any medler there, or to ſell or carry away any thing from thence; and I truſt, at your coming up now at the Parliament, I ſhall ſo handle both the ſaids Sheeps-heads, and the other Calves-heads, that they ſhall perceive their ſweet ſhall not be without ſour Sauce. This day is looked that Mr. *Canterbury* muſt be placed where is meet for him; He is become very humble and ready to ſubmit himſelf in all things, but that will not ſerve; in the ſame predicament is Dr. *Smith*, my Friend, and the Dean of *Pauls*, with others. Commend me to your Bed-fellows moſt heartily, and remember the Liquor that I wrote to you for; this Bearer ſhall declare the reſt, and alſo put you in remembrance for Beeves and Muttons for my Houſe-fare. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well keep you all. Written in haſte, this *6th* of *September*.

Aſſuredly all your own,

Edmond London.

Number

Number 8.

A Manifesto set out by *Cranmer*, declaring his readiness to maintain the Reformation in a publick Dispute.

Purgatio Reverendissimi in Christo Patris ac Domini D. Thomæ Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, adversus infames sed vanos rumores a quibusdam sparsos, de missa restituta Cantuariæ.

QUanquam Sathan, vetus Christi hostis, mendax ipse atq; mendacii parens, nullis unquam temporibus abstinuit suis armandis mancipiis & membris adversus Christum & veram ipsius Religionem, variis subinde excogitatis mendaciis: idem tamen his nostris temporibus agit sane perquam sedulo. Nam cum Rex Hen. 8. Princeps illustrissimæ memoriæ deprehensis erroribus atq; infandis abusibus Latinæ Missæ, ipsam aliquousq; cæpisset corrigere, deindeq; filius qui proxime secutus est supremus Dominus noster Rex Edwardus 6. non ferens hos tantos, tamq; manifestos errores atq; abusus omnes pœnitus sustulisset, restituta Sacros. Christi cæna & plane ad ipsius institutum atq; Apostolorum & Ecclesiæ Primitivæ exemplum; Diabolus contra tentavit nuper si posset, rursum ejecta dominica cæna, Latinam ac Satisfactoriam Missam (suum ipsius inventum & institutum scilicet) rursum hominibus nostris obtrudere. Atq; id quo facilius posset effici, ausi sunt quidam abuti nomine nostro Thomæ Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi, spargentes in vulgum Missam meo jussu Cantuariæ restitutam, meq; adeo cantaturum fuisse Missam in funere nuper Principis nostri summi Edwardi 6. Regis, imo idem quoq; facturum recepisse coram Majestate Reginea, & ad Paulum, & nescio ubi præterea.

From the Copy printed that Year.

Porro tametsi jam 20. ab hinc annis multos ejusmodi rumores de me vanos & falsos pertulerim, utcunq; fortiter & modeste, nunquam data hactenus significatione ulla commoti animi ob res ejusmodi; Attamen si quando in fraudem atq; injuriam veritatis Dei talia jactarentur, haud quaquam diutius perferri posse judico. Quæ res me impulit, ut scripto hoc testatum universo orbi facerem nunquam me autore Missam Cantuariæ cantatam, sed vanum quendam adulatorem, mendacem atq; hypocritam Monachum, me nec consultore, neq; conscio ibidem hoc ausum fuisse: Dominus illi reddat in die illo. Quod porro meipsum obtulerim ad legendam Missam coram Majestate Reginea aut usquam alibi, quam id vanum sit satis novit ipsius Majestas; A qua si potestatem impetro, palam omnibus faciam, contraq; omnes diversum putantes probabo, omnia, quæ in Communione (quam restituit innocentissimus idemque optimus Princeps Rex Edwardus 6. in Comitiis Regni) leguntur, respondere institutioni Christi atq; Apostolorum & Primitivæ Ecclesiæ exemplo, multis annis observato. Missam contra in plurimis non tantum hoc fundamento carere Christi & Apostolorum & Primitivæ Ecclesiæ, sed imo adversari prorsus atq; ex diametro pugnare, undiquaq; erroribus atq; abusibus refertissimam. Quamvis autem a nonnullis

Thortoneus. Suffraganeus Dovorensis.

imperitis & malevolis Dicatur D. Petrus Martyr indoctus, si tamen nobis hanc libertatem det Majestas Reginea, ego cum Petro Martyre atq; aliis quatuor, aut quinq;, quos mihi delegero, favente Deo confido, nos idem omnibus approbaturos, non solum preces communes Ecclesiasticas, Administrationem Sacram, cum cæteris Ritibus & Ceremoniis; Verum Doctrinam quoq; universam, ac religionis ordinem constitutum a supremo nostro Domino Rege Edwardo sexto, puriora hæc esse & Verbo Dei magis consentanea, quam quidquid mille retro annis in Anglia usurpatum novimus. Tantummodo judicentur omnia per Verbum Dei, ac describantur partis utriusq; argumenta, quo primum possit orbis Universus ea examinare & Judicare, deinde nequeat pars ulla dicta factave sic descripta inficiari.

Quoniam vero gloriantur illi & jactant Ecclesiæ fidem quæ fuit 1500. abhinc annis, nos hac quoq; in parte cum illis periclitari audebimus, quod eadem doctrina atq; idem ordo ab omnibus servari debeat, qui fuit illo sæculo ante Annos 1500. ac præterea docebimus argumentis firmis, totam rationem cultus divini Ecclesiastici, quæ nunc in hoc Regno servatur, Autoritate Comitiorum eandem esse, atq; illam ipsam quæ fuit ante Annos 1500. id quod alii de suis nunquam probaverint.

FINIS.

Lecta publice in vico Mercatorum ab amico qui clam Autographum surripuerat 5. Septemb. Anno Dom. 1553.

Number 9.

The Conclusion of Cardinal Pool's *Instructions to Mr.* Goldwell, *sent by him to the Queen.*

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

FOr the conclusion of all that is comprised in your Instruction, as that the which containeth the whole Sum of my poor Advice and Counsel, it pleaseth her Grace to ask of me, you shall say, That my most humble desire is, that in all deliberation her Grace shall make touching the maintenance of her State, the same will ever well ponder and consider, what the Providence of God hath shewed therein, above that which hath been shewed in her Predecessors, Kings of this Realm, in this one Point; which is to have the Crown, not only as a King's Daughter and Heir, but hath ordered, that this Point of right Inheritance shall depend as it doth, of the Authority he hath given to his Church, and of the See of *Rome*, which is the See Apostolick, approving her Mother to be Legitimate Wife of King *Henry* the Eighth; whereby she is bound, afore God and Man, as she will show her self the very Daughter of the said King *Henry* the Eighth, right Heir of the Crown, so also to show her self right Daughter of the Church, and of them that be resident in the See Apostolick, who be the right Heirs to *Peter*; to whom, and his Successors, Christ chief Head of the Church in

* Heaven,

Heaven, and in Earth, hath given in Earth to bear his Place, touching the Rule of the ſame Church, and to have the Crown thereof; which well conſidered and pondered, her Grace ſhall ſoon ſee how in her Perſon, the Providence of God hath joined the Right ſhe hath by her Father in the Realm, with the Right of the Church, that ſhe cannot prevail by the one, except ſhe join the other withal; and they that will ſeparate theſe two, take away not only half her Right, but her whole Right, being not ſo much Heir, becauſe ſhe is King *Henry's* only Daughter, without Iſſue Male, as ſhe is his lawful Daughter, which ſhe hath by the Authority of the Church.

Which thing, prudently and godly conſidered, ſhe cannot but ſee what faithful counſel this is, That above all Acts that in this Parliament ſhall be made, doth advertiſe her Grace to eſtabliſh that, the which pertaineth to the eſtabliſhing of the Authority of the Church, and the See of the ſame; what rendering to him that is right Succeſſor to *Peter* therein, his right Title of Head in the Church in Earth, without the which ſhe cannot be right Head in the Realm; and this eſtabliſhed, all Controverſy is taken away; and who will repine unto this, he doth repine unto her right of the Crown.

Wherefore this is my firſt Advice, That this Point, above all other, ſhould be entreated and enacted in the Parliament; and ſo, I know her Graces full mind was, and is, that it ſhould be: But ſhe feareth Difficulties, and hereupon dependeth, that her Grace asketh my poor Advice, how theſe Difficulties may be taken away.

Unto this you may ſay, That they muſt be taken away by the help of him, that by his high Providence, above Man's expectance, hath given her already the Crown. Which will have as well this ſecond Act known, of the maintainance thereof to depend of him, as the firſt in attaining thereto. And to have his help, the mean is by humble Prayer, wherein I would advertiſe her Highneſs, not only to give her ſelf to Prayer, but alſo, by Alms to the needy, excitate the Minds of others to Prayer; theſe be the means of moſt efficacy; and with this, to take that ardent Mind, to eſtabliſh the Authority of the Church, caſting away all fear of Man, that ſhe to be to have her Crown, and not ſo much for her own ſake, as for the Honour of God which gave her the Crown. And if any Difficulty ſhould be feared in the Parliament herein, leave the honour, to take away the difficulty thereof, to none other, but aſſume that perſon to her ſelf, as moſt bound thereto; and to propone that her ſelf, which I would truſt to be of that efficacy, that if inwardly any Man will repugn outwardly, the Reaſons be ſo evident for this part, that joined with the Authority of her Perſon, being proponent, none will be ſo hardy, temerarious, nor impious, that will reſiſt. And if in this deliberation it ſhould ſeem ſtrange to put forth theſe Matters in the Parliament, as I have ſaid in the Inſtructions, without communicating the ſame with any of her Council, I would think it well her Grace might confer it with two of the chiefeſt that be counted of the People moſt near her favour, one Spiritual, and another Temporal; with declaring to them, firſt, how touching her Conſcience afore God, and her Right afore the World, ſhe can never be quiet until this Matter be ſtabliſhed touching the Authority of the Church, requiring their uttermoſt help in that, as if ſhe ſhould fight for the Crown, her Ma-

jesty may be sure, she putting the same forth with that earnest manner, they will not lack to serve her; and they may serve quietly in the Parliament, after her Grace hath spoken to prosecute and justify the same, with efficacy of words, to give all others example to follow her Grace; leaving this part unto them, That if the Name of Obedience to the Pope should seem to bring, as it were, a Yoke to the Realm, or any other kind of servitude beside, that it should be profitable to the Realm, both afore God and Man, that her Grace that bringeth it in again, will never suffer it, nor the Pope himself requireth no such thing. And herein also, that they say, That my Person being the Mean to bring it in, would never agree to be an Instrument thereof, if I thought any thraldom should come thereby, they shall never be deceived of me. And if they would say beside, I would never have taken this Enterprize upon me, except I thought by the same to bring great Comfort to the Country; wherein the Pope's Authority being accepted, I would trust, should be so used, that it might be an Example of Comfort, not only to that Country, but to all other that hath rejected it afore, and for that cause hath been ever since in great misery.

This is the sum of all my poor Advice at this time in this Case; whereof I beseech Almighty God so much may take effect, as shall be to his Honour, and Wealth to her Grace, and the whole Realm besides. *Amen.*

Number 10.

A Copy of a Letter, with Articles sent from the Queens Majesty unto the Bishop of London; *and by him and his Officers, at her gracious Commandment, to be put in speedy execution with effect in the whole Diocess, as well in places exempt, as not exempt whatsoever, according to the Tenour and Form of the same.*

Sent by the Queen's Majesty's Commandment, in the Month of March, *Anno Dom.* 1553.

By the QUEEN.

Right Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And whereas heretofore, in the time of the late Reign of Our most dearest Brother, King *Edward* the Sixth, (whose Soul God pardon) divers notable Crimes, Excesses, and Faults, with divers kinds of Heresies, Simony, Advoutry, and other Enormities, have been committed within this our Realm, and other our Dominions; the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder, since the beginning of our Reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the People, both of the Laity and Clergy, and chiefly of the Clergy, have been given to much insolence and ungodliness,

greatly

greatly to the diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and very much to Our regret and evil contentation, and to the ſlander of other Chriſtian Realms, and in a manner, to the ſubverſion and clear defaceing of this our Realm. And remembring our Duty to Almighty God, to be to foreſee, as much as in Us may be, that all Vertue and Godly Living, ſhould be embraced, flouriſh, and encreaſe. And therewith alſo, that all vice and ungodly behaviour, ſhould be utterly baniſhed and put away; or, at the leaſt wiſe, ſo nigh as might be, ſo bridled and kept under, that Godlineſs and Honeſty might have the over-hand: underſtanding, by very credible report, and publique fame, to Our no ſmall heavineſs and diſcomfort, that within your Dioceſs, as well in not exempted as in exempted Places, the like diſorder and evil behaviour hath been done and uſed; like alſo to continue and encreaſe, unleſs due proviſion be had and made to reform the ſame, (which earneſtly in very deed We do mind and intend) to the uttermoſt all the ways We can poſſible, truſting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For theſe Cauſes, and other moſt juſt Conſiderations us moving, We ſend unto you certain Articles of ſuch ſpecial Matter, as among other things be moſt ſpecial and neceſſary to be now put in execution by you and your Officers, extending to them by Us deſired, and the Reformation aforeſaid; wherein ye ſhall be charg'd with Our ſpecial Commandments, by theſe our Letters, to the intent you and your Officers may the more earneſtly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any preſumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any ſuch our Laws, as by your doings, of that is in the ſaid Articles contain'd, might any wiſe grieve you, whatſoever be threatned in any ſuch Caſe; and therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and your ſaid Officers, to proceed to the execution of the ſaid Articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will anſwer to the contrary. Given under our Hand, at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the 4*th* day of *March*, the firſt Year of our Reign.

ARTICLES.

1. THat every Biſhop, and his Officers, with all other having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhall, with all ſpeed and diligence, and all manner and ways to them poſſible, put in execution all ſuch Canons and Eccleſiaſtical Laws, heretofore in the time of King *Henry* the 8*th* uſed, within this Realm of *England*, and the Dominions of the ſame, not being direct and expreſly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

2. *Item.* That no Biſhop, or any his Officer, or other Perſon aforeſaid hereafter, in any of their Eccleſiaſtical Writings in Proceſs, or other extra-judicial Acts, do uſe to put in this Clauſe or Sentence; *Regia Auctoritate fulcitus.*

3. *Item.* That no Biſhop, or any his Officers, or other Perſon aforeſaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admiſſion of any Perſon to any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, Orders, or Office, any Oath touching the Primacy, or Succeſſion, as of late in few Years paſſed hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

4. *Item.*

4. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and his Officers, with all other Perſons aforeſaid, have a vigilant eye, and uſe ſpecial diligence and foreſight, that no Perſon be admitted or received to any Eccleſiaſtical Function, Benefit, or Office, being a Sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of Hereſy, or other great Crime; and that the ſaid Biſhop do ſtay, and cauſe to be ſtaied, as much as lieth in him, that Benefices, and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, do not notably decay, or take hinderance, by paſſing or confirming of unreaſonable Leaſes.

5. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do diligently travel for the repreſſing of Hereſies, and notable Crimes, eſpecially in the Clergy, duly correcting and puniſhing the ſame.

6. *Item.* That every Biſhop,and all other Perſons aforeſaid,do likewiſe travel for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty Opinions, unlawful Books, Ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendring hatred among the People, and diſcord amongſt the ſame: And that School-maſters,Preachers,and Teachers,do exerciſe and uſed their Offices and Duties, without Teaching, Preaching, or ſetting forth any evil corrupt Doctrine; and that doing the contrary, they may be, by the Biſhop and his ſaid Officers, puniſh'd and remov'd.

7. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all the other Perſons aforeſaid, proceeding ſummarily, and with all celerity and ſpeed, may and ſhall deprive, or declare depriv'd, and amove, according to their learning and diſcretion, all ſuch Perſons from their Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, who contrary to the ſtate of their Order, and the laudable Cuſtom of the Church, have married, and uſed Women as their Wives, or otherwiſe, notably and ſlanderouſly diſordered or abuſed themſelves; ſequeſtring alſo, during the ſaid Proceſs, the Fruits and Profits of the ſaid Benefits, and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions.

8. *Item.* That the ſaid Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do uſe more lenity and clemency with ſuch as have married, whoſe Wives be dead, than with other, whoſe Women do yet remain in Life. And likewiſe ſuch Prieſts, as with the conſents of their Wives, or Women, openly, in the preſence of the Biſhop, do profeſs to abſtain, to be uſed the more favourably; in which Caſe, after Penance effectually done, the Biſhop, according to his diſcretion and wiſdom, may, upon juſt conſideration, receive, and admit them again to their former Adminiſtration, ſo it be not in the ſame Place, appointing them ſuch a Portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benefice, whereof they be depriv'd, by diſcretion of the ſaid Biſhop, or his Officers, ſhall think may be ſpared of the ſaid Benefice.

9. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all Perſons aforeſaid, do foreſee, That they ſuffer not any Religious Man, having ſolemnly profeſt Chaſtity, to continue with his Woman, or Wife: but that all ſuch Perſons, after deprivation of their Benefice, or Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, be alſo divorced, every one from his ſaid Woman, and due puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the Offence therein.

10. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do take Order and Direction, with the Pariſhoners of every Benefice, where Prieſts do want, to repair to the next Pariſh for Divine Service; or to appoint,for a convenient time,till other better Proviſion may be made, one Curat to ſerve *Alternis Vicibus*, in divers Pariſhes; and

to

to allot to the ſaid Curat, for his Labour, ſome portion of the Benefice that he ſo ſerveth.

11. *Item.* That all and all manner of Proceſſions of the Church, be uſed, frequented, and continued, after the old Order of the Church, in the Latin Tongue.

12. *Item.* That all ſuch Holy-days and Faſting-days, be obſerved and kept, as was obſerved and kept in the late time of King *Henry* the Eighth.

13. *Item.* That the laudable and honeſt Ceremonies which were wont to be uſed, frequented, and obſerved in the Church, be alſo hereafter frequented, uſed, and obſerved.

14. *Item.* That Children be Chriſtened by the Prieſt, and confirmed by the Biſhops, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

15. *Item.* Touching ſuch Perſons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new ſort and faſhion of Orders, conſidering they were not ordered in very deed, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs finding otherwiſe ſufficiency and ability in thoſe Men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in them before, and then, according to his diſcretion, admit them to miniſter.

16. *Item.* That by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, an Uniform Doctrine be ſet forth by Homilies, or otherwiſe, for the good inſtruction and teaching of all People; and that the ſaid Biſhop, and other Perſons aforeſaid, do compel the Pariſhoners to come to their ſeveral Churches, and there devoutly to hear Divine Service, as of reaſon they ought.

17. *Item.* That they examine all School-maſters and Teachers of Children, and finding them ſuſpect in any ways to remove them, and place Catholick Men in their Rooms, with a ſpecial Commandment to inſtruct their Children, ſo as they may be able to anſwer the Prieſt at the Maſs, and ſo help the Prieſt to Maſs as hath been accuſtomed.

18. *Item.* That the ſaid Biſhop, and all Perſons aforeſaid, have ſuch regard, reſpect, and conſideration of and for the ſetting forth of the Premiſes, with all kind of Vertue, godly Living, and good Example, with repreſſing alſo, and keeping under of Vice and Unthriftineſs, as they, and every each of them may be ſeen to favour the Reſtitution of true Religion; and alſo to make an honeſt account and reckoning of their Office and Cure, to the Honour of God, our good contentation, and the profit of this Realm, and Dominions of the ſame.

Number

Number 11.

A Commission to turn out some of the Reformed Bishops.

Rot. pat. prim. Mariæ pars septim.

REgina Dei Gratia, &c. perdilectis & fidelibus Consiliariis suis, Stephano Winton Episcopo, summo suo Angliæ Cancellario & Cudberto Dunelmen. Episcopo, necnon Reverend. & dilectis sibi in Christo Edmund. London. Episcopo, Roberto Assaven. Episcopo, Georgio Cicestren. Episcopo, & Antonio Landaven. Episcopo salutem. Quia omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se crimen habet, quanto qui peccat major habetur, & quoniam certis & indubitatis testimoniis, una cum facti notoreitate & fama publica referente, luculenter intelleximus & manifesto comperimus Robertum Archiepiscopum Ebor. Robertum Meneven. Joan. Cestren. & Paulum Bristolen. Episcopos, aut certe pro talibus se gerentes, Dei & animarum suarum salutis immemores, valde gravia & enormia dudum commisisse & perpetrasse scelera atq; peccata, & inter cætera quod dolenter certe, & magna cum amaritudine animæ nostræ proferimus, post expressam professionem castitatis, expresse, rite & legittime emissam, cum quibusdam mulieribus nuptias de facto, cum de jure non deberent, in Dei contemptum & animarum suarum peccatum manifestum necnon in grave omnium ordinum, tam Clericorum quam Laicorum scandalum; Deniq; cæterorum Omnium Christi fidelium perniciosissium exemplum contraxisse & cum illis tanquam cum Uxoribus cohabitasse. Ne igitur tantum scelus remaneat impunitum ac multos alios pertrahat in ruinam, vobis tenore præsentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus vos omnes, aut tres saltem vestrum qui præsentes Literas Commissionales duxerint exequend. dictos Archiepiscopum Ebor. Episc. Meneven. Episc. Cestren. & Episc. Bristollen. diebus horis & locis, vestro, aut trium vestrum arbitrio, eligend. & assignand. ad comparend. coram vobis, ceu tribus vestrum, vocetis aut vocari faciatis, vocend. aut vocari faciant, tres vestrũ (ceu saltem): Si ita vobis aut tribus, vestrum videatur, eosdem Archiep. & Episc. prædict. adeatis, aut tres vestrum adeant & negotio illis summarie & de plano sine ullo strepitu & figura judicii exposito & declarato, si per summariam examinationem & discussionem negotii per vos aut tres vestrum fiendam eundem Archiep. & Episc. prædictos sic contraxisse, aut fecisse constiterit; eosdem a dignitatibus suis prædictis, cum suis juribus pertinen. Universis, omnino ammoveatis, deprivetis & perpetuo excludatis, ceu tres vestrum sic amoveant, deprivent, perpetuo excludant: pœnitentiam salutarem & congruam pro modo culpæ vestro aut trium vestrum arbitrio imponend. eisdem injungentes, cæteraq; in prædictis cum eorum incidentibus emergentiis annexis & connexis quibuscunq;, facientes quæ necessaria fuerint, ceu quomodolibet opportuna. Quæ omnia & singula faciend. expediend. & finiend. Nos tam Autoritate nostra Ordinaria, quam absoluta, ex mero motu certaq; scientia nostra, vobis & tribus vestrum potestatem, Autoritatem & licentiam concedimus, & impertimur per præsentes cum cujuslibet coercionis & castigationis severitate & potestate in contrarium facientes non obstant quibuscunque, In cujus rei, &c. Apud. Westm. 16. die Martii.

*

Number

Number 12.

Another Commiſſion to turn out the reſt of them.

MARY, by the Grace of God, &c. To the Right Reverend Fathers in God, our Right truſty, and right well-beloved Counſellors, *Stephen* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, our Chancellor of *England*; *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Dureſm*; *Edmond* Biſhop of *London*; *Robert* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*; *George* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, our Almoner; and *Anthony* Biſhop of *Landaff*, Greeting. Whereas *John Tailour*, Doctor of Divinity, naming himſelf Biſhop of *Lincoln*; *John Hooper*, naming himſelf Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Gloceſter*; *John Harley*, Biſhop of *Hereford*; having theſe ſaid ſeveral pretended Biſhopricks given to them, by the Letter Patents of Our late deceaſed Brother, King *Edward* the Sixth, to have and to hold the ſame during their good behaviours, with the expreſs Clauſe, (*quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*) have ſithence, as hath been credibly brought to Our knowledg, both by Preaching, Teaching, and ſetting forth of Erroneous Doctrine, and alſo by inordinate Life and Converſation, contrary both to the Laws of Almighty God, and Uſe of the Univerſal Chriſtian Church, declared themſelves very unworthy of that Vocation and Dignity in the Church.

We minding to have theſe ſeveral Caſes duly heard and conſidered, and thereupon ſuch Order taken with them, as may ſtand with Juſtice, and the Laws, have, for the ſpecial truſt We have conceived of your Wiſdoms, Learning, and Integrity of Life, appointed you four, three, or two of you, to be our Commiſſioners in this behalf: giving unto you four, three, or two of you, full Power and Authority to call before you, if ye ſhall think ſo good, the ſaid *John Tailour*, *John Hooper*, and *John Harley*, and every of them. And thereupon, either by Order of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, or of the Laws of our Realm, or of both, proceed to the declaring the ſaid Biſhopricks to be void, as they be already indeed void. To the intent ſome ſuch other meet Perſonages may be elected thereunto, as for their godly Life, Learning, and Sobriety, may be thought worthy the Places. In Witneſs, &c. *Apud Weſtm.* 15 *die Martii.*

Number 13.

Bonner's *Certificate, that Bishop* Scory *had put away his Wife.*

Regist. *Bonn.* Fol. 347.

EDmundus permissione Divina London. Episcopus, Universis & singulis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentes literæ nostræ testimoniales pervenerint; ac eis præsertum quos infra scripta tangunt, seu tangere poterint quomodolibet in futurum, salutem in Auctore salutis & fidem indubiam præsentibus adhibere. Quia boni Pastoris officium tunc nos rite exequi arbitramur, cum ad exemplar Christi errantes oves ad caulam dominici gregis reducimus, & Ecclesiæ Christi, quæ redeunti gremium non claudit, restituimus: & quia dilectus Confrater noster Joannes nuper Cicestrien. Episcopus in Dioc. & jurisdictione nostris London. ad præsens residentiam & moram faciens; qui olim laxatis Pudicitiæ & castitatis habenis, contra Sacros Canones & Sanctorum Patrum decreta ad illicitas & prohibitas convolavit nuptias;se ea ratione non solum Ecclesiastic. Sacrament. pertractand. omnino indignum; verum etiam a publica officii sui pastoralis functione privatum & suspensum reddens, transactæ licentiosæ vitæ valde pœnitentem & deplorantem, plurimis Argumentis se declaravit, ac pro commissis pœnitentiam alias per nos sibi injunctam salutarem, aliquo temporis tractu in cordis sui amaritudine & animi dolore peregit, vitam hactenus degens laudabilem, spemq; faciens id se in posterum facturum atq; ob id ad Ecclesiasticæ ac Pastoralis Functionis statum, saltem cum quodam temperamento, justitia exigente, reponend. hinc est quod nos præmissa ac, humilem dicti confratris nostri petitionem pro reconciliatione sua habenda & obtinenda considerantes, ejus precibus favorabiliter inclinati, eundem Confratrem nostrum ad publicam Ecclesiastici Ministerii & Officii sui Pastoralis Functionem & Executionem, infra Dioc. nostram London. exercend. quatenus de jure possumus & absq; cujusq; præjudicio restituimus, rehabilitavimus & redintegravimus, prout tenore præsentium sic restituimus, rehabilitamus, & redintegramus; Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ clementia & Christianæ Charitate id exigentibus. Vobis igitur universis & singulis supradictis præfatum confratrem nostrum, sic ut præmittitur restitutum, rehabilitatum & reintegratum fuisse, & esse ad omnes effectus supradictos significamus & notificamus per præsentes sigillo nostro sigillat, Dat. in Manerio nostro de Fulham die   mensis Julii Anno Dom. 1554. & nostræ Transla. Anno 15.

Number

Number 14.

A Letter of the Queen's, to the Justices of the Peace in Norfolk.

MARY the Queen.

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And whereas We have heretofore signified our Pleasure, both by our Proclamation general, and by our Letters to many of you, particularly for the good Order and Stay of that our County of *Norfolk*, from Rebellions, Tumults, and Uproars; and to have a special regard to Vagabonds, and to such as did spread any vain Prophesies, seditious, false, or untrue Rumors, and to punish them accordingly; We have nevertheless, to Our no small grief, sundry Intelligences, of divers and sundry lewd and seditious Tales, forged and spread by certain malicious Persons, touching the Estate of our Person; with many other vain and slanderous Reports, tending to the moving of Sedition and Rebellion, whose Fault, and passing unpunished, seemeth either to be winked at, or at least little considered, which is to Us very strange. We have therefore thought good, eftsoons, to require and command you, to be not only more circumspect in the good ordering of that our County, according to our Trust conceived of you, but also to use all the best means and ways ye can, in the diligent examining and searching out, from Man to Man, the Authors and Publishers of these vain Prophesies, and untrue Bruits, the very foundation of all Rebellions: and the same being found, to punish them as the quality of their Offence shall appear to you to deserve; whereby the malicious sort may be the more feared to attempt the like, and Our good loving Subjects live in more quiet. And for Our better service in this behalf, We think good that ye divide your selves unto several parts of that our County, so that every of you have some part in charge, whereby ye may the better butt out the malicious; and yet nevertheless to meet often together for the better conferring herein. And that ye signify your Doings, and the state of that Shire, by your general Letters, once every month at least, to our Privy Council. And like-as We shall consider such of you to your advancements, whose diligence shall set forwards our Service in this Part, so shall We have good cause to note great negligence and fault in them that shall omit their Duty in this behalf.

Given under our Signet, at our Mannor of St. *James*, the 23*d* of *May*, in the first Year of our Reign.

Number 15.

The Title of *Bonner's* whole Book.

Articles to be enquired of in the General Visitation of Edmund *Bishop of* London, *exercised by him in the Year of our Lord* 1554, *in the City and Diocess of* London; *and set forth by the same, for his own discharge towards God, and the World, to the Honour of God, and his Catholick Church; and to the Commodity and Profit of all those, that either are good, (which he would were all) or delighteth in goodness, (which he wisheth to be many) without any particular grudg or displeasure to any one, good or bad, within this Realm; which Articles he desireth all Men, of their Charity, especially those that are of his Diocess, to take, with as good intent and mind as the said Bishop wisheth and desireth, which is to the best. And the said Bishop withal, desireth all People to understand, That whatsoever Opinion, good or bad, hath been received of him, or whatsoever usage or custom hath been heretofore, his only intent and purpose, is to do his Duty charitably, and with that love, favour, and respect, both towards God and every Christian Person, which any Bishop should shew to his Flock in any wise.*

Article 1.

WHether the Clergy, to give example to Laity, have in their Living, in their Teaching, and in their Doing, so behaved themselves, that they (in the judgment of indifferent Persons) have declared themselves to search principally the Honour of God and his Church, the Health of the Souls of such as are committed to their Cure and Charge, the Quietness of their Parishioners, and the Wealth and Honour of the King and Queen of this Realm?

Article 2.

Item. Whether your Parson, Vicar, or any other ministring as Priest within your Parish, have been, or is married, or taken for married, not yet separated from his Concubine, or Woman taken for Wife? Or whether the same Woman be dead, or yet living; and being living, whether the one resorteth to the other, openly, secretly, or slanderously, maintaining, supporting, or finding the same in any wise to the offence of the People?

Article 3.

Item. Whether there be any Person, of what Estate, Condition, or degree he be, that doth, in open talk, or privily, defend, maintain, or uphold the Marriage of Priests, encouraging or bolding any Person to the defence thereof?

Article

Article 4.

Item. Whether you have your Parſon or Vicar reſident continually with you upon his Benefice,doing his Duty in the ſerving of the Cure; and whether being able to do, keep Hoſpitality upon the ſame, feeding his Flock with his good living, with his teaching, and his relieving of them to his power?

Article 5.

Item. Whether your Parſon, or Vicar, being abſent, have a ſufficient Diſpenſation and Licenſe therein; and whether, in his abſence, he do appoint an honeſt, able, and ſufficient learned Curat to ſupply his room and abſence to ſerve his Cure?

Article 6.

Item. Whether your Parſon, or Vicar, by himſelf, or his good and ſufficient Deputy for him, do relieve ſuch poor Pariſhioners; repair and maintain his Houſe, or Manſion, and things thereunto appertaining; and otherwiſe do his Duty, as by the Order of the Law, and Cuſtom of this Realm, he ought to do?

Article 7.

Item. Whether the ſaid Curat, appointed in the abſence of your Parſon, or Vicar, do in all Points, the beſt he can, to miniſter the Sacraments, and Sacramentals; and other his Duty, in ſerving the ſame Cure, ſpecially in celebrating Divine Service at convenient hours, chiefly upon *Sundays*, and Holy-days, and Proceſſion-days, and miniſtring the ſaid Sacraments, and Sacramentals, as of Duty and Reaſon he ought, moving and exhorting earneſtly his Pariſhioners to come unto it, and devoutly to hear the ſame: and whether he himſelf do reverently celebrate, miniſter, and uſe the ſame as appertaineth?

Article 8.

Item. Whether he the ſaid Curat, Parſon, or Vicar, have been, or is of ſuſpect Doctrine, erroneous Opinion, Miſbelief, or evil Judgment; or do ſet forth, preach, favour, aid, or maintain the ſame, contrary to the Catholick Faith, and Order of this Realm?

Article 9.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do haunt or reſort to Alehouſes, or Taverns, otherwiſe than for his or their honeſt Neceſſity and Relief; or repair to any Dicing-houſes, common Bowling-Allies, ſuſpect Houſes, or Places; or do haunt and uſe Common Games, or Plays, or behave themſelves otherwiſe unprieſtly and unſeemly?

Article 10.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, be familiar, or keep company, and be converſant with any ſuſpected Perſon of evil Converſation and Living, or Erroneous Opinion or Doctrine, or be noted to aid, favour, and aſſiſt the ſame in any wiſe, contrary to the good Order of this Realm, and the uſage of the Catholick Church?

Article 11.

Item. Whether there be dwelling within any your Pariſhes, any Prieſt, Forreigner, Stranger, or other, who not preſented to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, or his Officers, examined and admitted by ſome one of them, doth take upon him to ſerve any Cure, or to

to minister any Sacraments, or Sacramentals, within the said Parish?

Article 12.

Item. Whether there be dwelling within any your Parishes, or repairing thither any Priest, or other, naming himself Minister, which doth not come diligently to the Church to hear the Divine Service, or Sermons there; but absenteth himself, or discourageth others by his example, or words, to come unto the same, expressing their Name and Sir-name, with sufficient knowledg of them?

Article 13.

Item. Whether there be any Married Priests, or naming themselves Ministers, that do keep any Assemblies, or Conventicles, with such-like as they are, in Office or Sect, to set forth any Doctrine or Usage not allowed by the Laws, and laudable Customs of this Realm; or whether there be any resort of any of them to any Place, for any privy Letters, Sermons, Plays, Games, or other Devices, not expresly in this Realm by Laws allowed?

Article 14.

Item. Whether there be any of them, which is a common Brawler, Scolder, a sower of Discord among his Parish Churches, a Hawker, a Hunter, or spending his time idely or unthriftily; or being a Fornicator, an Adulterer, a Drunkard, a common Swearer or Blasphemer of God or his Saints, or an unruly or evil-disposed Person; or that hath come to his Benefice or Promotion, by Simony, unlawful Suit, or ungodly Means, in any Ways?

Article 15.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, to the best of their Powers, at all times have exhorted and stirred the People to Quietness and Concord, and to the Obedience of the King and Queens Majesty's, and their Officers, rebuking all Sedition and Tumult, with all unlawful Assemblies, moving the People to Charity and good Order; and charging the Fathers and Mothers, Masters and Governors of Youth, to keep good Rule, and to instruct them in Vertue and Goodness, to the Honour of God, and of this Realm; and to have them occupied in some honest Art and Occupation, to get their Living thereby?

Article 16.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do admit any Person to receive the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, who are openly known or suspected to be Adversaries and Speakers against the said Sacrament, or any other Article of the Catholick Faith; or to be a notorious evil Person in his Conversation or Doctrine; an open Oppressor, or evil Doer to his Neighbour, not being confessed, reconciled, and having made satisfaction in that behalf?

Article 17.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, have of their own Authority admitted and licensed any to preach in their Cure, not being authorised and admitted thereunto, or have denied and refused such to preach as have been lawfully licensed: and whether they, or any of them, having authority to preach within their Cures, doth use to preach, or at the least doth procure other lawful or sufficient Persons to do the same, according to the Order of this Realm?

Article 18.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, ſince the Queen's Majeſty's Proclamation, hath, or doth uſe to ſay, or ſing, the Divine Service, miniſter the Sacraments, or Sacramentals, or other things, in Engliſh, contrary to the Order of this Realm?

Article 19.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, in their Suffrages, Collects, and Prayers, doth uſe to pray for the King and Queen's Majeſty, by the names of King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, according to a Letter and Commandment therein lawfully given now of late unto them by their Ordinary?

Article 20.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, have diligently moved and exhorted their Pariſhioners, how and in what manner Children ſhould be baptized in time of neceſſity; and they the ſaid Pariſhioners, reverently and devoutly to prepare themſelves to receive and uſe the Sacraments, eſpecially the Sacrament of the Altar, or to be confeſſed and receive at the Prieſt's hand, the benefit of Abſolution, according to the laudable cuſtom of this Realm?

Article 21.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, hath diligently viſited his and their Pariſhioners, in the time of Sickneſs and Need, and miniſtred Sacraments and Sacramentals to them accordingly; and whether they have exhorted and moniſhed them to have due reſpect to their Souls Health; and alſo to ſet an Order in their Temporal Lands and Goods, declaring their Debts perfectly, and what is owing unto them; and they ſo to make their Teſtaments, and laſt Wills, that as much as may be, all trouble and buſineſs may be excluded; their Wives and Children, with their Friends, may be holpen and ſuccoured, and themſelves decently buried and prayed for; and to have an honeſt memory and commendations for their ſo doing?

Article 22.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, have ſolemnized Matrimony, between and his Pariſhioners, or any other Perſons, the Banes not before asked, three ſeveral *Sundays*, or Holy-days; or without Certificate of the ſaid Banes, from the Curat of any other Pariſh, if any of them be of another Pariſh: And whether touching the Solemnization and uſe of this Sacrament of Matrimony, and alſo of all other the Sacraments of the Church, they have kept and obſerved the old and laudable Cuſtom of the Church, without any innovation or alteration in any of the ſame?

Article 23.

Item. Whether they, or every each of them, upon the *Sunday* at the Service-time, doth uſe to ſet forth, and to declare unto the People, all ſuch Holy-days, and Faſting-days, as of Godly uſage and cuſtom hath heretofore laudably been accuſtomed to be kept and obſerved in the week following and enſuing; and whether they, and every of them doth obſerve and keep themſelves the ſaid Holy-days, and Faſting-days?

Article

Article 24.

Item. Whether the Parſon, or Vicar, doth repair and maintain his Chancel, and Manſion-houſe, in ſufficient reparation; and the ſame being in decay, whether he doth beſtow yearly the fifth part of his Benefice, till ſuch time the ſame be ſufficiently repaired; doing alſo further his Duty therein, and otherwiſe, as by the Law he is charged and bound in that behalf, diſtributing and doing as he is bound by the Law?

Article 25.

Item. Whether there be any Perſon that doth ſerve any Cure, or miniſter any Sacraments, not being Prieſt; or if any do take upon them to uſe the Room and Office of the Parſon, or Vicar, or Curat, of any Benefice or Spiritual Promotion, receiving the Fruits thereof, not being admitted thereunto by the Ordinary?

Article 26.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, doth go in Prieſtly Apparel and Habit, having their Beards and Crowns ſhaven, or whether any of them doth go in Lay-mens Habits and Apparel, or otherwiſe diſguiſe themſelves, that they cannot eaſily be diſcovered or known from Lay-men?

Article 27.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, have many Promotions and Benefices Eccleſiaſtical, Cures, Secular Services, Yearly Penſions, Annuities, Farms, or other Revenues, now in Title or Poſſeſſion; and what the Names of them be, and where they lie, giving all good inſtruction, and perfect information therein?

Article 28.

Item. Whether ſuch as have Churches or Chappels appropriated, or Manſions or Houſes thereto appertaining, do keep their Chancels and Houſes in good and ſufficient reparations; and whether they do all things in Diſtributions and Alms, or otherwiſe, as by Law and good Order they ought to do?

Article 29.

Item. Whether any ſuch as were ordered Schiſmatically, and contrary to the old Order and Cuſtom of the Catholick Church, or being unlawfully and ſchiſmatically married, after the late innovation and manner, being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the Ordinary, have celebrated or ſaid, either Maſs or Divine Service, within any Cure or Place of this City or Dioceſs?

Article 30.

Item. Whether any Parſon, or Vicar, or other, having Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, doth ſet out the ſame to Farm, without conſent, knowledg, and licenſe of his Ordinary, eſpecially for an unreaſonable number of Years, or with ſuch Conditions, Qualities, or Manners, that the ſame is to the great prejudice of the Church, and the incumbent of the ſame, and eſpecially of him that ſhall ſucceed therein?

Article 31.

Item. Whether there be any Parſon or Vicar, Curat or Prieſt, that occupieth buying and ſelling as a Merchant, or occupieth Uſury, or layeth out his Mony for filthy Lucres-ſake and Gain, to the ſlander of the Prieſthood?

Article

Article 32.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do wear Swords, Daggers, or other Weapons, in times or places not convenient or seemly ?

Article 33.

Item. Whether any Priest, or Ecclesiastical Person, have reiterated or renewed Baptism, which was lawfully done before, or invented or followed any new Fashion or Forms, contrary to the Order of the Catholick Church ?

Article 34.

Item. Whether the Parson, Vicar, or Curat, do (according to the Law) every quarter in the Year, upon one solemn Day, or more, that is to wit, upon the *Sunday*, or Solemn Feast (when the Parishioners, by the Order of the Church do come together) expound and declare by himself, or some other sufficient Person, unto the People, in the Vulgar, or Common Tongue, plainly, truly, and fruitfully, the Articles of the Catholick Faith, the Ten Commandments expressed in the Old Law, the Two Commandments of the Gospel, or New Law; that is, of earnest Love to God, and to our Neighbour; the seven Works of Mercy; the seven deadly Sins, with their Off-spring, Progeny, and Issue; the seven principal Vertues, and the seven Sacraments of the Church ?

Article 35.

Item. Whether that every Priest, having Cure, do admonish the Women, that are with Child, within his Cure, to come to Confession, and to receive the Sacrament, especially when their time draweth nigh, and to have Water in readiness to christen the Child, if necessity so require it ?

Article 36.

Item. Whether Stipendiary Priests do behave themselves discreetly and honestly, in all Points, towards their Parson, or Vicar, giving an Oath, and doing according to the Law, and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, Ordinances, and laudable Customs in that behalf ?

Article 37.

Item. Whether any Parson, Vicar, or other, having any Ecclesiastical Promotion, have made any alienation of any thing pertaining to their Church, Benefice, or Promotion; what it is, and what warrant they had so to do.

Number 16.

An Address made by the Lower House of Convocation, to the Upper House.

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.* Right Reverend Fathers in God, We the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, of the Lower House, do most humbly pray your good Lordships, That touching the Submission and Order of the Lands and Possessions which sometimes did appertain to divers Bishops, Cathedral Churches, and to the late suppressed Monasteries, Priories, Colleges, Chauntries, and free Chappels, and other Churches within this Realm, and be now in the possession of the Temporality, that it may please your good Lordships, by your discreet Wisdoms, to foresee and provide, that by this our Grant, nothing pass, which may be prejudicial or hurtful to any Bishop, or other Ecclesiastical Person, or their Successors, for or concerning any Action, Right, Title, or Interest, which by the Laws of this Realm are already grown, or may hereafter grow or rise to them, or any of them, and their Successors, for any Lands, Tenements, Pensions, Portions, Tithes, Rents, Reversions, Service, or other Hereditaments, which sometime appertained to the said Bishops, or other Ecclesiastical Persons, in the Right of their Churches, or otherwise, but that the same Right, Title, and Interest, be safe and reserved to them, and every of them and their Successors, according to the said Laws.

And further, whereas in the Statute passed in the first Year of *Edward* the Sixth, for the suppressing of all Colleges, *&c.* *Proviso* was made by the said Statute, in respect of the same Surrender, that Schools and Hospitals should have been erected and founded in divers parts of this Realm, for the good education of Youth in Vertue and Learning, and the better sustentation of the Poor; and that other Works, beneficial for the Common-Weal, should have been executed, which hitherto be not performed, according to the meaning of the said Statute, it may please your good Lordships to move the King's and the Queen's most Royal Majesty, and the Lord Cardinal, to have some special consideration for the due performance of the Premises; and that as well the same may the rather come to pass, as the Church of *England*, which heretofore hath been hononourably endowed with Lands and Possessions, may have some recovery of so notable Damages and Losses which she hath sustained.

It may please their Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same, to repeal, make frustrate and void, the Statute of *Mortmayn*, made in the seventh Year of *Edward* the First, otherwise intituled, *de Religiosis*, and the Statute concerning the same, made the 15*th* Year of King *Richard* the Second. And all and every other Statute and Statutes, at any time heretofore made concerning the same. And forasmuch as Tythes and Oblations have been at all times assigned and appointed for the sustentation of Ecclesiastical Ministers; and in consideration of

the ſame, their Miniſtry and Office, which as yet cannot be executed by any Lay Perſon, ſo it is not meet that any of them ſhould perceive, poſſeſs, or enjoy the ſame; That all Impropriations, now being in the hands of any Lay Perſon, or Perſons, and Impropriations made to any ſecular uſe, other than for the maintenance of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, Univerſities, and Schools, may be, by like Authority of Parliament, diſſolved, and the Churches reduced to ſuch State as they were in, before the ſame Impropriations were made. And in this behalf we ſhall moſt humbly pray your good Lordſhips to have in ſpecial Conſideration, how lately the Lands and Poſſeſſions of Prebends, in certain Cathedral Churches within this Realm, have been taken away from the ſame Prebends, to the uſe of certain private Perſons; and in the lieu thereof, Benefices of notable value, impropriated to the Cathedral Churches in which the ſaid Prebends were founded, to the no little decay of the ſaid Cathedral Churches and Benefices, and the Hoſpitality kept in the ſame.

Farther, Right Reverend Fathers, we perceiving the godly forwardneſs in your good Lordſhips, in the reſtitution of this noble Church of *England*, to the priſtine State and Unity of Chriſt's Church, which now of late Years have been grievouſly infected with Hereſies, perverſe and ſchiſmatical Doctrine, ſown abroad in this Realm by evil Preachers, to the great loſs and danger of many Souls, accounting our ſelves to be called hither by your Lordſhips, out of all parts of the Province of *Canterbury*, to treat with your Lordſhips concerning, as well the ſame, as of other things touching the State and Quietneſs of the ſame Church, in Doctrine and in Manners, have, for the furtherance of your godly doing therein, deviſed theſe Articles following to be further conſidered and enlarged, as to your Lordſhips Wiſdoms ſhall be thought expedient. Wherein, as you do earneſtly think many things meet and neceſſary to be reform'd; ſo we doubt not but your Lordſhips, having reſpect to God's Glory, and the good Reformation of things amiſs, will no leſs travel to bring the ſame to paſs. And we, for our part, ſhall be at all times ready to do every thing, as by your Lordſhips Wiſdoms ſhall be thought expedient.

1. We deſign to be reſolved, Whether that all ſuch as have preach'd in any part within this Realm, or other the King and Queen's Dominions, any Heretical, Erroneous, or Seditious Doctrine, ſhall be called before the Ordinaries of ſuch Places where they now dwell, or be Benefic'd, and upon examination, to be driven to recant openly ſuch their Doctrine in all Places where they have preach'd the ſame? And otherwiſe, Whether any Order ſhall be made, and Proceſs to be made herein againſt them, according to the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church in ſuch Caſe uſed?

2. That the peſtilent Book of *Thomas Cranmer*, late Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, made againſt the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and the Schiſmatical Book, called, *The Communion Book*, and the Book of Ordering of Eccleſiaſtical Mininiſters; all ſuſpect Tranſlations of the Old and New Teſtament, the Authors whereof are recited in a Statute made the Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, and all other Books, as well in Latin as in Engliſh, concerning any Heretical, Erroneous, or

 Slanderous

Slanderous Doctrine, may be destroyed and burnt throughout this Realm. And that publick Commandment be given in all Places to every Man having any such Books, to bring in the same to the Ordinary, by a certain day, or otherwise to be taken and reputed as a favourer of such Doctrine. And that it may be lawful to every Bishop, and other Ordinary, to make enquiry and due search, from time to time for the said Books, and to take them from the Owners and Possessors of them, for the purpose abovesaid.

3. And for the better repress of all such pestilent Books, That Order may be taken with all speed, that no such Books may be printed, uttered, or sold, within this Realm, or brought from beyond the Seas, or other parts, into the same, upon grievous pains to all such as shall presume to attempt the contrary.

4. And that the Bishops, and other Ordinaries, may, with better speed, root up all such pernicious Doctrine, and the Authors thereof; We desire that the Statutes made, *Anno quinto* of *Richard* the Second, *Anno secundo* of *Henry* the Fourth, and *Anno secundo* of *Henry* the Fifth, against Hereticks, Lollards, and false Preachers, may be by your Industrious Suit reviv'd and put in force, as shall be thought convenient. And generally, that all Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Ordinaries, may be restored to their Pristine Jurisdiction against Hereticks, Schismaticks, and their Fautors, in as large and ample manner as they were, in the first Year of King *Henry* the Eighth.

5. And that the Premises may be the better executed by the presence of Beneficed Men in their Cures, the Statutes made *Anno* 21. of *Henry* the Eighth, concerning Pluralities of Benefices, and *Non*-residence of Beneficed Men; by reason whereof, a larger Liberty or License is given to a great multitude of Priests and Chaplains to be absent from their Benefices with Cure, than was ever permitted by the Canon Laws, and all other Statutes touching the same, may be repealed, void, and abolished; and that the Bishops, and other Ordinaries, may call all Beneficed Men to be resident upon their Cures, as before the making of that Act they might have done.

6. *Item.* That the Ordinaries do, from time to time, make Process for punishment of all Simoniacal Persons, of whom it is thought there were never so many within this Realm. And that not only the Clerks, but also the Patrons, and all the Mediators of such Pactions may be punish'd. Wherein we think good that Order were taken, that the Patrons should lose their Patronage during their natural Lives, according to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions of this Realm.

7. *Item.* That the ancient Liberty, Authority, and Jurisdiction, be restored to the Church of *England*, according to the Article of the great Charter, called, *Magna Charta*; at the least wise, in such sort as it was in the first Year of *Henry* the Eighth; and touching this Article, we shall desire your Lordships to be with us most humble Suitors to the King's and Queen's Majesty, and to the Lord Legat, for the remission of the importable Burdens of the First-Fruits, Tenths, and Subsidies. In which Suit, whatsoever advancement your Lordships shall think good to be offered unto their Majesties for the same, we shall therein be always glad to do as shall be thought good.

8. *Item*

8. *Item.* That no Attachment of Premunire be awarded against any Bishop, or other Ordinary Ecclesiastical from henceforth in any Matter, but that a Prohibition be first brought to the same, and that it may please the King's and Queen's Majesty, to command the Temporal Judges of this Realm, to explicate and declare plainly, all and singular Articles of the Premunire, and to make a certain Doctrine thereof.

9. *Item.* That the Statutes of the Provisors be not drawn by unjust Interpretation out of their proper Cases, nor from the proper sense of the words of the same Statutes.

10. *Item.* That the Statute of Submission of the Clergy, made *Anno* 25. of *Henry* the Eighth, and all other Statutes made during the time of the late Schism, in derogation of the Liberties and Jurisdictions of the Church, from the first Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, may be repealed, and the Church restored *in integrum.*

11. *Item.* That the Statute made for finding of great Horses by Ecclesiastical Persons, may likewise be repealed.

12. *Item.* That Usurers may be punish'd by the Common Laws, as in times past hath been used.

13. *Item.* That those which lay violent Hands upon any Priest, or other Ecclesiastical Minister, being in Orders, may be punish'd by the Canon Laws, as in times past hath been used.

14. *Item.* That all Priests, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons, and all other having Prebends, or other Ecclesiastical Promotions or Benefices, from henceforth use such Priest-like Habit, as the quality of his State and Benefice requireth.

15. *Item.* That Married Priests may be compelled to forsake their Women, whom they took as their Wives.

16. *Item.* That an Order may be taken for the bringing up of Youth in good Learning and Vertue; and that the School-Masters of this Realm may be Catholick Men, and all other to be removed that are either Sacramentaries, or Hereticks, or otherwise notable Criminous Persons.

17. *Item.* That all exempt and peculiar Places may, from henceforth be immediately under the Jurisdiction of that Arch-Bishop, or Bishop, and Arch-Deacon, within whose several Diocess and Arch-deaconry, the same are presently constitute and scituate. And whereas divers Temporal Men, by reason of late Purchases of certain Abbies, and exempt Places, have, by their Letters Patents, or otherwise, granted unto them Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the said Places; That from henceforth the said Jurisdiction be devolv'd to the Arch-Bishop, or Bishop, and Arch-Deacon, within whose Diocess, and Arch-deaconry the same now be.

18. *Item.* Where the Mayor of *London*, by force of a Decree made, *Anno*   of *Henry* the Eighth, hath attributed unto him the Cognition of Causes of Tythes in *London*; that from henceforth the same Cognition, and Jurisdiction, may utterly cease, and be reduced immediately to the Bishop of *London* Ordinary there.

19. *Item.* That Tythes may be henceforth paid according to the Canon Laws.

20. *Item.*

20. *Item.* That Lands and Places impropriated to Monasteries, which at the time of Dissolution and Suppression thereof, were exempt from payment of Tythes, may be now allotted to certain Parishes, and there chargeable to pay like Tythes as other Parishoners do.

21. *Item.* That there be a streight Law made, whereby the reparations of Chancels, which are notoriously decay'd through the Realm, may be duly repaired, from time to time, by such as by the Law ought to do the same; and namely, such as be in the King's and Queen's Hands; and that the Ordinaries may lawfully proceed in Causes of Dilapidations, as well of them as of all other Parsonages, Vicarages, and other Ecclesiastical Benefices and Promotions.

22. *Item.* That Order be taken for the more speedy payment of Pensions to all Priests, Pentionaries; and that they may have the same, without long Suits or Charges.

23. *Item.* That an Order be taken for payment of Personal Tythes, in Cities, and Towns, and elsewhere, as was used in *Anno* 21. of *Henry* the Eighth.

24. *Item.* That such Priests as were lately married, and refuse to reconcile themselves to their Order, and to be restored to Ministration, may have some special Animadversion, whereby, as Apostates, they may, be discern'd from other.

25. *Item.* That Religious Women, which be married, may be divorced.

26. *Item.* That in Divorces, which are made from Bed and Board, Provision may be made, that the Innocent Woman may enjoy such Lands and Goods as were hers before the Marriage, or that happened to come to her use at any time during the Marriage; and that it may not be lawful for the Husband, being for his Offence divorced from the said Woman, to intermeddle himself with the said Lands or Goods, unless his Wife be to him reconciled.

27. *Item.* That Wardens of Churches and Chappels, may render their Accounts before the Ordinaries, and may be by them compell'd to do the same.

28. *Item.* That all such Ecclesiastical Persons as lately have spoiled Cathedral, Collegiat, and other Churches, of their own heads and temerity, may be compelled to restore all and singular things so by them taken away, or the true value thereof; and farther, to re-edify such things, as by them are destroy'd and defac'd.

Number

Number 17.

A Bull, constituting Cardinal Beaton *Arch-Bishop of* St. Andrews, *Legate a* Latere *in the Kingdom of* Scotland.

An Original.

PAulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto Filio Davidi, & Sancti Stephani in Celiomonte Presbitero Cardinali Sancti Andreæ nuncupato, apud Charissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Mariam Scotorum Reginam Illustrem, & in toto Scotiæ Regno, & Universis & singulis Provinciis, Civitatibus, Terris, Castris, & Locis præfatæ Mariæ Reginæ mediate vel immediate Subjectis, nostro Apostolicæ sedis Legato, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Licet potestatis plenitudo desuper nobis sit commissa, & Universi Gregis Domini, divina disponente Clementia, curam habeamus; fines tamen humanæ possibilitatis excedere non valentes, considerantesq; quod circa singula per nos ipsos Apostolicæ servitutis Officium absolvere non possumus, nonunquam aliquos, & præcipue Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinales, in Sollicitudinis partem assumimus; ut ipsis vices nostras supplentibus, eorum cooperatione laudabili nostri oneris gravitatem alleviantes, ministerium nobis Commissum, Divina favente gratia, facilius & efficacius exequamur: Animo itaq; volventes multa quotidie eventura ob quæ opportunum atq; necessarium erit, cum charissima in Christo Filia nostra Maria Scotorum Regina Illustri, super pluribus Decus, Dignitatem ac Statum Christianæ Reipublicæ, Sanctæq; sedis Apostolicæ concernentibus pertractare; ac nobis persuadentes quod Circumspectio tua, quæ rerum maximarum usu & experientia, ac singulari in agendo studio & dexteritate, nec minori prudentia & ingenii Acrimonia ita præstat, quod quæcunq; contigerint cum illa Majestate, nostro & prædictæ sedis nomine communicanda, tractanda, & peragenda, quæ nostrum & dictæ sedis honorem ipsamq; dignitatem respiciunt, necnon illa quæ eidem Circumspectioni tuæ duxerimus committenda, ea cura, industria, & solertia prosequeris, & adimplere curabis ut voluntas nostra, quæ non nisi ad Gregem custodiæ nostræ commissum, tuendum, & ampliandum invigilat, optatum finem sortiatur; Habita super his cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, matura deliberatione, de ipsorum Fratrum Consilio, Circumspectionem tuam apud dictam Mariam Reginam, necnon in toto Scotiæ Regno, ac universis & singulis Provinciis, Civitatibus, Terris, Castris, & Locis eidem Mariæ Reginæ mediate vel immediate subjectis, nostrum & sedis prædictæ Legatum, ad beneplacitum nostrum, Creamus, Constituimus & Deputamus. Circumspectio igitur tua munus hujusmodi devota mente suscipiens, se in illius executione sic sollicitam, ac verbo & opere studiosam diligentemq; exhibeat, quod ex tuis laboribus divina favente gratia optati fructus, quod speramus, succedant: Tuq; per sollicitudinem tuam præter æternæ retributionis præmium, possis apud nos & sedem eandem merito commendari. Nos autem, ut ipsi expectati fructus quantocius, emanent, Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

emanent, & tu erga Personas Regni, Provinciarum, Civitatum, Terrarum, Castrorum, & Locorum prædictorum, necnon familiares tuos continuos, commensales, undecunq; originem & ubicunq; Domicilium habentes, tuis obsequiis insistentes, & tibi servientes, te possis reddere gratiosum, Circumspectioni tuæ Matrimoniales & Beneficiales, ac alias Ecclesiasticas necnon spirituales & prophanas causas quaslibet, ad forum Ecclesiasticum quomodolibet pertinentes, tam primæ instantiæ, quam Appellatione quorumcunque, etiam a quibuscunq; Judicibus, Ordinariis & Delegatis, etiam per nos & sedem prædictam, seu quoscunq; alios etiam a Latere Legatos, & Judices interpositarum pro tempore, & durante dicta Legatione interponendarum, etiam Summarie, simpliciter, & de plano, sine strepitu & figura Judicii, sola facti veritate inspecta; cum potestate citandi, & inhibendi, ac sequestrandi, & exequendi, etiam per edictum publicum constituto, summariæ & extrajudicialiter, de non tuto accessu, etiam sub censuris & pænis Ecclesiasticis etiam pecuniariis, tuo vel tuorum Delegatorum arbitrio moderandis, exigendis & applicandis, per te, vel alium seu alios, audiendas, cognoscendas, & sine debito terminandas, delegandi; illasq; etiamsi per nos aut alios Autoritate Apostolica delegatæ forent, seu alias coram quocunq; penderent, cum tibi placuerit, ad te advocandi, & aliis etiam simpliciter committendi, & adversus qualcunq; sententias, & res Judicatas, ac Contractus, & Lesiones quascunque, dictis tuis familiaribus Beneficium Restitutionis in integrum concedendi. Ac Officium Tabellionatus quibuscunq; personis idoneis, recepto ab eis in forma solita juramento, concedendi: illosq; Tabelliones creandi, & Notariatus Officio investiendi, alias juxta formam in Quinterno Cancellariæ Apostolicæ descriptam: Ac Milites auratos, Comitesq; Palatinos, & Poetas Laureatos creandi, constituendi, & deputandi: Ac personas sufficientes & idoneas ad Doctoratus, seu Licenciaturæ, & Baccalaureatus in utroq; vel altero Jurium, & etiam ad Magisterii tam in Theologia quam Artibus, & Medicina, vel alios gradus hujusmodi promovendi; eisq; insignia solita & debita, conferendi, & exhibendi, seu exhiberi & conferri faciendi, eisq; quod omnibus & singulis Gratiis, Privilegiis, Libertatibus, immunitatibus, exemptionibus, & indultis, quibus alii Milites aurati, Poetæ Laureati, & Comites Palatini, per nos & sedem prædictam, creati & instituti, necnon ad hujusmodi Gradus in Universitatibus Studiorum generalium, juxta illos actus & mores, ac servatis servandis promoti utuntur, potiuntur & gaudent; seu uti, potiri, & gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum; uti, potiri & gaudere, libere & licite possint, & debeant indulgendi. Ac cum Nobilibus & Graduatis, ut quæcunq; Tria, & si cum eis ad Duo incompatibilia Beneficia Ecclesiastica, insimul ad vitam obtinenda dispensatum foret; cum eis ut quodcunq; Tertium, cum aliis vero non Nobilibus aut Graduatis, ut quæcunq; Duo Curata, seu alias invicem incompatibilia, etiam si dignitas, Personatus, Administrationes, vel Officia in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis, vel Collegiatis: & Dignitates ipse in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis, post Pontificiales Majores, seu Collegiatis Ecclesiis hujusmodi Principales, aut duo ex eisdem Parrochiales Ecclesiæ, vel earum perpetuæ Vicariæ fuerint: Et ad dignitates, personatus, administrationes [illegible] officia hujusmodi consueverint, qui per electionem assumi, eisq; [illegible] immineat animarum, necnon quæcunq; duo dissimilia, vel

vel similia, sub uno, duobus vel tribus tectis dictarum vel aliarum Ecclesiarum consistentia: Ac cum quibusvis Personis, cujusvis Ordinis, Monachis, Canonicis, & Religiosis, ut quæcunq; duo Beneficia Ecclesiastica, cum cura vel sine cura regularia, aut cum eorum altero, seu sine illis, unum curatum seculare, & cum quibusvis Clericis Secularibus, ut unum Beneficium Ecclesiasticum cum cura, vel sine cura cujusvis Ordinis regulare, etiam si beneficia regularia hujusmodi Prioratus, præposituræ, præpositatus, Dignitates, Personatus, Administrationes vel Officia fuerint; & ad illos illas vel illa consueverint, qui per electionem assumi, eisq; cura immineat animarum: Regulares, videlicet unum ex dictis regularibus beneficiis quod maluerint, si Prioratus, præpositura, aut alia Dignitas Conventualis, aut officium claustrale fuerit, in titulum & ipsi regulares reliquum, ac seculare vel alterius Ordinis regulare; necnon Clerici Seculares unum quod Conventuale aut Claustrale non sit, in commendam quoad vixerint, vel ad tempus de quo tibi videbitur retinere, ac de ipsius commendandi beneficii, fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus disponere, & ordinare, sicuti illud in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis disponere & ordinare potuerunt, seu etiam debuerunt; Alienatione tamen quorumcunque bonorum immobilium, & preciosorum mobilium, dicti Benificii in Commendam retinendi, eis penitus interdicta: Necnon cum petentibus defectum Natalium etiam regularibus, ut ad omnes etiam Sacros Ordines promoveri, & quæcumque, quotcumque, & qualiacunque Beneficia Ecclesiastica cum cura vel sine cura, ac se invicem compatientia, etiam si Canonicatus, & Prebendæ in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis vel Collegiatis Ecclesiis, hujusmodi ac alias ut præfertur qualificata fuerint; dummodo dignitates in Metropolitanis vel aliis Cathedralibus, post Pontificales Majores, & in Collegiatis Ecclesiis hujusmodi Principales non existant; ac etiam cum eis si graduati non fuerint, ut præfertur, ad duo, si vero graduati fuerint, ad tria incompatibilia beneficia hujusmodi, non tamen dignitates majores ut præfertur, nec Principales, vel cum dispensatis ad duo ut tertium Curatum, vel alias incompatibile ut supradictum est, & cum regularibus etiam ad beneficia regularia ut præfertur, qualificata, & competentibus, ætatis defectum etiam regularibus, supra decimum septimum suæ ætatis Annum, ut seculare quodcunq; Beneficium Ecclesiasticum Curatum, vel alias incompatibile, etiam si dignitas, personatus, administratio, vel Officium in Cathedrali, vel Metropolitana vel Collegiata, etiam si dignitas ipsa in Cathedrali vel Metropolitana post Pontificalem majori, & in Collegiata Ecclesia hnjusmodi Principalis seu Parochialis Ecclesia, vel ejus perpetua Vicaria fuerit; & ad dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia tam secularia quam regularia, hujusmodi consueverunt, quæ per electionem assumi, eisq; cura immineat animarum, Regulares vero beneficium etiam seculare ut præfertur qualificatum, si eis alias canonice conferatur, aut ipsi eligantur, præsententur, vel alias assumantur ad illa & instituantur, in eis recipere & insimul quoad vixerint retinere, illaq; simul vel successive, simpliciter vel ex causa permutationis, quoties sibi placuerit dimittere, & commendæ hujusmodi cedere, ac loco dimissi vel dimissorum, aliud vel alia, simile vel dissimile, aut similia vel dissimilia, beneficium seu beneficia, Ecclesiasticum vel Ecclesiastica, quæcunque, quotcunque & qualiacunque compatientia, seu duo aut tria vel tertium curata, seu alias invicem in-

compatibilia, ac duo alia similia vel dissimilia, sub uno vel duobus aut tribus tectis consistentia, ac quæcunque, quotcunque & qualiacunque cum cura vel sine cura, se invicem & cum prædictis compatientia, aut supra dictum decimum septimum Annum agentes, curatum vel alias incompatibile Beneficium Ecclesiasticum respective similiter recipere, & dummodo inter ipsa tria incompatibilia plures quam duæ Parrochiales Ecclesiæ, vel earum perpetuæ Vicariæ, aut duo Canonicatus & Prebendæ, seu duæ dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia, sub eodem tecto ac pro dictis patientibus, defectum Natalium, dignitates ipsæ in eisdem Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis post Pontificales Majores, aut Collegiatis Ecclesiis hujusmodi modo Principales non existent, insimul quoad vixerint vel ad tempus retinere. Quodq; constituto in sexto decimo, ut ad Subdiaconatus, & in decimo octavo ad Diaconatus, ac in vigesimo primo suarum ætatis Annis, etiam si ratione Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum per eos obtentorum arctati fuerint, ad Presbiteratus Ordines, & tam ipsi quam quicunq; alii in ætate legitima constituti, & similiter arctati, promoveri volentes, ut ad omnes ordines prædictos, etiam extra tempora a jure Statuta, quibusvis diebus Dominicis, vel Festivis, & prout necessitas exegerit, ad duos ex ordinibus prædictis eodem die a quocunq; maluerint, Catholico Antistite, gratiam & communionem dictæ sedis habente, alias tamen rite promoveri libere & licite possint. Quodq; obtinentes Beneficia Ecclesiastica curata, seu alias Sacros & Presbiteratus Ordines hujusmodi, tam de jure quam ex Statuto, fundatione, vel alias requirentia, ut ratione illorum, Usque ad septennium a fine Anni eis a jure præfixi computandum, ad aliquem ex Diaconatus & Presbiteratus Ordinibus hujusmodi, dummodo infra primum dicti septennii Biennium ad dictum Subdiaconatus Ordinem promoti fuerint, se promoveri facere minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam, quavis Auctoritate inviti valeant coarctari; etiam unum, duo, vel plura septennia, vel alia tempora ad id per nos aut sedem eandem pluries concessa, & prorogata fuerint, & pendeant: Et cum quibusvis Personis tertio aut quarto, aut mixtim, tertio & quarto, etiam multiplici consanguinitatis seu affinitatis gradibus invicem conjunctis, & quocunq; impedimento publicæ honestatis, aut cum his qui per Adulterium se polluissent, dummodo in mortem defuncti conjugis quicquam machinati non fuissent, ut invicem matrionaliter copulari, & in contractis per eos scienter vel ignoranter Matrimoniis, cum absolutione a censuris quas sic scienter contrahendo incurrissent, remanere possint, etiam prolem exinde susceptam legitimam decernendo, dispensandi. Ac Personis quibuscunque, Ecclesiasticis Secularibus & Regularibus, ut quoad vixerint, vel ad aliud tempus in Romana Cura, vel altero Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum per eos obtentorum residendo, aut Literarum Studio in Loco ubi illud vigeat generale insistendo, fructus, redditus & proventus omnium & singulorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, cum cura vel sine cura, quæ in quibusvis Ecclesiis sive Locis pro tempore obtinebunt, etiam si ut præfertur, qualificata fuerint cum ea integritate, quotidianis distributionibus duntaxat exceptis, libere percipere valeant, cum qua illos perciperent, si in eisdem Ecclesiis sive locis personaliter residerent, & ad residendum interim in eisdem minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam valeant coarctari. Proviso quod beneficia prædicta debitis propterea non fraudentur obsequiis, & animarum

Cura

Cura in eis quibus illa immineat nullatenus negligatur; ſed per bonos & ſufficientes Vicarios, quibus de ipſorum beneficiorum proventibus neceſſaria congrue miniſtrentur, diligenter exerceatur, & deſerviatur inibi laudabiliter in divinis. Ac quibuſcunq; perſonis liceat habere Altare portatile cum debitis Reverentia, & honore, ſuper quo in locis ad id congruentibus & honeſtis ſive alieni juris præjudicio: Et cum qualitas negotiorum pro tempore ingruentium id exegerit, antequam eluceſcat dies, circa tamen diurnam lucem, ita quod id nec eis, nec Sacerdoti taliter celebranti ad culpam valeat imputari, & cum eos ad loca Eccleſiaſtica interdicta ſuppoſita contigerit declinare, in illis clauſis Janius, Excommunicatis & interdictis excluſis, non pulſatis Campanis, & ſubmiſſa voce poſſint etiam per ſe ipſos, ſi Eccleſiaſtici & ad Preſbiteratus ordinem rite promoti fuerint, aut per proprium vel alium Sacerdotem, Miſſas & alia Divina Officia in ſua & famulorum ſuorum domeſticorum præſentia celebrare, & celebrari facere; dummodo ipſi vel illi cauſam non dederint interdicto, nec id ipſis vel illis contigerit ſpecialiter interdici: Proviſo etiam quod parce hujuſmodi conceſſione ante diem, celebrandi & celebrari faciendi utantur; quia cum in Altaris Miniſterio imoletur Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, qui Candor eſt Lucis æternæ, convenit hoc non noctis tenebris fieri, ſed in Luce. Ac quibuſcunq; Perſonis ut Confeſſorem ſeu Confeſſores idoneos eligere poſſint, qui eos & eorum quemlibet juxta formam in quinterno dictæ Cancellariæ annotatam, poterit abſolvere. Necnon quibuſvis Perſonis Eccleſiaſticis ſecularibus ut quoad vixerint, & quoties eis placuerit, per ſeipſas aut cum uno Preſbitero, ſeu Clerico, ſocio ſeu familiari, horas Canonicas diurnas & nocturnas, ac alia divina officia ſecundum uſum & morem Romanæ Eccleſiæ, etiam juxta ritum Breviarii noviter impreſſi, extra tamen chorum Eccleſiæ, dicere & recitare, libere & licite valeant; & ad alium uſum ſuper hoc obſervandum, etiam ratione beneficiorum per eas obtentorum, minime teneantur, nec ad id compelli poſſint, indulgendi. Quodq; quilibet Sacerdos aut Religioſus Eccleſiaſt. Sacramenta miniſtrare valeat, Juræ Parrochialis Eccleſiæ, & cujuſlibet alterius in omnibus ſemper ſalvo. Concedendi, ac Mulieribus honeſtis quibuſcunque, ut quæcunq; Monaſteria, & domos Monialium quarumcunque, etiam obſervantiæ regularis exempta & non exempta, quomodocunq; recluſa, cum aliquibus Matronis etiam honeſtis, de conſenſu eorum qui dictis Monaſteriis & Domibus præfuerint, dummodo inibi non pernoctent, Devotionis cauſa ingredi valeant: Ac Rectoribus Parrochialium Eccleſiarum, & aliorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, Curatorum, vel quoſcunq; eorum, Parrochianos utriuſq; ſexus, ab omnibus & ſingulis eorum peccatis, & Criminibus, in Caſibus in quibus Ordinarii locorum de Jure vel conſuetudine, aut alias abſolvere poſſint; Et in illis qui ſedi prædictæ reſervati non fuerint, abſolvere, Ac vota quæcunque per eos pro tempore emiſſa, preterquam ſedi prædictæ reſervata, in alia pietatis opera commutare valeant: Ac quibuſcunq; perſonis utriuſque ſexus, Secularibus, Eccleſiaſticis, Religioſis, Mendicantibus, quæ Zelo Devotionis accenſæ, Sepulchrum Dominicum, & alia pia Loca & Oratoria terræ Sanctæ, deſiderant perſonaliter viſitare, quibuſvis prohibitionibus Apoſtolicis in contrarium factis non obſtantibus, Sepulchrum & alia Loca prædicta viſitare. Et in locis in quibus uſus olei non habetur, ut Butiro & Caſeo & infirmi de Conſilio utriuſq; Medici,

 Carnibus

Carnibus Vesci, & licite uti valeant, indulgendi. Necnon quæcunq; Juramenta ad effectum agendi, ac etiam simpliciter ut tibi videbitur, dummodo alicui exinde magnum præjudicium non fiat, relaxandi. Ac quoscunq; qui Perjurii Reatum incurrerint, ab illo absolvendi, & ad Priores honores, Statum, & famam restituendi, ac plenariè reintegrandi, omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam sive notam, Præmissorum occasione contractam, pœnitus abolendi: Ac quoscunque per saltum, vel furtive, ad aliquos sacros Ordines promotos, ab excessu quem propterea incurrerint, absolvendi; vel ut ad aliquos alios si promoti non essent, alias rite promoveri, libere & licite possint dispensandi: Absolvendi quoq; omnes & singulos qui Simoniæ labem, tam in beneficiis per eos habitis cujuscunq; qualitatis fuerint, quam Ordinibus per eos susceptis contraxerint, ab illa & excommunicationis aliisq; censuris, & pœnis Ecclesiasticis quas propterea incurrerint; & super Irregularitate si quam illis ligati, Missas & alia Divina Officia, non tamen in contemptum Clavium, celebrando, seu alias se immiscendo, contraxissent, dispensandi: omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam, similiter per eos dicta occasione, ac etiam si forsan aliqua beneficia, curata vel alias incompatibilia, post & contra fœlicis recordationis Johannis Papæ 22, Prædecessoris nostri, quæ incipit, Execrabilis, Constitutionem detinuissent, & detinerent, fructus perripiendo, ex eisdem contractam abolendi; dictaq; beneficia eis, facta tamen per eos prius de fructibus male perceptis, debita Compositione pro Camera Apostolica, denuo conferendi: Et eos qui etiam Parrochiales Ecclesias, vel alia beneficia Ecclesiastica Presbiteratus vel alium ordinem requirentia, intra Annum vel aliud tempus pacifice possedissent, & ea postmodum detinuissent & detineant, ad dictum Presbiteratus ordinem legitimo cessante impedimento, nullaq; per eos desuper dispensatione obtenta, non promoti, fructus etiam percipiendo, absolvendi; omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam, sive notam, similiter per eos dicta occasione contractam, pœnitus tollendi, eisq; de novo de beneficiis prædictis sic detentis providendi, facta tamen debita de fructibus male perceptis, pro Camera prædicta ut prædictum est, compositione. Ac quoscunq; qui in Clericos & Presbiteros, citra tamen membri mutilationem & mortem, manus violentas temere injecissent, ab Excommunicationis sententia, quam propterea incurrerint, si hoc humiliter petierint; Et etiam qui tempore Bellorum, Rapinas, Sacrilegia, Furta, & alia mala perpetrarunt, debita satisfactione prævia, & etiam illos, qui horas Canonicas omiserunt, & debita tempore non recitaverunt, aut inadvertenter dixerunt, cujuscunq; Qualitatis, Ordinis & Conditionis fuerint, ab excessibus & omissione hujusmodi respective; Necnon etiam quoscunq; Religiosos Ordinum quorumcunque, qui ob sui habitus non delationem, aut alias, Reatum sedis Apostolicæ incurrissent, ab illa ac etiam Excommunicationis, aliisq; sententiis, censuris & pænis Ecclesiasticis, quos propterea etiam juxta instituta suorum ordinum regularia incurrissent, absolvendi: Ac super irregularitate quacunque, præterquam homicidii voluntarii, aut Bigamiæ, quovismodo, etiam per sententiam, etiam sanguinis, ultimi supplicii inde sequuti, aut mutilatione membrorum contracta, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Presbiteratos Ordines, citra tamen Altaris Ministerium, & ad dignitates & beneficia Ecclesiastica, cum cura & sine cura, quæcunque, quotcunq; & qualiacunque, se invicem compatientia, eis alias Canonice

Canonice conferenda, diſpenſandi; omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam ſive notam etiam inde contractam, pænitus abolendi. Et contra quoſcunq; tam Eccleſiaſticos quam Laicos, Litterarum Apoſtolicarum & Supplicationum ac Commiſſionum Falſarios, Schiſmaticos, Hæreticos, Uſurarios, Raptores, & aliorum quorumcunque Criminum Reos, cujuſcunque dignitatis, ſtatus, gradus, ordinis, vel conditionis exiſtentes, inquirendi, procedendi, ac reos juxta criminum & exceſſuum exigentiam, prout Canonicæ diſponunt Sanctiones, ut videbitur Conſcientiæ expedire, puniendi: Contradictores quoſlibet & Rebelles, per Cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam, & alia Juris Remedia, Appellatione poſtpoſita, compeſcendi, & ſi opus fuerit auxilium Brachii ſecularis invocandi, ſeu præmiſſa fieri faciendi: Et ſi ad Cor reverſi, ſuum errorem recognoverint, & de præmiſſis volverint, ipſiq; humiliter poſtulaverint, ſeu ſupplicaverint, & tibi videbitur eos a criminibus, & exceſſibus ac ſententiis, cenſuris, & pænis hujuſmodi quas propterea incurrerint, abſolvendi: Ac cum eis, facta tamen cum dicta Camera Compoſitione, ad Ordines, Honores & Dignitates, ac etiam Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque, diſpenſandi, eoſque in priſtinum ſtatum reſtituendi, reponendi, & plenarie reintegrandi, omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam, ſive notam per eos præmiſſorum occaſione contractam, etiam pænitus abolendi. Ac cum dictis Uſurariis ſuper male ablatis, & perceptis incertis, pro dicta Camera componendi, eiſque, ut facta compoſitione hujuſmodi, ad aliam reſtitutionem faciendam non teneantur, concedendi. Ac quaſcunque Eccleſias, Monaſteria, Domos, Univerſitates, & Collegia, ac pia Loca, quæcunq; etiam exempta, & eidem ſedi immediate ſubjecta, per te vel alium, ſeu alios idoneos, viſitandi, & quæ ex eis Correctione & Emendatione tam in Spiritualibus quam Temporalibus indigere cognoveris, tam in Capite quam in membris reformandi, prout ſecundum Deum, & Canonicas Sanctiones, ac Regularum ſuarum inſtituta, noveris expedire: Ac quæcunq; Statuta, & Ordinationes Eccleſiarum, Univerſitatum, & Studiorum generalium, Monaſteriorum, Ordinum, & Conventuum, quæ tamen Libertatem Eccleſiaſticam non confundant, aut illi derogent vel repugnent, confirmandi, & approbandi; Supplendique omnes & ſingulos defectus, ſi qui forſan interveniſſent in eiſdem, illaq; ſi tibi expedire videbitur, moderandi, corrigendi, & in melius reformandi, ac illis juxta illorum exigentiam addendi. Necnon quotquot tibi videbitur in noſtros & dictæ ſedis Accolitos, Capellanos, & Notarios Apoſtolica Auctoritate recipiendi, & aliorum noſtrorum & dictæ ſedis Accolitorum, Capellanorum, & Notariorum numero, & conſortio favorabiliter aggregandi; Ac eis quod omnibus & ſingulis Privilegiis, Prerogativis, indultis, honoribus, exemptionibus, gratiis, libertatibus, & immunitatibus, utantur, potiantur, & gaudeant, quibus utuntur, potiuntur & gaudent, ac uti, potiri & gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum alii noſtri & dictæ ſedis Notarii: Exhibendi quoque, & exhiberi faciendi, eis Inſignia Notariatus hujuſmodi, recepto tamen prius ab eis ſolito Juramento, ac quibuſvis perſonis Eccleſiaſticis etiam Prælatis, Secularibus, & Regularibus, utriuſq; ſexus, etiam juxta formam Qu interni Cancellariæ, hujuſmodi licentiam Teſtandi, concedendi; Ac etiam per te vel alium ſeu alios quorumcunq; beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum cum cura & ſine cura, Secularium vel Regularium,

etiam

etiam quæ dictæ ſedi ex quavis cauſa præterquam ratione Officialium ſedis prædictæ, in Romana Curia officia ſua actu exercentium, generaliter reſervata fuerint, reſignationes ſimpliciter, vel ex cauſa permutationis, ac commendatorum & ligitioſorum tam in dicta Curia quam extra eam, ceſſiones litis, cauſas juris ac commendarum recipiendi, & admittendi, ac Cauſas deſuper pendentes aduocandi, & lites hujuſmodi penitus extinguendi, dictaq; beneficia tam ſimpliciter quam ex eadem cauſa, & alia quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque, etiam aliis, etiam per obitum infra limites dictæ Legationis, & quoad tuos Familiares, continuos, commenſales extra dictos limites ubicunq; vacantia, & vacatura, etiam ſi ut præfertur reſervata, vel affecta, & de jure Patronatus Laicorum fuerint, etiam ſi Dignitates Majores & Principales, & beneficia etiam regularia manualia, & alias quomodolibet qualificata fuerint, perſonis idoneis etiam quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque beneficia Eccleſiaſtica obtinentibus & expectantibus, etiam ſecularibus vel regularibus, conferendi, & de illis etiam providendi: Necnon quibuſvis miniſteriis tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Ordinum quorumcunq; Legationis prædictæ, quorum tamen videlicet Virorum fructus, redditus, & proventus ducentornm fleecnorum Auri, de Camera ſecundum communem extenuationem, valorem annuum non excedant, nunc & pro tempore vacantibus, de Abbatibus & Abbatiſſis, providendi, ac Monaſteria & beneficia hujuſmodi quibuſvis ad vitam, vel ad tempus, per eos tenenda, regenda, & gubernanda; ita quod liceat eis, debitis & conſuetis illorum ſupportatis oneribus, de reſiduis illorum fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus, diſponere & ordinare, ficuti illa in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis diſponere & ordinare potuerunt, ſeu etiam debuerunt: Alienatione tamen quorumcunq; bonorum immobilium, & precioſorum mobilium, Monaſteriorum & beneficiorum prædictorum eis penitus interdicta. Commendandi necnon invicem, vel ad tempus, etiam quibuſvis Menſis, Spiritualibus, Capitularibus, & Conventialibus, uniendi, annectendi, & incorporandi, Ac Canonicos ſuper-numerarios, de conſenſu Capituli creandi, ac ad ſententiarum, rerum judicatarum, Exemptorialium, & Cenſurarum, per reſignantes, ſeu cedentes in Rota noſtri Pallatii Apoſtolici habitarum, proſecutionem, illos in quorum favorem reſignaverint, ſeu ceſſerint, admittendi, ſeu admitti faciendi, & mandandi & ad ulteriorem executionem uſque ad realem paritionem contra quoſcunq; etiam Pontificali præditos dignitate procedendi, ac verum & ultimum vacationis modum, etiam ſi ex eo quævis generalis reſervatio reſultet, pro expreſſa habend. ac. ſuper illorum & quorumcunq; aliorum beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus, quaſcunq; penſiones Annuas, non tamen medietatem fructuum, reddituum & proventuum hujuſmodi excedentes, ac etiam omnes fructus loco penſionis, prædictis reſignantibus, vel cedentibus, aut aliis perſonis idoneis, quoad vixerint per prædicta beneficia, pro tempore obtinentes, & eorum ſucceſſores, annis ſingulis, in locis & terminis etiam ſub privationis & aliis pænis, ſententiis, & cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis, in talibus apponi ſolitis; perſolvendas etiam cum regreſſu, ingreſſu, vel acceſſu, ob non ſolutionem earum in forma ſolita de conſenſu eorum qui dictas penſiones perſolvere habebunt, reſervandi, conſtituendi, & aſſignandi: Ac eaſdem & alias hactenus & deinceps reſervatas & reſervandas penſiones, & fructuum reſervationes, de conſenſu

* etiam

etiam anticipata solutione, aliquorum Annorum cassandi, & extinguendi, ac Annullandi. Ac quo ad familiares tuos prædictos qui transferendi facultatem habuerint easdem pensiones, & fructus de eorum consensu, etiam in quoscunq; per eos nominatos, transferendi, etiam cum hoc quod ipsi in quos transferentur, quæcunque transferenium debita persolvere, vel alia onera, & conditiones in ipsis translationibus apposita, adimplere, sub pæna invaliditatis translationis, teneantur: & fructibus hujusmodi clausulam quod earum Litteræ per te concedendæ pro expeditis & intimatis, habeantur, de consensu illorum qui solvere habebunt, apponendi: Ac personas prædictas ad effectum gratiarum prædictarum, quas pro tempore per te eis concedi contigerit, ad omnibus & singulis Excommunicationis, Suspensionis, & Interdicti aliisq; Ecclesiasticis Sententiis, censuris & pænis, a jure vel ab homine quovis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet immediate fuerint, absolvendi, & absolutas fore censendi. Ac omnia & singula beneficia Ecclesiast. cum cura, & sine cura, quæ etiam ex quibusvis dispensationibus Apostolicis obtinent, & expectant, ac in quibus & ad quævis eis quomodolibet competit, quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque sint, eorumque, fructuum, reddituum, & proventuum, veros annuos valores, ac hujusmodi dispensationum tenores, in Litteris tuis, pro expressis, absq; eo quod de illis vel eorum aliquo mentionem facere teneantur, aut propter non factam mentionem ipsam, Litteræ per te concedendæ, surreptionis aut nullitatis vitia subjacere censeantur, habendo. Necnon quascunque gratias expectativas, speciales reservationes, uniones, annexiones, & incorporationes, nominationes, nominandi & conferendi facultates, & mandata per nos & sedem prædictam, aut Legatos ejusdem, in favorem quarumcunq; personarum, etiam cujuscunq; dignitatis, status, gradus, Ordinis, vel Conditionis, aut Cardinalatus honore fulgentium, sub quibusvis verborum formis ac clausulis, etiam derogatariarum, derogatoribus fortioribus, efficacioribus, & insolitis, etiam motu proprio & ex certa scientia, aut quavis consideratione, intuitu vel respectu etiam quantumcunq; grandi vel excogitabili; etiam Regum, Reginarum aliacunq; Principum & Prælatorum, factas & concessas, ac faciendas & concedendas, imposterum illorumq; vim & effectum omnino suspendendi. Ac visitantibus quascunq; Ecclesias, Seculares vel Regulares, etiam ad illarum fabricas, seu pro conservatione & instauratione earum, manus porrigentibus adjutrices, in duabus festivitatibus duntaxat, septem Annos & totidem Quadragenas, vel infra dictum tempus illud quod tibi videbitur de injunctis Pænitentiis misericorditer in Domino relaxandi; ita quod perpetuo vel ad tempus prout tibi videbitur durare habeant. Ac quibusvis personis dictæ Legationis, ac etiam familiaribus prædictis, ut bona immobilia eorundem Monasteriorum, Dignitatum, Prioratuum, Administrationum, & Officiorum, aliorumq; beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, quæ obtinent, seu durante Legatione hujusmodi obtinebunt, permutare, vendere, & ad tempus longum locare, ac in feudum & Emphiteosim, seu Censum vel affectum concedere, & alias alienare valeant, cum evidenti Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum & Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, ad quæ pertinent, utilitate: Proviso quod pretia exinde provenientia, in hujusmodi utilitatem convertenda, penes aliquam ædem sacram, aut fide & facultatibus idoneam Personam, cum recognoscibilibus clausulis & cautelis in similibus apponi solitis, fideliter reponantur.

reponantur. Necnon Regularibus Perſonis utriuſq; ſexus, etiam Ordinum Mendicantium, ut de eorum Monaſteriis, Domibus & Locis ad illa Monaſteria, Domos & Loca, etiam aliorum Ordinum, etiam non Mendicantium, in quibus benevolos invenerint receptores, ſe transferre, & nova loca recipere: Ac Perſonis quibuſlibet, Eccleſias, Monaſteria & Domos Ordinum Mendicantium, & beneficia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunque de novo fundare & dotare & collapſas reparare volentibus, ut illa in Locis ad hoc honeſtis & commodis fundare & reparare, ac in fundatione hujuſmodi licita & honeſta onera illa pro tempore obtinentibus imponere valeant; reſervato eis, & dictis tuis familiaribus, etiam quo ad Eccleſias per eos jam ubilibet conſtructas ſeu reſtauratas, & ulterius vel de novo conſtruendas & reſtaurandas, ac eorum poſteris, jure Patronatus, & preſentandi perſonam idoneam, ad illa dum vacabunt, licentiam concedendi; ac locationes & alienationes de bonis immobilibus Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, Prioratuum, Adminiſtrationum, vel Officiorum, aliorumq; beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, & locorum factas, ſi in evidentem utilitatem illorum ceſſerint, confirmandi & approbandi: ac ſingulos defectus, ſi qui intervenerint, in eiſdem ſupplendi: Necnon tempus præfixum Executoribus ultimarum Voluntatum, ad illas exequendum prorogandi; Ac juri patronatus Laicorum, ad effectum proviſionum & commendarum, ac Unionum prædictarum Canonice pro medietate, & ſi ex cauſa permutationis fierent, vel lis penderet, aut jus patronatus non ex fundatione vel dotatione acquiſitum eſſet, in totum derogandi. Necnon omnia & ſingula, quæ Major Penitentiarius noſter, in dicta Curia ex ſpeciali vel alia ſibi conceſſa facultate, quomodolibet facere poteſt & conſuevit, ac quæ in prædictis & circa ea neceſſaria eſſent, ſeu quomodolibet opportuna, faciendi, mandandi, ordinandi & decernendi, per te vel alium, ſeu alios, Auctoritate Apoſtolica tenore præſentium concedimus facultatem. Decernentes te omnibus & ſingulis facultatibus prædictis, in quibuſcunq; partibus prædictis, & cum illorum ſeu in illis reſidentibus perſonis ac familiaribus tuis, libere uti poſſe: Non obſtantibus defectibus, & aliis prædictis ac Lateranen. Vienen. Pictaven. & Generalium, ac aliorum Conſiliorum, necnon piæ memoriæ Bonifacii Papæ VIII. etiam Prædeceſſoris noſtri, per quam conceſſiones percipiendi fructus, in abſentia, ſine præfinitione temporis, fieri prohibentur: ac de una vel duabus Dietis in Concilio generali edita, & aliis Apoſtolicis, ac in Provincialibus & Sinodalibus Conciliis editis, generalibus vel ſpecialibus conſtitutionibus, & ordinationibus, etiam quibuſvis Regulis Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ editis & edendis, quarum tempora durantia, ac etiam pluries prorogata, & decurſa de novo concedere poſſis: quibus & aliis præmiſſis, & in ſpecie valeas derogare ſtatutis & conſuetudinibus Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, Univerſitatum, Collegiorum, & Civitatum hujuſmodi, necnon ordinum quorumcunque, etiam juramento, confirmatione Apoſtolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, etiam ſi de illis ſervandis & non impetrandis Literis, contra ea, & illis etiam ab alio vel aliis impetratis, ſeu alias quoviſmodo conceſſis, non utendo perſonæ quibus indultum de percipiendis fructibus in abſentia hujuſmodi conceſſum fuerit præſtitiſſent, eatenus vel impoſterum forſan præſtare contigerit, juramentum ac quibuſvis privilegiis & indultis generalibus vel ſpecialibus, ordinibus quibuſcunq; etiam Cluniacenſ. & Ciſtercien. quomodolibet conceſſis, confirmatis & renovatis,

innovatis, quæ præmiſſis quoviſmodo obſtarent, per quæ præſentibus non expreſſa vel totaliter non inſerta, effectus earum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri, & de quibus quorumq; totis tenoribus de verbo ad verbum habenda ſit in noſtris Literis mentio ſpecialis, quæ quoad hoc nolumus cuiquam ſuffragari : quibus omnibus & fundationibus quibuſcunq; prout expedierit ſecundum rei & Caſus exigentiam ut tibi placuerit valeas derogare; quodq; aliqui ſuper proviſionibus ſibi faciendis de hujuſmodi vel aliis Beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis in illis partibus ſpeciales vel generales dictæ ſedis vel Legatorum ejus Literas impetratas, etiam ſi per eas ad inhibitionem, reſervationem, & decretum, vel alias quomodolibet, ſit proceſſum : quibus omnibus perſonas, quibus per te de beneficiis prædictis providebitur, in eorum aſſecutione volumus anteferri; ſed nullum per hoc eis quoad aſſecutionem beneficiorum aliorum præjudicium generari. Seu ſi Locorum Ordinariis & Collatoribus, vel quibuſvis aliis communiter, vel diviſim ab eadem ſit ſede indultum, quod ad receptionem vel proviſionem alicujus minime teneantur, & ad id compelli, aut quod interdici, ſuſpendi vel excommunicari non poſſint, quodq; de hujuſmodi vel aliis beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis ad eorum collationem, proviſionem, preſentationem, electionem, ſeu quamvis aliam diſpoſitionem, conjunctim vel ſeparatim ſpectantibus, nulli valeat provideri, ſeu commenda fieri per Literas Apoſtolicas; non facientes plenam & expreſſam, ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujuſmodi mentionem, & qualibet alia dictæ ſedis indulgentia, generali vel ſpeciali, cujuſcunq; tenoris exiſtat, per quam præſentibus non expreſſam, vel totaliter non inſertam effectus Literarum tuarum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differi & de qua cujuſq; toto tenore habenda ſit in noſtris Literis mentio ſpecialis. Et quia difficile eſſet præſentes in ſingulis Literis tuis ſuper præmiſſis comedendis inferri, aut ad omnia Loca, in quibus de eis fides facienda eſſet deferri; volumus & decernimus, earum tranſumptis etiam per impreſſionem factis & tuo ſigillo munitis; ac manu tui Secretarii aut Regentis Cancellariæ tuæ ſubſcriptis, dictiſq; Literis tuis abſq; earundem præſentium in toto vel in parte inſertione, eam ubiq; fidem in Judicio & extra adhiberi, quæ ipſis præſentibus adhiberetur, ſi originaliter exhiberentur. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Domini Milleſimo quingenteſſimo quadrageſſimo tertio. Tertio Kalend. Februarii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno decimo.

C. L. de Torres.

N. Richardus.

In Dorſo. Data in Secretaria Apoſtolica.

De Torres.

Number 18.

A Letter of the Queen's, recommending the Promotion of Cardinal Pool *to the Popedom; written to the Bishop of* Winchester, *the Earl of* Arundel, *and the Lord* Paget, *then at* Calice.

An Original.

MARY the Queen.

Cotton Libr. *Titus.* B.2.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved; and right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellors, and right trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, We greet you well. And where We do consider that Christ's Catholick Church, and the whole state of Christendom, having been of late so sundry ways vexed, it should greatly help to further some quiet stay and redress of that is amiss, if at this time, of the Pope's Holiness Election, some such godly, learned, and well-disposed Person may be chosen to that Place, as shall be given to see good Order maintained, and all Abuses in the Church reformed; and known besides, to the World, to be of godly Life and Disposition. And remembring, on the other side, the great Inconveniency that were like to arise to the State of the Church, if (worldly Respects being only weighed in this choice) any such should be preferred to that Room, as wanting those godly Qualities before remembred, might give any occasion of the decay of the Catholick Faith; We cannot, for the discharge of our Duty to God and the World, but both earnestly wish, and carefully travel, that such a one may be chosen, and that without long delay or contention, as for all respects may be most fittest to occupy that Place, to the furtherance of God's Glory, and quietness of Christendom. And knowing no Person in our mind more fit for that purpose, than our dearest Cousin the Lord Cardinal *Pool*, whom the greatest part of Christendom hath heretofore for his long Experience, integrity of Life, and great Learning, thought meet for that Place, We have thought good to pray you, that taking some good occasion for that purpose, you do, in our Name, speak with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Constable, and the rest of the Commissioners of our good Brother, the French King, praying them to recommend unto our said good Brother, in our Name, our said dearest Cousin, to be named by him to such Cardinals as be at his Devotion, so as the rather, by his good furtherance and means, this our Motion may take place. Whereunto if it shall please him to give his Assent, like-as upon knowledg thereof, We shall, for our part, also labour to set forwards the Matter the best We may; So doubt We not, but if this Our good Purpose take effect, both He, and We, and the rest of all Christendom, shall have good cause to give God thanks, and rejoice thereat. Assuring him, that if We had in our Conscience thought any other Person more fit for than Place that our said dearest Cousin, We

* would

would not, for any private Affection, have preferred his Advancement before God's Glory, and the Benefit of Christendom: the furtherance whereof is (We take God to Record) the only thing We seek herein, which moveth Us to be the more earnest in this Matter. The overture whereof We have taken in hand, (as you may assure them on our Honour) without Our said dearest Cousin's knowledg or consent. And because We need not to remember the Wisdom, Sincerity of Life, and other godly Parts, wherewith Almighty God hath endowed our said dearest Cousin, the same being well enough known to Our said good Brother, and his said Commissioners, and the rest of the World; We do refer the manner of the opening and handling of the rest of the Matter unto your own Wisdoms; praying you, We may understand from you, as soon as ye may, what answer ye shall have received herein at the said Commissioners hands.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Honour of *Hampton-Court*, the 30*th* of *May*, the first and second Years of Our Reigns.

Number 19.

An Order prescribed by the King and Queens Majesties, unto the Justices of Peace of the County of Norfolk, *for the good Government of their Majesties loving Subjects within the same Shire,* March 26. 1555.

An Original.

Philip R. *Mary* the Queen.

First, The said Justices of the Peace assembling themselves together, and consulting by what good Means, good Order and Quietness may be best continued, shall after divide themselves into eight, ten, or twelve parts, more or less, as to their discretions, having regard to the quantity of the Shire, and number of themselves, shall seem most convenient; endeavouring themselves, besides their general care, that every particular number may give diligent heed, within their Limits appointed to them, for conservation of Quietness and good Order. *Cotton Libr. Titus* B. 2.

Item. The said Justices of the Peace, shall not only be aiding and assisting unto such Preachers as be, and shall be sent unto the said County, but shall also be themselves present at Sermons, and use the Preachers reverently, travelling soberly with such, as by abstaining from coming to the Church, or by any other open doings shall appear not persuaded to conform themselves, and to use such as be wilful and obstinate, more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good bearing, or committing them to Prison, as the Quality of the Persons, and Circumstance of their Doings, may seem to deserve.

Item. Amongſt all other things, they muſt lay ſpecial weight upon thoſe which be Preachers and Teachers of Heresy, or Procurers of ſecret Meetings for that purpoſe.

Item. The ſaid Juſtices of Peace, and every of them, muſt by themſelves, their Wives, Children, and Servants, ſhew good example; and if they ſhall have any of their own Servants faulty, they muſt firſt begin to reform them.

Item. The ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, and every of them, ſhall, as much as in them lieth, procure to ſearch out all ſuch as ſhall by any means ſpread falſe Tales, or ſeditious Rumours, cauſing them, when hey ſhall be known, to be further apprehended and puniſhed according to the Laws.

Item. They ſhall procure to have in every Pariſh, or part of the Shire, as near as may be, ſome one or more honeſt Men, ſecretly inſtructed, to give information of the behaviour of the Inhabitants amongſt or about them.

Item. They ſhall charge the Conſtables, and four, or more of the moſt Honeſt and Catholick of every Pariſh, with the order of the ſame Pariſh, unto whom idle Men, Vagabonds, and ſuch as may be probably ſuſpected, ſhall be bound to give a reckoning how they live, and where they ſhall be come from time to time.

Item. They ſhall have earneſt regard to the execution, and keeping of the Statutes againſt rebellious Vagabonds, and Reteinours, Alehouſes, and for keeping of the Statute of Huy-and-Cry; and ſhall give order for keeping of good and ſubſtantial Watches, in places convenient, the ſame to begin the 20*th* day of *April* next.

Item. As ſoon as any Offenders for Murder, Felony, or other Offences ſhall be taken, the ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, ſhall cauſe the matter to be forthwith examined and ordered, as to Juſtice ſhall appertain, according to the Tenour of the Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, addreſſed preſently unto them for that purpoſe.

Finally; The ſaid Juſtices of Peace ſhall meet and conſult together, at the Seſſions, every month, and more-often, as occaſion may require, conferring among themſelves, upon the ſtate of all particular parts of the Shire, and taking ſuch order for all Miſorders, as to their Wiſdoms may ſeem requiſite.

Number

Number 20.

A Letter written by the King and Queen, requiring the Bishop of London *to go on in the prosecution of the Hereticks.*

Philip R. *Mary* the Queen.

Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And where of late We addressed our Letters unto the Justices of the Peace within every of the Counties of this our Realm; whereby, amongst other Instructions given therein, for the good Order and quiet Government of the Country about, therein they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered Persons, as forgetting their Duties towards Almighty God and Us, do lean to any Erroneous and Heretical Opinions, to shew themselves conformable to the Catholick Religion of Christ's Church; whom, if they cannot by good admonition and fair means reform, they are willed to deliver unto the Ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty Opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the Laws provided in that behalf: Understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered Persons, being by the Justices of the Peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the Ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither so travelled with as Christian Charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the Order of Justice, but are suffered to continue in their Errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others. Like-as We find this Matter very strange, so have We thought convenient, both to signify this Our knowledg, and therewith also to admonish you, to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the Office of a good Pastor and Bishop, as when any such Offenders shall be by the said Justices of Peace brought unto you, ye do use your good wisdom and discretion, in procuring to remove them from their Errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them, (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the Laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's Glory may be the better advanced, and the Common-Wealth the more quietly governed. Regist. *Bonn.* Fol. *363*

Given under Our Signet, at Our Honour of *Hampton-Court*, the 24*th* of *May*, in the first and second Years of Our Reigns.

Number

Number 21.

Sir T. More's *Letter to* Cromwell, *concerning the Nun of* Kent.

Ex MSS. *Norfolciana* in Col. *Gresham.*

Right Worshipful,

AFter my most hearty recommendation, with like thanks for your Goodness, in accepting of my rude long Letter. I perceive, that of your further goodness and favour towards me, it liked your Mastership to break with my Son *Roper*, of that, that I had had communication, not only with divers that were of Acquaintance with the lewd Nun of *Canterbury*, but also with her self; and had, over that, by my writing, declaring favour towards her, given her advice and counsel; of which my demeanour, that it liketh you to be content to take the labour and the pain to hear, by mine own writing, the truth, I very heartily thank you, and reckon my self therein right deeply beholden to you.

It is, I suppose, about eight or nine Years ago sith I heard of that Housewife first; at which time, the Bishop of *Canterbury* that then was, God assoil his Soul, sent unto the King's Grace a roll of Paper, in which were written certain words of hers, that she had, as report was then made, at sundry times spoken in her Trances; whereupon it pleased the King's Grace to deliver me the Roll, commanding me to look thereon, and afterwards shew him what I thought therein. Whereunto, at another time, when his Highness asked me, I told him, That in good faith I found nothing in these words that I could any thing regard or esteem; for seeing that some part fell in Rithm, and that, God wots, full rude also; for any reason, God wots, that I saw therein, a right simple Woman might, in my mind, speak it of her own wit well enough. Howbeit, I said, that because it was constantly reported for a truth, that God wrought in her, and that a Miracle was shewed upon her; I durst not, nor would not, be bold in judging the Matter. And the King's Grace, as me thought, esteemed the Matter as light as it after proved lewd.

From that time, till about *Christmass* was twelve-month, albeit that continually there was much talking of her, and of her Holiness, yet never heard I any talk rehearsed, either of Revelation of hers, or Miracle, saving that I heard say divers times, in my Lord Cardinal's days, that she had been both with his Lordship, and with the King's Grace, but what she said, either to the one or to the other, upon my Faith, I had never heard any one word. Now, as I was about to tell you, about *Christmass* was twelve-month, Father *Risby* Friar Observant, then of *Canterbury*, lodged one night at mine House; where, after Supper, a little before he went to his Chamber, he fell in communication with me of the Nun, giving her high commendation of Holiness, and that it was wonderful to see and understand the Works that God wrought in her; which thing, I answered, That I was very glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof. Then he told me, that she had been with my Lord Legate in his Life, and with the King's Grace too; and that

that ſhe had told my Lord Legat a Revelation of hers, of three Swords that God hath put in my Lord Legat's hand, which if he ordered not well, God would lay it ſore to his Charge. The firſt, he ſaid, was the ordering the Spirituality under the Pope, as Legat. The ſecond, The Rule that he bore in order of the Temporality under the King, as his Chancellor. And the third, ſhe ſaid, was the medling he was put in truſt with by the King, concerning the great matter of his Marriage. And therewithal I ſaid unto him, That any Revelation of the King's Matters I would not hear of, I doubt not but the goodneſs of God ſhould direct his Highneſs with his Grace and Wiſdom, that the thing ſhould take ſuch end as God ſhould be pleaſed with, to the King's Honour, and Surety of the Realm. When he heard me ſay theſe words, or the like, he ſaid unto me, That God had ſpecially commanded her to pray for the King; and forthwith he brake again into her Revelations concerning the Cardinal, that his Soul was ſaved by her Mediation; and without any other Communication went unto his Chamber. And he and I never talked any more of any ſuch manner of matter, nor ſince his departing on the Morrow; I never ſaw him after, to my remembrance, till I ſaw him at *Paul*'s Croſs.

After this, about Shrovetide, there came unto me, a little before Supper, Father *Rich*, Friar Obſervant of *Richmond*; and as we fell in talking, I asked him of Father *Risby*, how he did? And upon that occaſion, he asked me, Whether Father *Risby* had any thing ſhewed me of the Holy Nun of *Kent*? and I ſaid, Yea, and that I was very glad to hear of her Vertue. I would not, quoth he, tell you again that you have heard of him already; but I have heard, and known, many great Graces that God hath wrought in her, and in other Folk, by her, which I would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard them already. And therewith he asked me, Whether Father *Risby* had told me any thing of her being with my Lord Cardinal? and I ſaid, Yea: Then he told you, quoth he, of the three Swords: Yea verily, quoth I. Did he tell you, quoth he, of the Revelations that ſhe had concerning the King's Grace? Nay forſooth, quoth I, nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing; nor verily no more I would indeed, for ſith ſhe hath been with the King's Grace her ſelf, and told him, me-thought it a thing needleſs to tell me, or to any Man elſe. And when Father *Rich* perceived that I would not hear her Revelations concerning the King's Grace, he talked on a little, of her Vertue, and let her Revelations alone; and therewith my Supper was ſet upon the Board, where I required him to ſit with me; but he would in no wiſe tarry, but departed to *London*. After that night I talked with him twice, once in mine own Houſe, another time in his own Garden at the *Friars*, at every time a great ſpace, but not of any Revelations touching the King's Grace, but only of other mean Folk, I knew not whom of, which things, ſome were very ſtrange, and ſome were very childiſh. But albeit, that he ſaid, He had ſeen her lie in her Trance in great pains, and that he had at other times taken great ſpiritual comfort in her Communication; yet did he never tell me that ſhe had told him thoſe Tales her ſelf; for if he had, I would, for the Tale of *Mary Magdalen* which he told me, and for the Tale of the Hoſtie, with which, as I have heard ſhe ſaid ſhe was Houſeled

Houseled at the King's Mass at *Calice*: If I had heard it of him, as told unto himself by her Mouth for a Revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worse. But whether ever I heard the same Tale of *Ruh* or of *Risby*, or of neither of them both, but of some other Man since she was in hold, In good faith I cannot tell; but I wot well when or wheresoever I heard it, me thought it a Tale too marvellous to be true, and very likely that she had told some Man her Dream, which told it out for a Revelation. And in effect, I little doubted but that some of these Tales that were told of her were untrue; but yet sith I never heard them reported as spoken by her own Mouth, I thought nevertheless that many of them might be true, and she a very vertuous Woman too; as some Lyes be peradventure written of some that be Saints in Heaven, and yet many Miracles indeed done by them for all that.

After this, I being upon a day at *Sion*, and talking with divers of the Fathers together at the Grate, they shewed me that she had been with them, and shewed me divers things that some of them misliked in her; and in this talking, they wished that I had spoken with her, and said, they would fain see how I should like her. Whereupon, afterward, when I heard that she was there again, I came thither to see her, and to speak with her my self. At which Communication had, in a little Chappel, there were none present but we two: in the beginning whereof, I shewed that my coming to her was not of any curious mind, any thing to know of such things as Folk talked, that it pleased God to reveal and shew unto her, but for the great Vertue that I had heard so many Years, every day more and more spoken and reported of her; I therefore had a great mind to see her, and be acquainted with her, that she might have somewhat the more occasion to remember me to God in her Devotion and Prayers; whereunto she gave me a very good vertuous Answer, That as God did of his goodness far better by her than she, a poor Wretch, was worthy, so she feared that many Folk yet beside that spoke of their own favourable minds many things for her, far above the Truth, and that of me she had many such things heard, that already she prayed for me, and ever would; whereof I heartily thanked her. I said unto her, Madam, one *Hellen*, a Maiden dwelling about *Totnam*, of whose Trances and Revelations there hath been much talking; she hath been with me of late, and shewed me, that she was with you, and that after the rehearsal of such Visions as she had seen you shewed her, that they were no Revelations, but plain Illusions of the Devil, and advised her to cast them out of her mind: And verily she gave therein good credence unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer unto such Visions of her own: Whereupon she saith, she findeth your words true, for ever since, she hath been the less visited with such things as she was wont to be before. To this she answered me, Forsooth Sir, There is in this point no praise unto me, but the goodness of God, as it appeareth, hath wrought much meekness in her Soul, which hath taken my rude warning so well, and not grudged to hear her Spirit and her Visions reproved. I liked her, in good Faith, better for this Answer, than for many of these things that I heard reported by her. Afterward she told me, upon that occasion, how great need Folk have, that are visited with such Visions, to take heed,

heed, and prove well of what Spirit they come of; and in that Communication ſhe told me, That of late the Devil, in likeneſs of a Bird, was flying and fluttering about her in a Chamber, and ſuffered himſelf to be taken; and being in hands, ſuddenly changed, in their ſight that were preſent, into ſuch a ſtrange ugly faſhioned Bird; that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a Window.

For concluſion; we talked no word of the King's Grace, or any great Perſonage elſe, nor in effect, of any Man or Woman, but of her ſelf and my ſelf; but after no long communication had, for or ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her a Double Ducate, and prayed her to pray for me and mine, and ſo departed from her, and never ſpake with her after. Howbeit, of a truth, I had a great good opinion of her, and had her in great eſtimation, as you ſhall perceive by the Letter that I wrote unto her. For afterwards, becauſe I had often heard that many right worſhipful Folks, as well Men as Women, uſed to have much communication with her; and many Folk are of nature inquiſitive and curious, whereby they fall ſometimes into ſuch talking, and better were to forbear, of which thing I nothing thought while I talked with her of Charity, therefore I wrote her a Letter thereof; which ſith it may be peradventure, that ſhe brake or loſt, I ſhall inſert the very Copy thereof in this preſent Letter.

These were the very words.

GOod Madam, and my right dearly-beloved Siſter in our Lord God, after moſt hearty Commendation, I ſhall beſeech you to take my good Mind in good worth, and pardon me, that I am ſo homely as of my ſelf unrequired, and alſo without neceſſity, to give counſel to you, of whom for the good Inſpirations, and great Revelations that it liketh Almighty God of his goodneſs to give and ſhew, as many wiſe, well-learned, and very vertuous Folk teſtify, I my ſelf have need, for the comfort of my Soul, to require and ask Advice. For ſurely, good Madam, ſith it pleaſeth God ſometime to ſuffer, ſuch as are far under and of little eſtimation, to give yet fruitful advertiſement to ſuch other as are in the Light of the Spirit ſo far above them, that there were between them no compariſon; as he ſuffered his High Prophet *Moſes* to be in ſome things adviſed and counſelled by *Jethro*, I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, which in my poor mind I think highly neceſſary to be by your Wiſdom conſidered, referring the end, and the order thereof, to God and his Holy Spirit, to direct you. Good Madam, I doubt not, but that you remember that in the beginning of my Communication with you, I ſhewed you, that I neither was, nor would be, curious of any knowledg of other Mens Matters, and leaſt of all of any Matter of Princes, or of the Realm, in caſe it ſo were, that God had, as to many good Folks before-time, he hath any time revealed unto you ſuch things, I ſaid unto your Ladyſhip, that I was not only not deſirous to hear of, but alſo would not hear of. Now Madam, I conſider well that many Folk deſire to ſpeak with you, which are not all peradventure of my mind in this Point; but ſome hap to be curious

and inquisitive of things that little pertain unto their parts; and some might peradventure hap to talk of such things as might peradventure after turn to much harm; as I think you have heard how the late Duke of *Buckingham*, moved with the fame of one that was reported for an Holy Monk, and had such talking with him, as after was a great part of his destruction, and disheriting of his Blood, and great slander and infamy of Religion. It sufficeth me, good Madam, to put you in remembrance of such things, as I nothing doubt your Wisdom, and the Spirit of God shall keep you from talking with any Person, specially with high Persons, of any such manner things as pertain to Princes Affairs, or the State of the Realm, but only to commune and talk with any Person, high and low, of such manner things as may to the Soul be profitable for you to shew, and for them to know. And thus, my good Lady, and dearly beloved Sister in our Lord, I make an end of this my needless advertisement unto you, whom the Blessed Trinity preserve and increase in Grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and mine unto him in your devout Prayers. At *Chelsey*, this *Tuesday*, by the Hand of

Your hearty loving Brother and Beadsman,

Thomas More Kt.

At the receipt of this Letter, she answered my Servant, that she heartily thanked me: Soon after this there came to mine House the Prior of the *Charterhouse* at *Shene*, and one Brother *Williams* with him, who nothing talked to me, but of her, and of the great joy that they took in her Vertue, but of any of her Revelations they had no communication. But at another time Brother *Williams* came to me, and told me a long Tale of her, being at the House of a Knight in *Kent*, that was sore troubled with Temptations to destroy himself; and none other thing we talked of, nor should have done of likelyhood, though we had tarried together much longer, he took so great pleasure, good Man, to tell the Tale, with all the Circumstances at length. When I came again another day to *Sion*, on a day in which there was a Profession, some of the Fathers asked me how I liked the Nun? And I answered, that, in good Faith, I liked her very well in her talking; howbeit, quoth I, she is never the nearer tried by that, for I assure you, she were likely to be very bad, if she seemed good, e're I should think her other, till she happened to be proved naught; and in good Faith, that is my manner indeed, except I were set to search and examine the truth, upon likelyhood of some cloaked evil; for in that case, although I nothing suspected the Person my self, yet no less than if I suspected him sore, I would as far, as my wit would serve me, search to find out the truth, as your self hath done very prudently in this Matter; wherein you have done, in my mind, to your great laud and praise, a very meritorious Deed, in bringing forth to light such detestable Hypocrisy, whereby every other Wretch may take warning, and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falshood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful Work of God; for verily, this Woman so

so handled her self, with help of that evil Spirit that inspired her, that after her own Confession declared at *Paul's* Cross, when I sent word by my Servant unto the Prior of the *Charterhouse*, that she was undoubtedly proved a false deceiving Hypocrite; The good Man had had so good opinion of her so long, that he could at the first scantly believe me therein. Howbeit it was not he alone that thought her so very good, but many another right good Man besides, as little marvel was upon so good report, till she was proved naught.

I remember me further, that in Communication between Father *Rich* and me; I counselled him, that in such strange things as concerned such Folk as had come unto her, to whom, as she said, she had told the causes of their coming, e're themselves spake thereof; and such good Fruit as they said that many Men had received by her Prayer, he, and such other as so reported it, and thought that the knowledg thereof should much pertain to the Glory of God, should first cause the things to be well and sure examined by the Ordinaries, and such as had Authority thereunto; so that it might be surely known whether the things were true or not, and that there were no Letters intermingled among them, or else the Letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of these things that were true. And when he told me the Tale of *Mary Magdalen*, I said unto him, Father *Rich*, that she is a good vertuous Woman, in good Faith, I hear so many good Folk so report, that I verily think it true; and think it well-likely that God worketh some good and great things by her; but yet are, you wot well, these strange Tales no part of our Creed; and therefore before you see them surely proved, you shall have my poor counsel, not to wed your self so far forth to the credence of them, as to report them very surely for true, lest that if it should hap that they were afterwards proved false, it might minish your estimation in your Preaching, whereof might grow great loss. To this he thanked me for my counsel, but how he used it after that, I cannot tell.

Thus have I, good Mr. *Cromwell*, fully declared to you, as far as my self can call to remembrance, all that ever I have done or said in this Matter, wherein I am sure that never one of them all shall tell you any further thing of effect; for if any of them, or any Man else, report of me, as I trust verily no Man will, and I wot well truly no Man can, any Word or Deed by me spoken or done, touching any breach of my legal Truth and Duty toward my most redoubted Soveraign, and natural Liege Lord, I will come to mine Answer, and make it good in such wise as becometh a poor true Man to do; that whosoever any such thing shall say, shall therein say untrue: for I neither have in this Matter done evil, nor said evil, nor so much as any evil thing thought, but only have been glad, and rejoiced of them that were reported for good; which condition I shall nevertheless keep toward all other good Folk, for the false cloaked Hypocrisy of any of these, no more than I shall esteem *Judas* the true Apostle, for *Judas* the false Traitor.

But so purpose I to bear my self in every Man's Company, while I live, that neither good Man nor bad, neither Monk, Friar, nor Nun, nor other Man or Woman in this World, shall make me digress from my Truth and Faith, either towards God, or towards my natural Prince,

 by

by the Grace of Almighty God; and as you therein find me true, so I heartily therein pray you to continue toward me your favour and good-will, as you shall be sure of my poor daily prayer; for other pleasure can I not do you. And thus the Blessed Trinity, both bodily and ghostly, long preserve and prosper you.

I pray you pardon me, that I write not unto you of mine own hand, for verily I am compelled to forbear writing for a while, by reason of this Disease of mine, whereof the chief occasion is grown, as it is thought, by the stooping and leaning on my Breast, that I have used in writing. And thus, eft-soons, I beseech our Lord long to preserve you.

Number 22.

Directions of Queen Mary *to her Council, touching the Reformation of the Church, out of her own Original.*

Ex M.S. D,G.*Petyte.*

FIrst, That such as had Commission to talk with my Lord Cardinal at his first coming, touching the Goods of the Church, should have recourse unto him, at the least once in a week, not only for putting these Matters in execution, as much as may be, before the Parliament, but also to understand of him which way might be best to bring to good effect, those Matters that have been begun concerning Religion, both touching good Preachiug, I wish, that may supply and overcome the evil Preaching in time past; and also to make a sure Provision, that no evil Books shall either be printed, bought, or sold, without just punishment. Therefore I think it should be well done, that the Universities aud Churches of this Realm, should be visited by such Persons as my Lord Cardinal, with the rest of you, may be well assured to be worthy and sufficient Persons to make a true and just account thereof, remitting the choice of them to him and you. Touching punishment of Hereticks, me thinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean while to do Justice to such, as by Learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used, that the People might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, whereby they shall both understand the Truth, and beware to do the like. And especially in *London*, I would wish none to be burnt, without some of the Councils presence, and both there and every-where, good Sermons at the same. I verily believe that many Benefices should not be in one Man's hand, but after such sort as every Priest might look to his own Charge,and remain resident there, whereby they should have but one Bond to discharge towards God; Whereas now they have many, which I take to be the cause that in most part of this Realm there is over-much want of good Preachers, and such as should with their Doctrine overcome the evil diligence of the abused Preachers in the time of Schism, not only by their Preaching, but also by their good Example, without which, in mine Opinion, their Sermons shall not so much profit as I wish. And like-as their good Example, on their behalf, shall undoubtedly do much good,

so

ſo I account my ſelf bound, on my behalf alſo, to ſhew ſuch example, in encouraging and maintaining thoſe Perſons, well-doing their Duty, (not forgetting, in the mean while, to correct and puniſh them which do contrary) that it may be evident to all this Realm how I diſcharge my Conſcience therein, and miniſter true Juſtice in ſo doing.

Number 23.

Injunctions by *Hugh Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to the Prior and Convent of St. *Mary Houſe* in *Worceſter*, 1537.

Hugh, *by the goodneſs of God, Biſhop of* Worceſter, *wiſheth to his Brethren, the Prior and Convent aforeſaid, Grace, Mercy, Peace, and true knowledg of God's Word; from God our Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

Foraſmuch as in this my Viſitation, I evidently perceive the Ignorance and Negligence of divers Religious Perſons in this Monaſtery to be intollerable, and not to be ſuffered; for that thereby doth reign Idolatry, and many kinds of Superſtitions, and other Enormities: And conſidering withal, that our Soveraign Lord the King, for ſome part of Remedy of the ſame, hath granted, by his moſt gracious Licenſe, that the Scripture of God may be read in Engliſh, of all his obedient Subjects. I therefore, willing your Reformation in moſt favourable manner, to your leaſt diſpleaſur; do heartily require you all, and every one of you, and alſo in God's behalf command the ſame, according as your Duty is, to obey me as God's Miniſter, and the Kings, in all my lawful and honeſt Commandments, that you obſerve and keep inviolably, all theſe Injunctions following, under pain of the Law. *L. 3us Reg. Prior. & Convent. Wigorn.*

FIrſt; Foraſmuch as I perceive that ſome of you neither have obſerved the King's Injunctions, nor yet have them with you, as willing to obſerve them; therefore ye ſhall from henceforth, both have and obſerve diligently and faithfully, as well ſpecial commandments of Preaching, as other Injunctions given in his Graces Viſitation.

Item. That the Prior ſhall provide, of the Monaſteries charge, a whole Bible in Engliſh, to be laid faſt chained in ſome open place, either in their Church or Cloiſter.

Item. That every Religious Perſon have, at the leaſt, a New Teſtament in Engliſh, by the Feaſt of the Nativity of our Lord next enſuing.

Item. Whenſoever there ſhall be any Preaching in your Monaſtery, that all manner of Singing, and other Ceremonies, be utterly laid aſide in his preaching time; and all other Service ſhortned, as need ſhall be; and all Religious Perſons quietly to hearken to the Preaching.

Item. That ye have a Lecture of Scripture read every day in Engliſh amongſt you, ſave Holy-days.

Item.

Item. That every Religious Person be at every Lecture, from the beginning to the ending, except they have a necessary Lett allowed them by the Prior.

Item. That every Religious House have a Layman to their Steward, for all former Businesses.

Item. That you have a continual Schoolmaster, sufficiently learned, to teach your Grammer.

Item. That no Religious Person discourage any manner of Lay-man or Woman, or any other from the reading of any good Book, either in Latin or English.

Item. That the Prior have at his Dinner or Supper, every day a Chapter read, from the beginning of the Scripture to the end, and that in English, wheresoever he be in any of his own Places, and to have edifying communication of the same.

Item. That the Covent sit together, four to one Mess, and to eat together in common, and to have Scripture read in likewise, and have communication thereof; and after their Dinner or Supper, their Reliques and Fragments to be distributed to the poor People.

Item. That the Covent and Prior, provide Distributions to be ministred in every Parish, whereas ye be Parsons and Proprietaries, and according to the King's Injunctions in that behalf.

Item. That all these my Injunctions be read every month, once in the Chapter House, before all the Brethren.

Number 24.

A Letter of Ann Boleyn's *to* Gardner.

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

Mr. *Stephens*, I thank you for my Letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful Mind that you have to do me pleasure, not doubting, but as much as is possible for Man's Wit to imagine, you will do. I pray God to send you well to speed in all your Matters, so that you would put me to the study, how to reward your high Service: I do trust in God you shall not repent it, and that the end of this Journey shall be more pleasant to me than your first, for that was but a rejoicing hope, which ceasing the lack of it, does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know: And therefore I do trust that this hard beginning, shall make the better ending.

Mr. *Stephens*, I send you here Cramp-Rings for you and Mr. *Gregory*, and Mr. *Peter*, praying you to distribute them as you think best. And have me recommended heartily to them both, as she, that you may assure them, will be glad to do them any pleasure which shall lie in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God send you good health. Written at *Greenwich*, the 4th day of *April*.

By your assured Friend,

Ann Boleyn.

Number

Number 25.

The Office of Consecrating the Cramp-Rings.

Certain Prayers to be used by the Queen's Highness, in the Consecration of the Cramp-Ring.

DEus misereatur nostri & benedicat nos Deus, illuminet vultum suum super nos & misereatur nostri. Ex M S. in Biblioth. R. *Smith.* Lond

Ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes.

Lætentur & exultent gentes, quoniam judicas populos in equitate, & gentes in terra dirigis.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes, terra dedit fructum suum.

Benedicat nos Deus, Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus & metuent eum omnes fines terræ.

Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & semper, & in sœcula, sœculorum. Amen.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui ad solatium humani generis, varia ac multiplicia miseriarum nostrarum levamenta uberrimis gratiæ tuæ donis ab inexhausto benignitatis tuæ fonte manantibus, incessanter tribuere dignatus es, & quos ad Regalis sublimitatis fastigium extulisti, insignioribus gratiis ornatos, Donorumq; tuorum organa atq; canales esse voluisti, ut sicut per te regnant aliisq; præsunt, ita te authore reliquis prosint, & tua in populum beneficia conferant; preces nostras propitius respice, & quæ tibi vota humilime fundimus, benignus admitte, ut quod a te majores nostri de tua misericordia sperantes obtinuerunt, id nobis etiam pari fiducia postulantibus concedere digneris. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

The Rings lying in one Bason, or more, this Prayer to be said over them.

DEus Cœlestium terrestriumq; conditor creaturarum, atq; humani generis benignissime reparator, Dator spiritualis gratiæ, omniumq; benedictionum largitor, immitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum Paracletum de cælis super hos Annulos arte fabrili confectos, eosq; magna tua potentia ita emundare digneris, ut omni nequitia lividi venenosiq; serpentis procul expulsa, metallum a te bono conditore creatum, a cunctis inimici sordibus maneat immune. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Benedictio

Benedictio Annulorum.

Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, exaudi misericors preces nostras, parce metuentibus, propitiare supplicibus, & mittere digneris Sanctum Angelum tuum de Cœlis qui Sanctificet ✠ & benedicat ✠ annulos istos, ut sint remedium salutare omnibus nomen tuum humiliter implorantibus, ac semetipsos pro conscientia delictorum suorum accusantibus, atq; ante conspectum Divinæ Clementiæ tuæ facinora sua deplorantibus, & serenissimam pietatem tuam humiliter obnixeq; flagitantibus; prosint deniq; per invocationem Sancti tui nominis omnibus istos gestantibus, ad corporis & animæ sanitatem. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Benedictio.

Deus qui in morbis curandis maxima semper potentiæ tuæ miracula declarasti, quiq; annulos in Juda Patriarcha fidei arrabonem, in Aarone Sacerdotale ornamentum, in Dario fidelis custodiæ Symbolum, & in hoc Regno variorum morborum remedia esse voluisti, hos annulos propitius ✠ benedicere & ✠ sanctificare digneris: ut omnes qui eos gestabunt sint immunes ab omnibus Satanæ insidiis, sint armati virtute cœlestis defensionis, nec eos infestet vel nervorum contractio, vel comitialis morbi pericula, sed sentiant te opitulante in omni morborum genere Levamen. In nomine Patris ✠ & Filii ✠ & Spiritus Sancti ✠. Amen.

Benedic anima mea Domino: & omnia quæ intra me sunt nomini sancto ejus. *Here followes the rest of that Psalm.*

Immensam clementiam tuam Misericors Deus humiliter imploramus, ut qua animi fiducia & fidei sinceritate, ac certa mentis pietate, ad hæc impetranda accedimus, pari etiam devotione gratiæ tuæ symbola fideles prosequantur; facessat omnis superstitio, procul absit Diabolicæ fraudis suspitio, & in gloria tui nominis omnia cedant; ut te Largitorem bonorum omnium fideles tui intelligant, atque a te uno quicquid vel animis vel corporibus vere prosit, profectum sentiant & profiteantur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

These Prayers being said, the Queens Highness rubbeth the Rings between her Hands, saying;

Sanctifica Domine Annulos istos, & rore tuæ benedictionis benignus asperge, ac manuum nostrarum confricatione, quas olei sacri infusione externa, sanctificare dignatus es pro ministerii nostri modo, consecra, ut quod natura metalli præstare non possit, gratiæ tuæ magnitudine efficiatur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Then

Then must Holy Water be cast on the Rings, saying;

In Nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Domine Fili Dei unigenite, Dei & Hominum Mediator, Jesu Christe, in cujus unius nomine salus recte quæritur, quiq; in te sperantibus facilem ad Patrem accessum conciliasti, quem quicquid in nomine tuo peteretur, id omne daturum, cum certissimo veritatis Oraculo ab ore tuo Sancto, quum inter homines versabaris homo pronunciasti, precibus nostris aures tuæ pietatis accommoda, ut ad thronum gratiæ in tua fiducia accedentes, quod in Nomine tuo humiliter postulavimus, id a nobis, te mediante, impetratum fuisse, collatis per te beneficiis, fideles intelligant. Qui vivis & regnas cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia sœcula sœculorum. Amen.

Vota nostra quæsumus Domine, Spiritus Sanctus qui a te procedit, aspirando preveniat, & prosequatur, ut quod ad salutem fidelium confidenter petimus, gratiæ tuæ dono efficaciter consequamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Majestatem tuam Clementissime Deus, Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, suppliciter exoramus, ut quod ad nominis tui sanctificationem piis hic Ceremoniis peragitur, ad corporis simul & animæ tutelam valeat in terris, & ad uberiorem fœlicitatis fructum proficiat in Cœlis.

Qui vivis & regnas Deus, per omnia sœcula sœculorum. Amen.

Number 26.

A Letter of Gardiners *to King* Henry *the Eighth, concerning the Divorce.*

An Original.

PLeaseth it your Majesty to understand, that besides all other means used to the Pope's Holiness, for attaining and atchieving your Highness Purpose and Intent, such as in our common Letters to my Lord Legat's Grace, and my several Letters to the same be contained at length. I have also a-part shewed unto the Pope's Holiness, that which your Highness shewed me in your Gallery at *Hampton-Court*, concerning the sollicitation of the Princes of *Almayn*, and such other Matter as should and ought to fear the Pope's said Holiness; adding also those Reasons which might induce the same to adhere expressly to your Highness, and the French King, and so to take the more courage to accomplish your Highness Desires: using all ways possible to enforce him to do somewhat, being a Man of such Nature, as he never resolveth any thing, but by some violent Affection compelled thereunto. And considering we can speed no better at his hands, it agreeth with Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

that your Majesty, of your high Wisdom before perpended, that his Holiness would do nothing which might offend the Emperor, unless he first determined himself to adhere to your Highness, and the French King, and so to declare himself, containing himself no longer in Neutrality; which he will not do: Ne the State of the Affairs here considered, it were for his Wealth so to do, unless the Leagues otherwise proceeded than they yet do, or that his Holiness would determine himself to leave these Parts, and establish his See in some other Place; forasmuch, as here being, he is daily in danger of the Imperial's, like as we have signified by our other Letters. His Holiness is in great perplexity and agony of Mind, nor can tell what to do: he seemeth in words, fashion, and manner of speaking, as though he would do somewhat for your Highness; and yet, when it cometh to the Point, nothing he doth: I dare not say certainly, whether it be for fear, or want of good Will, for I were loth to make a Lie of him, or to your Highness, my Prince, Soveraign Lord and Master. Finally, I perceive this by the Pope, and all other here, that so your Highness cause were determined there by my Lord's Legats, they would be glad thereof; and, as I think, if the Emperor would make any Suit against that which shall be done there, they would serve him as they now do your Highness, and so drive off the time, for they seem to be so minded, as in this Cause they would suffer much, but do very little: Wherefore if my Lord *Campegius* will set apart all other respects, and frankly promise your Highness to give Sentence for you, then must be your Highness Remedy short and expedite; nor shall there want wit, by another means, to meet with such delays, as this false counterfeit Breve hath caused. For with these Men here, your Highness shall by no Suit profit; which thing I write unto your Highness, as of my most bounden Duty I ought to do: there shall every day rise new Devices, and none take effect, but long delays, and wasted time: wherefore doing what I can yet to get the best, although we be fully answered therein, I shall do what I can to get the Commission amplified as much as may be, and at the least, to extend to the reprobation of the Brief, if I can, for I dare promise nothing to your Majesty at this Man's hands; and that which shall be obtained, if any be obtained, shall be, according to your Highness Pleasure, sent by Mr. *Bryan*.

And whereas your Highness, in your gracious Letters directed to me and my Colleagues, marvelleth that I have not e're this advertised the same, of such Bulls as your Majesty willed me to impetrate here; I thought verily, that forasmuch as the same be to be impetrate at the Pope's Hand, and that we signified unto your Majesty, by our Letters, of the Pope's great Sickness, and how we could not have access unto the same, that it had been superfluous for me, in my Letters, to make any mention of the said Bulls: signifying unto your Highness now, that having those Matters, as it becometh me to have in good remembrance, I have not yet broken with the Pope's Holiness in them, nor thought good to interrupt the Prosecution of your Highness Matter, with the pursuit of those, saving that I spake a word to the Pope's Holiness, *de Ecclesiis Cathedralibus*, and his Holiness said nothing could be done till the *Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor* be recovered. In other things I speak not; for our Audience with the Pope's Holiness hath been so scarce,

ſcarce, that we thought it little enough to ſpend the ſame in your Highneſs principal Matter.

And to advertiſe your Highneſs what Counſel is here conducted for the defence of your Majeſty's Cauſe, the ſame ſhall underſtand that this Court, as it hath ſuffered in all other things, ſo it is alſo much appeyred in Learned Men, and of them that be, we dare not truſt every one, *ne Cauſa Majeſtatis veſtræ illis denudata*, they ſhould, *prodere illam Adverſariis*; wherefore counſelling, as yet only with two, the one called *Dominus Michael*, the other *Dominus Sigiſmundus*; we perceiving nothing to be ſolicited openly on the other ſide, and that here as yet, hath been no need to diſpute openly, have communicate your Highneſs Matter to no more. And as for that Article, *Quod Papa non poſſit diſpenſare*, the Pope himſelf will hear no Diſputations in it; and ſo he might retain your Highneſs good Mind, he ſeemeth not to care for himſelf, whether your Highneſs Cauſe be decided by that Article or no, ſo he did it not: but ſurely it appeareth, as a Man may gather by his faſhion and manner, that he hath made his account no further to meddle in your Highneſs Matter, neither with your Majeſty, nor againſt the ſame, but follow that ſhall be done by his Legats there. Wherefore if my Lord *Campegius* would promiſe your Majeſty to give Sentence frankly and apertly, having *propitium Judice*, I would truſt, being there with ſuch Conſultations as I ſhould bring from hence to ſay ſomewhat to this Breve there, *Apud illos & iſta eſt Sacra Anchora Majeſtatis veſtræ*, for from hence ſhall come nothing but Delays; deſiring your Highneſs not to ſhew this to my Lord *Campegius*, nor my Lord's Grace.

Mr. *Gregory* ſendeth preſently unto your Highneſs the Promiſe made by the Pope's Holineſs, concerning your Highneſs Cauſe, at ſuch time as I went to *Venice* for his Cauſe, which Promiſe in the firſt three words, *viz. Cum nos juſtitiam ejus Cauſæ perpendentes*, &c. doth make as much, and more, for the maintenance of that ſhall be done in your Highneſs Cauſe; then if the Commiſſion Decretal, being in Cardinal *Campegius*'s Hands, ſhould be ſhewed: and this your Highneſs at your liberty to ſhew to whom of your Council it ſhall pleaſe your Grace, thinking, in my poor Opinion, that it were not the beſt therefore to move the Pope in that Matter again in this adverſe Time.

I moſt humbly deſire your Majeſty, that I may be a Suitor to the ſame for the ſaid Mr. *Gregory*; ſo as by your moſt gracious Commandment, payment may be made there to his Factors, of ſuch Diets as your Highneſs alloweth him: for omitting to ſpeak of his true, faithful, and diligent Service, which I have heretofore, and do now perceive in him here; I aſſure your Highneſs, he liveth here ſumptuouſly and chargeably, to your Highneſs Honour, and in this great Scarcity, muſt needs be driven to Extremity, unleſs your Highneſs be a gracious Lord unto him in that behalf.

Thus having none other Matter whereof privately to write unto your Majeſty, beſides that is contained in our common Letters to my

 Lord

Lord Legat's Grace, desiring your Highness, that I may know your Pleasure what to do, in case none other thing can be obtained here. I shall make an end of these Letters, praying Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal Estate, with a short expedition of this Cause, according to your Highness Purpose and Desire.

From *Rome*, the 21 day of *April*.

Your Highness most humble Subject,

Servant, and daily Orator,

Stephen Gardiner.

Number 27.

The Writ for the burning of Cranmer.

PHILIP and MARY, *&c.*

Rot. Pat. 2, & 3, *Phil.* & *Mar.* 2. par. TO Our right trusty *Nicholas*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, Greeting. We Will and Command you, that immediately upon the sight hereof, and by Warrant of the same, ye do cause to be made a Writ for the Execution of *Thomas Cranmer*, late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; and the same so made, to Seal with our Great Seal of *England*, being in your Custody, according to the Tenor and Form hereafter following.

Philippus & Maria Dei Gratia, &c. Majori & Ballivis Civitatis Oxon. Salutem. Cum Sanctissimus Pater noster Paulus Papa ejusdem Nominis Quartus, per sententiam definitivam juris Ordine in ea parte requisito in omnibus observato, & juxta canonicas sanctiones judicialiter & definitive, Thomam Cranmer nuper Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, fore Hæresiarchum, Anathematizatum, & Hæreticum manifestum, propter suos varios nefandos Errores manifestos & damnabiles Hæreses, & detestandas & pessimas Opiniones, Fidei nostræ Catholicæ, & Universalis Ecclesiæ determinationi obviantes & repugnantes: & prædict. Thomam Cranmer multis modis contract. comiss. dict. affirmat. perpetrat. & publice & pertinaciter tent. & defens. judicavit, declaravit, pronunciavit & condemnavit. & eadem causa idem Sanctissimus Pater noster Papa Paulus quartus Judicialiter & definitive, more solito, prædictum Thomam Cranmer a prædicto Archiepiscopatu, aliis Prælaturis, dignitatibus, Officiis & Beneficiis deprivavit & abjudicavit, prout cunctam inde habemus noticiam: Cumq; etiam Reverendus in Christo Pater Edmundus London Episcopus, & Thomas Elien Episcopus Authoritate ejusdem Sanctissimi nostri Patris Papæ prædictum Thomam Cranmer ab omni Ordine, Gradu, Officio & Dignitate Ecclesiastica, tanquam Hæresiarcham & Hæreticum manifestum realiter degradaverunt; Vigore cujus idem Thomas Cranmer in presenti Hæreticus & Hæresiarcha juste,

juste, legitime, & Canonice Judicatus, condemnatus & degradatus existit; Et cum etiam Mater Ecclesia non habet quod ulterius in hac parte contra tam putridum & detestabile membrum & hereliarchum faciat aut facere debeat, Iidem Reverendi Patres eundem Thomam Cranmer damnatum Hæreticum & Hæresiarcham brachiis & potestati nostris secularibus tradiderunt, commiserunt & reliquerunt, prout per Literas Patentes eorundem Reverendorum Patrum superinde confect. nobis in Cancellaria nostra Certificatum est. Nos igitur ut Zelatores Justiciæ, & Fidei Catholicæ Defensores, volentesque Ecclesiam Sanctam, ac Jura & Libertates ejusdem, & Fidem Catholicam manutenere & defendere, hujusmodi Hæreses & Errores ubique, quantum in nobis est, eradicare & extirpare, & prædictum Thomam Hæresiarcham ac convictum, damnat. & degradat. animadversione condigna punire. Attendentesque hujusmodi Heretic. & Heresiarch. in forma prædicta convict. damnat. & degradat. juxta Leges & consuetudines Regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte consuetas ignis incendio comburi debere; Vobis Præcipimus quod dictum Thomam Cranmer, in custodia vestra existen. in Loco publico & aperto, infra Libertatem dicti Civitatis nostræ Oxon. ex causa prædicta, coram Populo igni Committi, ac ipsum Thomam Cranmer in eodem igne realiter comburi facietis, in hujusmodi Criminis detestationem, aliorum Christianorum exemplum manifestum: Et hoc sub pæna & periculo incumbente, ac prout nobis subinde respondere volueritis, nullatenus Omittatis. Test. nobis ipsis apud Westmonasterium, Vicesimo quarto Februarii, Annis Regis & Reginæ secundo ac tertio.

And this Bill, signed with the hand of Us the said Queen, shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge for the same.

Number 28.

A Commission to Bonner, *and others, to search and raze Records.*

PHILIP *and* MARY, *&c.*

TO the Right Reverend Father in God, *Edmond* Bishop of *London*; and to Our trusty and well-beloved *Henry Cole*, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, *London*; and *Thomas Marten* Esq; Doctor of the Civil Law, Greeting. Where is come to Our knowledg and understanding, that in the time of the late Schism, divers and sundry Accompts, Books, Scroles, Instruments, and other Writings, were practised, devised, and made, concerning Professions against the Pope's Holiness, and the See Apostolick: And also sundry and divers infamous Scrutinies were taken in Abbeys, and other Religious Houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good Religion, and Religious Houses, than for any Truth contained therein; which Writings, and other the Premises, as We be informed, were delivered to the Custody and Charge of divers and sundry Registers, and other Officers and Ministers of this

Rot. Pat. 3, & 4, *Phil.* & *Mar.* 12. Pars.

Our

Our Realm of *England*, to be by them kept and preſerved. And minding to have the ſaid Writings, and other the Premiſes, brought to knowledg, whereby they may be conſidered and ordered, according to Our Will and Pleaſure. And truſting in your Fidelities, Wiſdoms, and Diſcretions, We have appointed, and aſſigned you to be Our Commiſſioners; and by theſe preſents do give full Power and Authority unto you, or two of you, to call before you, or two of you, all and ſingular the ſaid Regiſters, and other Officers and Miniſters within this Our ſaid Realm, to whoſe hands, cuſtody, knowledg, or poſſeſſion, any of the ſaid Accompts, Books, Scroles, Inſtruments, or other Writings concerning the Premiſes, or any part thereof, did, or is come; giving ſtreight charge and commandments to them, and every of them, to bring before you, or two of you, at their ſeveral appearance, all and ſingular the ſaid Accompts, Books, Writings, and other the Premiſes whatſoever? And them, and every of them, to charge by Oath, or otherwiſe, to make a true Certificate and Delivery of all and ſingular the ſaid Premiſes, to the hands of you, or two of you; commanding you, or two of you, to attend and execute the Premiſes, with effect, by all ways and means, according to your Wiſdoms and Diſcretions.

And of all and ſingular your doings therein, Our Pleaſure and Commandment is, Ye ſhall make Certificate unto the moſt Reverend Father in God, and our deareſt Couſin *Reginald Pool*, Lord Cardinal, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Metropolitan and Primate of *England*, with diligence, to the intent that further Order may be taken therein as ſhall appertain; charging and commanding all and ſingular Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Conſtables, and all other Our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, to be aiding, helping, aſſiſting, and at Our Commandment in the due execution hereof, as they tender Our Pleaſure, and will anſwer to the contrary at their perils.

In Witneſs whereof, *&c.* Witneſs the King and Queen, at *Greenwich*, the 29*th* day of *December*.

Per Regem & Reginam.

Number

Number 29.

Cromwell's Commission, to be Lord-Vicegerent, in all Ecclesiastical Causes.

HEnricus Octavus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ, Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ ac in Terris Supremum totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Caput, dilectis nobis A. B. C. D. Salutem. In terris, supremam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Autoritatem, etsi Regiæ Nostræ dignitati, ut præcellenti, jam inde ab adepto primum divina disponente gratia, hujus Regni nostri Angliæ Sceptro, jure nobis competierit, nunc denuo exercere quodam modo impellimus; nempe quum hi, qui curam illius & regimen sibi potissimum arrogabant, suis potius ipsorum privatis commodis, quam publicæ illius saluti, aut compendio consulentes, eam tandem eo calamitatis, tum nimia licentia & in Officiis eiis commissis oscitantia, tum suis malis exemplis devenire passi sunt, ut non ab re metuendum sit, ne illam Christus nunc suam non agnoscat sponsam. Quamobrem nostræ Regiæ excellentiæ, cui prima & suprema post Deum Auctoritas in quoscunq; hujus Regni nostri incolas, nullo sexus, ætatis, ordinis aut conditionis habito discrimine, sacro testante eloquio, cœlitus demandata est, ex muneris hujusmodi debito potissimum incumbit, dictam Ecclesiam vitiorum vepribus, quantum cum Deo possumus, purgare, & virtutum seminibus & plantis conserere. Porro cum hi, qui in eadem de cæteris antehac censuram sibi vindicabant, de se vero nullam a quovis mortalium haberi sustinebant, tum aliis hominibus plura indies corrigenda committant, tum ex eorum corruptis moribus majori præ cæteris sunt plebi offendiculo; ut non immerito iidem & bonorum omnium, si boni, & malorum omnium, si contra certissimi sint Authores: Ab his igitur veluti fonte & scaturigine ad universalem hujus Regni nostri & Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ reformationem jure auspicandum esse duximus, haud vanam spem habentes, quod, fonte primitus purgato, purus deinde & limpidus decurret rivus. Cæterum quia ad singula hujus Regni nostri loca pro præmissis exequendis nos ipsi personaliter obire non valemus, alios quorum Vicaria fide freti munus hujusmodi veluti per ministros exequamur, qui quum vices nostras in ea parte suppleant, in partem solicitudinis adstitimus & vocamus. Cum itaque nos alias prædilectum nobis Thomam Cromwell Secretarium nostrum primarium, & Rotulorum nostrorum Magistrum sive custodem, Nostrum, ad Causas Ecclesiasticas quascunq; nostra Autoritate uti supremi capitis dictæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ quomodolibet tractand. seu ventiland. atq; ad exercend. expediend. & exercend. omnem & omnimodam jurisdictionem, Authoritatem, sive potestatem Ecclesiasticam, quæ nobis tanquam supremo capiti hujusmodi competit, aut quovismodo competere possit, aut debeat, ubilibet infra Regnum nostrũ, Angliæ & loca quæcunq; nobis subjecta, Vicem gerentem, Vicarium Generalem, ac Commissarium specialem & principalem, cum potestate alium vel alios Commissarium sive Commissarios ad præmissa, vel eorum aliqua ordinanda & deputanda, per alias literas nostras Patentes, sigillo nostro majori communitas

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* F. 2.

nitas,constituerimus, deputaverimus & ordinaverimus,prout ex tenore literarum nostrarum hujusmodi plenius liquet. Quia tamen & ipse nostris & totius hujus Regni nostri negotiis præpeditus existit, quominus præmissa personaliter obire & exequi possit; Idem Thomas Cromwell Vicem gerens,Vicarius generalis & Officialis principalis noster hujusmodi; vos A. B. C. D. prelibatos ad infra-scripta omnia & singula vice & nomine nostris exequenda Commissarios nostros deputaverit, ordinaverit & constituerit; Nos igitur deputationem, ordinationem, & constitutionem hujusmodi ratam & gratam habentes, ad visitandum tam in Capite quam in Membris, de tam plena, quam vacante, quoties, & quando vobis opportunum visum fuerit, omnes & singulas Ecclesias, etiam Metropoliticas, Cathedrales & Collegiatas, Hospitalia quæque & Monasteria, tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Prioratas,Preceptorias, Dignitates, Officia, Domos & Loca alia Ecclesiastica, tam Scholaria quam Regularia, exempta & non exempta, quæcunque infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ, & Provincias, Civitates, Terras, Dominia & Loca nobis Subjecta, ubicunque sita seu constituta, cujuscunque Dignitatis, Prærogativæ, Ordinis, Regulæ sive conditionis existant: deque statu & conditione eorundem tam in Spiritualibus quam in Temporalibus, necnon vita, moribus & conversatione, tam Præsidentium sive Prælatorum eorundem quocunque nomine & dignitate, etiamsi Archiepiscopali vel Episcopali, præfulgeant, quam aliarum personarum in eis degentium quarumcunque, inquirendum & inquiri faciendum. Ac illos quos in ea parte curiosos vel culpabiles fore compereritis, pro modo culpæ hujusmodi corrigendi, puniendi & coercendi; ac si delicti qualitas poposcerit, officiis sive beneficiis suis pro tempore vel in perpetuum privandi & amovendi, vel ad tempus ab eisdem suspendendi: fructus quoque, redditus & proventus Ecclesiarum & Locorum hujusmodi, si videbitur, sequestrandos, ac sub salvo & tuto sequestro custodiri faciendos, atque mandando sequestrumque hujusmodi relaxandum ac computum calculum & rationem, de receptis & collectis per sequestros hujusmodi tempore sequestri, & de administratione per eosdem exigenda & recipienda, ac bene & fideliter computantes quietando & liberando deque statu dictarum Ecclesiarum & Locorum tempore visitationis hujusmodi, annotationem, necnon de bonis rebus & localibus eorundem inventaria facienda & exigenda.

Statuta insuper, Ordinationes & Injunctiones particulares & generales pro bona & laudabili conservatione, seu reformatione personarum, locorum & ordinum prædictorum, juxta rei exigentiam, Auctoritate nostra faciendo & imponendo: pænasque convenientes in earum violatores infligendas & irrogandas, Synodosque, Capitula & Convocationes, tam speciales quam generales pro præmissis vel aliis causis, & rationibus quibuscunque, quoties & quando & ubicunque vobis visum fuerit magis expedire nomine & auctoritate nostris concedendos & convocandos ac eas & ea celebranda continuanda & proroganda. Clerumq; & Populum ad Synodos & capitula hujusmodi convocando & congregando ac Synodis capituli, & congregationibus hujusmodi interessendo & præsidendo eaque ibi statuendo & ordinando quæ pro reformatione vel emendatione locorum, personarum & ordinum prædictorum visa fuerint quomodolibet expedire. Dictasque Ecclesias, loca & personas modis omnibus, quibus melius & efficacius valeatis ad statum honestiorem,

rem, probatioresque vivendi mores, reducendo & reponendo. Crimina quoque, excessus, & delicta quorumcunque subditorum nostrorum juxta comperta & detecta quæcunque debite reformando, corrigendo & puniendo. Quoscunq; insuper subditos nostros, pro præmissis vel quibuscunque aliis causis ad forum Ecclesiasticum quomodolibet spectantibus & pertinentibus, undecunque & quacunque infra hoc nostrum Angliæ Regnum vobis videbitur melius expedire, ad vos & coram vobis citando & evocando: contumacesq; & rebelles, tam per censuras & pænas Ecclesiasticas, quam per mulctarum impositionem ac alia juris hujus Regni nostri remedia coercendo & puniendo. Causasq; & negotia Ecclesiastica hujusmodi cognoscendo, examinando ac fine debito terminando: & subditos hujusmodi rei per vos judicatæ stare & acquiescere cogendo & compellendo. Resignationes insuper sive cessiones Ecclesiarum, seu locorum & quascunq; quorumcunq; prædictorum factas sive faciendas recipiendo & admittendo. Ecclesiasq; & loca resignata, Vacantia, & pro vacantibus habenda fore pronunciando & declarando: Licentiasq; ad tractandũ & communicandũ & concludendũ de & super pensionibus & fructibus & emolumentis, necnon dictarum Ecclesiarum & locorum commissorum assignando: necnon de & super, quacunque permutatione fienda quibuscunq; personis idoneis id petentibus concedendo. Pensionesque annuas congruas & moderatas, resignantibus hujusmodi, assignando & limitando: Ecclesiasq; & loca prædicta de & super pensionum hujusmodi solutione & præstatione onerando & obligando, ac decreta & summas in ea parte necessarias seu requisitas ferendas & promulgandas.

Electionibus quoque Prælatorum, qui per electionem hujusmodi assumi soleant quorumcunq; interessendi & præsidendi, eligendumq; in eisdem dirigendo & informando. Electiones insuper quascunq; rite factas & celebratas, & personas electas sive eligendas confirmando: ac aliter factas & celebratas cassando & annullando, ac rite electos & confirmatos installando seu installari faciendo. Institutiones quoq; & investituras in quibuscunq; Ecclesiis & locis prædictis pendente visitatione nostra hujusmodi personis idoneis & rite presentatis quibuscunq; conferendo & concedendo, ac eos in realem, actualem & corporalem possessionem Ecclesiarum & locorum prædictorum indicendo seu sic induci faciendo atque mandando, cum suis juribus & pertinentibus universis. Quæcunque insuper instrumenta, literasq; tam testimoniales, quam mandatores & rescripta alia quæcunq; in ea parte necessaria, oportuna, &c.

Desunt cætera.

Number 30.

A Letter written by the Monks of *Glassenbury*, for the new Founding of that Abbey.

An Original.

To the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty.

Ex M S. Nob. Illustr. Com. de *Huntington.*

RIght Honourable, in our most humble wise, your Lordships daily Beadsman, sometimes at the House of *Glassenbury*, now here Monks in *Westminster*, with all due submission, we desire your Honour to extend your accustomed Vertue, as it hath been always heretofore propense to the Honour of Almighty God, to the honourable Service of the King and Queens Majesty; So it may please your good Lordship again, for the honour of them, both of God and their Majesties, to put the Queen's Highness in remembrance of her gracious Promise, concerning the Erection of the late Monastery of *Glassenbury*; which Promise of her Grace hath been so by her Majesty declared. That upon the same, we your Lordships daily Beadsmen, understanding my Lord Cardinals Grace's Pleasure to the same, by the procurement hereof, our Reverend Father *Abbot*, hath gotten out the Particulars; and through a Warrant from my Lord Treasurer, our Friends there hath builded, and bestowed much upon Reparation: Notwithstanding, all now standeth at a stay; we think the cause to be want of remembrance; which cannot so well be brought unto her Majesty's understanding, as by your Honourable Lordships favour and help. And considering your Lordships most Godly disposition, we have a confidence thereof to sollicite the same; assuring your Lordship of our daily Prayers while we live, and of our Successors during the World, if it may so please your good Lordship to take it in hand.

We ask nothing in Gift to the Foundation, but only the House and Scite, the residue for the accustomed rent; So that with our Labour and Husbandry, we may live here a few of us in our Religious Habits, till the Charity of good People may suffice a greater number: and the Country there being so affected to our Religion, we believe we should find more help amongst them, towards the Reparations and Furniture of the same; whereby we would happily prevent the ruin of much, and repair no little part of the whole, to God's Honour, and for the better prosperity of the King and Queen's Majesties, with the whole Realm; for, doubtless, if it shall please your good Lordship, if there hath ever been any flagitious Deed, since the Creation of the World, punished of God, in our Opinion the overthrow of *Glassenbury* may be compared to the same, not surrendred, as other, but extorted; the Abbot preposterously put to death, with two innocent vertuous Monks with him; that if the thing were to be skanned

by

by any University, or some learned Councel in Divinity, they would find it more dangerous than it is commonly taken: which might move the Queen's Majesty to the more speedy Erection; namely, that being an House of such Antiquity, and of Fame through all Christendom; first begun by St. *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, (who took down the dead Body of our Saviour Christ from the Cross) and lieth buried in *Glassenbury*: and him most heartily we beseech with us, to pray unto Christ for good success unto your Honourable Lordship, in all your Lordships Affairs; and now especially in this our most humble Request, that we may do the same in *Glassenbury* for the King and Queens Majesties as our Founders, and for your good Lordship, as a singular Benefactor.

Your Lordships daily Beadsmen of *Westminster*,

John Phagan.
John Nott.
William Ailewold.
William Kentwyne.

Number 31.

A Letter from Sir Edward Carne *from* Rome, *shewing how the Pope dissembled with him concerning a General Peace.*

An Original.

PLeaseth it your most Excellent Majesty to be advertised, That *Francis* the Post arrived here upon *Corpus Christi* Day, with your Majesty's most gracious Letters, as well for the expedition of the Bishopricks of *Winchester* and *Chester*, as also for his Holiness beside; with your most gracious Letters of the 30*th* of *March* to me: According to the purport whereof, I sued for Audience at his Holiness Hands, the next day following; whereof I had Answer, That I should come to his Holiness, *viz.* the sixth of this; and being with his Holiness, after the delivery of your Majesty's most gracious Letters, with your Majesty's humble Commendations, After he had read your Majesty's Letter, in the presence of the most Reverend Lord Cardinal *Morone*, he said, how much he was bound to that Blessed Queen, and most Gracious and Loving Daughter, that had written to him so gratefully and humbly; saying, That he would keep that Letter to be read openly in the Consistory, before all the most Reverend Lords his Brethren; and said, that he was much bound to his Legat there, to make that good Report of him to your Majesty. Whereupon I declared unto him your Majesty's Pleasure, according to my Instructions, with such Thanks and Congratulations as your Pleasure was I should use to his Holiness, with the rest of my Instructions; leaving no part thereof undeclared and spoken: Whereunto he said, That his Affection to that blessed Queen (making a Cross upon your Majesty's Name contained Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

in the Letter) was not, neither could be as much as the goodness of her Majesty required; but this your Majesty should be sure of, he said, that his good Affection, and good Will, should not only continue, but encrease to the utmost, to the satisfaction of your Majesty in all that may lie in him.

And as touching the Peace to be had perfectly, betwixt the Emperor's Majesty, and the King's most Excellent Majesty, and the French King, he was wondrous glad to hear that your Majesty's furtherance should not want in helping to bring the Truce, late concluded, to a perfect Peace. And of his part, he said, that he sent two Legats for that purpose, for his discharge towards God: Or else, he said, if he should overpass, and not declare unto them the great Necessities of the Common-Weal of all Christendom to have a perfect Peace, God would impute his silence therein unto him, being appointed over his Flock here as he is: For, he said, it is more than time to be doing therein, considering that the Realm of *Polonia* doth so waver, and that the King there neither can nor dare, being compassed with naughty Sects round about him, do any thing against them. And likewise the King of *Romans* about him. They call upon his Holiness for help, and some Provision for Amendment; which thing he cannot do without a General Council, which, he said, cannot be well done, unless the said Peace be made; for though there be an Abstinence from War, yet the grudg of the Doings heretofore, and the incertainty of Peace, will be an occasion to keep Men of War, and the one shall be in mistrust of the other, in such sort, as the Passages cannot be sure for those that should come to the said Council: Therefore he will travel, as much as is possible for him, to have a Peace, without the which it will not be possible to do any good in the Council. His Holiness is minded to have the General Council here in *St. John Latarenense*, and thinks it the most meetest Place, for divers Considerations which he declared; For it is the Head Church of Christendom, and there hath been divers times many wholsome and Holy Councils in times past. And for that this City is *Communis Patria*, and free to all the World to resort to freely, trusting that all Necessaries shall come hither, both by Sea and Land. And also forasmuch as in divers Councils begun in times of his Predecessors, little good could be done; and Men thought that more good might have been done, if the Pope had been present himself in the said Councils, therefore his Holiness would be present himself in this Council; which he cannot, being in a manner decrepit for Age, in case it were kept far here-hence; he not being able to travel for Age, unless it be kept here, where he trusteth to be himself in Person. And for to conclude this Matter, in such sort as the necessity of Christendom requireth, he hath dispatched the two Legats, *de Latere suo*, at this present, wherein he knoweth that your Majesty may do more than any others, and doubteth not but your Majesty will so do. Concluding that God hath preserved your Majesty to help all the World; whereunto I said, That there should not want neither good Will, neither any other thing that your Majesty might do for the furtherance thereof.

As touching the Provisions of *Winchester* and *Chester*, it shall be done with all the speed that may be. And his Holiness hath promised

all the favour that he can conveniently shew for your Majesty's sake: It must have somewhat longer time, for that the Process made there by my Lord Legat's Grace, for to try the Yearly Value of *Winchester*, must be committed to certain Cardinals, for to report in the Consistory, before the new Tax can be made; but there shall be no time lost, for it shall be diligently sollicited.

Also concerning the Pention to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, of a thousand Pounds *Sterling* Yearly, the Pope his Holiness will assign it according to your Majesty's Pleasure; so that all shall be done therein with all the speed that may be, God willing; wherein the most reverend Lord, Cardinal *Morone*, who rejoiceth much in your Gracious Letters sent to him, to his great comfort, doth travel, as he is most ready always, in all that toucheth your Majesty, or any of your most noble Realms.

As concerning the Occurents here, since my last Letters of the fifteenth of the last, be none other, but that the Cardinal *de Caraffa*, departed here-hence towards *France*, the fourteenth of the last, with divers Antiquities to be presented to the French King. Some say here, that part of his Charge is, to move the French King to take the Dukedom of *Paleano* in his Protection, as he hath *Parma* and *Mirandula*. There be a great number of Workmen already gone to Fortify *Paleano*, *Neptuno*, and *Rocca del Papa*; aud certain Captains appointed and gone thither also.

The Legat to the Emperor's Majesty, and the King's Majesty, departed the 30*th* of the last.

The Ambassador of *Polonia* is returned towards his Master. His Petition, as I am informed, to his Holiness, was, to have License for Priests to Marry, and all Lay-folk to receive the Communion, *Sub utraque specie*, in the Realm of *Polonia*, and certain Dismes upon the Clergy, to be spent against the Turk. His Answer, as I hear, was, in general, with relation of all such Matters to the General Council.

Also there came hither four Ambassadors very honourably from the State of *Genua*, with the Obedience of that State to his Holiness: Which Ambassador did visit me, delaring the good Will, Amity, and Service, that the said State bare towards the King, and your most Excellent Majesty, desiring me advertise your Majesty thereof.

The 24*th* of the last, the Pope his Holiness kept the Anniversary of his Coronation: I was warned to be at the Chappel, by the Officers appointed for that purpose. Also one of his Holiness Gentlemen was sent to invite me to dine with his Holiness that day. At my coming to the Court, the Ambassador of *Portugal* being there, at his Holiness coming forth, would have kept the Place, amongst all the Ambassadors, from me, that I was wont to stand in, that is next the French Ambassador; And next to me would be the Ambassador of *Polonia*. I came to the Ambassador of *Portugal*, as gently as I could; and for that he would not give me my Place, I took him by the Shoulder, and removed him out of that Place, saying, That it was your Majesty's Ambasdor's Place always. Beneath me he would not stand, neither next me he should not, for the Ambassador of *Polonia* who claimed next to me: Whereupon the *Portugal* went and complained to the Duke of *Paleano*, who

who went ſtreight to the Pope; and after him went the ſaid Ambaſſador of *Portugal* to him himſelf. His Holineſs willed him to depart therehence. He deſired that I ſhould depart likewiſe. And thereupon the Duke came to me, ſaying, That the Pope his Pleaſure was, I ſhould depart alſo. I asked him, Why? He ſaid, That his Holineſs, to avoid diſſention, would have me to depart. I told him, I made no Diſſention; for if the other would keep his own Place, and not uſurpe upon the Place, that always the Ambaſſors of *England*, in times paſt, were wont to be in, he might be in quiet, and ſuffer me to be in quiet likewiſe, and not to ſeek that ſeemed him not. All this Year he never ſought it till now, why now, I cannot tell; but he may be ſure he ſhall not have it of me, unleſs your Majeſty command it. Alſo the Maſter of the Houſhold with his Holineſs, ſaid, That I was invited, and that *Portugal* was not, but came upon his own head.

I am much bound to the Marqueſs, he was very angry with the *Portugal*, being his Brother, to attempt any ſuch thing againſt your Majeſty's Ambaſſador; and ſent to me, as ſoon as he heard of it. Indeed he was not there, I kept my Place from him, ſending him to ſeek his Place in ſuch ſort, that all the Ambaſſadors thought it well done; and others that were indifferent ſaid no leſs. I told the Duke that I would not loſe a jot of your Majeſty's Honour for no Man. For it is the Place of Ambaſſadors of *England*, nigh a thouſand Years before there was any King in *Portugal*.

Other Occurents here be none. And thus I beſeech Almighty God to conſerve your moſt Excellent Majeſty, in long and moſt proſperous Life.

From *Rome*, the *9th* of *June*, 1556.

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble Subject,

and Poor Servant,

Edward Carne.

Number

Number 32.

A Commission for a severer way of proceeding against Hereticks.

PHilip and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *Spain*, *France*, both *Sicills*, *Jerusalem*, and *Ireland*, and Defenders of the Faith; Arch-Dukes of *Austria*, Duke of *Burgundy*, *Millain*, and *Brabant*, Counts of *Harspurge*, *Flanders*, and *Tyroll*. To the Right Reverend Father in God, *Edmond* Bishop of *London*, and to the Reverend Father in God, Our right trusty, and right well-beloved Counsellor, *Thomas* Bishop of *Ely*; and to Our right trusty, and right well-beloved, *William Windsor* Kt. Lord *Windsor*; *Edward North* Kt. Lord *North*; and to Our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellors, *John Bourne* Kt. one of Our chief Secretaries; *John Mordaunt* Knight; *Francis Englefield* Kt. Master of our Wards and Liveries; *Edward Walgrave* Kt. Master of Our great Wardrobe; *Nicholas Hare* Kt. Master of the *Rolls* in our Court of *Chancery*; and to Our trusty and well-beloved *Thomas Pope* Kt. *Roger Cholmley* Kt. *Richard Read* Kt. *Thomas Stradling* Kt. and *Rowland Hill* Kt. *William Rastall* Serjeant at Law; *Henry Cole* Clark, Dean of *Pauls*; *William Roper*, and *Randulph Cholmley* Esquires; *William Cooke*, *Thomas Martin*, *John Story*, and *John Vaughan*, Doctors of Law, Greeting. Rot. Pat. in Dorso. Rot. 3, & 4. *Phil.* & *Mar.* 2 p.

Forasmuch as divers devilish and clamourous Persons, have not only invented, bruited, and set forth divers false Rumours, Tales, and seditious Slanders against Us, but also have sown divers Heresies and Heretical Opinions; and set forth divers seditious Books within this our Realm of *England*, meaning thereby to move, procure, and stir up Divisions, Strife, Contentions, and Seditions, not only amongst Our loving Subjects, but also betwixt Us and Our said Subjects; with divers other outragious Misdemeanours, Enormities, Contempts, and Offences daily committed and done, to the disquieting of Us and Our People; We minding and intending the due punishment of such Offenders, and the repressing of such-like Offences, Enormities, and Misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your Fidelities, Wisdoms, and Discretions, have authorized, appointed, and assigned you to be our Commissioners; and by these presents do give full Power and Authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire, as well by the Oaths of twelve good and lawful Men, as by Witnesses, and all other means and politick ways you can devise, of all and sundry Heresies, Heretical Opinions, Lollardies; heretical and seditious Books, Concealments, Contempts, Conspiracies, and of all false Rumours, Tales, Seditious and Clamorous, Words and Sayings, raised, published, bruited, invented, or set forth against Us, or either of Us, or against the quiet Governance and Rule of Our People and Subjects, by Books, Letters, Tales, or otherwise, in any County, City, Burrough, or other Place or Places within this Our Realm of *England*, and elsewhere, in any Place or Places beyond the Seas; and of

of the bringers in Users, Buyers, Sellers, Readers, Keepers, or Conveyers of any such Letters, Books, Rumour, or Tale; and of all and every their Coadjutors, Counsellors, Comforters, Procurers, Abetters, and Maintainers; Giving to you, and three of you, full Power and Authority, by vertue hereof, to search out, and take into your hands and possession, all manner of heretical and seditious Books, Letters, Writings, wheresoever they, or any of them shall be found, as well in Printers Houses and Shops, as elsewhere; willing you, and every of you, to search for the same in all Places, according to your discretions. And also to enquire, hear, and determine, all and singular Enormities, Disturbances, Misbehaviours, Misdemeanours and Negligences, done, suffered, or committed, in any Church, Chappel, or other hallowed Place within this Realm. And also for and concerning the taking away, or the with-holding of any Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Ornaments, Stocks of Mony, or other things belonging to any of the same Churches and Chappels, and all Accompts and Reckonings concerning the same. And also to enquire and search out all such Persons as obstinately do refuse to preach the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, to hear Mass, or come to their Parish, or other convenient Places, appointed for Divine Service; and all such as refuse to go in Processions, to take Holy Water, or Holy Bread; or otherwise do misuse themselves in any Church, or other Hallowed Place, wheresoever any of the same Offences have been, or hereafter shall be, committed within this Our said Realm. Nevertheless Our Will and Pleasure is, That when, and as often as any Person or Persons hereafter to be called or convented before you, do obstinately persist or stand in any manner of Heresy, or heretical Opinions, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the same Person, or Persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his Ordinary, there to be used according to the Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Laws. And also We give unto you, or three of you, full Power and Authority to enquire and search out all Vagabonds and Masterless Men, Barretors, Quarrellers, and suspect Persons, Vagrant, or abiding within the City of *London*, or ten miles compass of the same; and all Assaults and Affrays done and committed within the same City, and Compass. And further, to search out all Wastes, Decays, and Ruines of Churches, Chancels, Chappels, Parsonages, and Vicarages, in whatsoever Diocess the same be within this Realm. Giving to you, or any three of you, full Power and Authority, by virtue hereof to hear and determine the same, and all other Offences and Matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your Wisdoms, and Consciences, and Discretions; willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the Premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary; and upon enquiry, and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out by the Confession of the Parties, or by sufficient Witnesses, before you, or three of you, concerning the Premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the Offenders, by Fine, Imprisonment, or otherwise; and to take such order for redress and reformation of the Premises, as to your Wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet

and

and convenient. Further willing and commanding you, and any three of you, in case you shall find any Person or Persons, obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment; or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your Decrees, Orders, and Commandments, in any thing or things touching the Premises, or any part thereof, to commit the same Person, or Persons, so offending, to Ward, there to remain, till they be by you, or three of you, enlarged and delivered. And We give to you, and any three of you, full Power and Authority, by these Presents, to take and receive, by your Discretions, of every Offender, or suspect Person, to be convented or brought before you, a Recognizance or Recognizances, Obligation or Obligations to Our use, of such Sum or Sums of Mony, as to you, or three of you, shall seem convenient, as well for the personal appearance before you, of any such suspect Person, or for the performance and accomplishment of your Orders and Decrees, in case you shall think so convenient, as for the sure and true paiment of all and every such Fine and Fines, as shall hereafter be by you, or three of you, taxed or assessed upon any Offender that shall be before you, or three of you, duly convinced, as is aforesaid, to Our use, to be paid at such days and times, as by you, or three of you, shall be sealed, limited, or appointed: And you to certifie any such Recognizance, or Obligation, as being taken for any Fine, or Fines, not fully and wholly paid before you, under your Hands and Seals, or the Hands and Seals of three of you, into Our Court of *Chancery*, to the intent We may be thereof duly answered, as appertaineth.

And furthermore, We give to you, or three of you, full Power and Authority, by these Presents, not only to call afore you all and every Offender and Offenders, and all and every suspect Person and Persons in any of the Premises, but also all such, and so many Witnesses as ye shall think meet to be called; and them, and every of them, to examine and compel to Answer, and Swear, upon the Holy Evangelist, to declare the Truth in all such things, whereof they, or any of them shall be examined, for the better trial, opening, and declaration of the Premises, or of any part thereof.

And furthermore, Our Will and Pleasure is, that you, or three of you, shall name and appoint, one sufficient Person to gather up and receive all such Sums of Mony as shall be assessed or taxed by you, or three of you, for any Fine or Fines, upon any Person or Persons, for their Offence; and you, or three of you, by Bill, or Bills, signed with your Hands, shall, and may assign and appoint, as well to the said Person for his pains in receiving the said Sums, as also to your Clark, Messengers, and Attendants upon you, for their travel, pains and charge to be sustained for Us about the Premises, or any part thereof, such sum and sums of Mony for their Rewards, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought expedient. Willing and commanding you, or three of you, after the time of this Our Commission is expired, to certify into our Exchequer, as well the Name of the said Receiver, as also a note of such Fines as shall be set or taxed before you, to the intent, that upon the determination of the account of the same Receiver, We may be answered, that that to Us shall justly appertain. Willing and Commanding, also all Our Auditors, and other Officers,

upon the ſight of the ſaid Bills, ſigned with the Hands of you, or three of you, to make to the ſaid Receiver, due allowance, according to the ſaid Bills upon his account. Wherefore We Will and Command you, our ſaid Commiſſioners, with diligence to execute the Premiſes, with effect: any of Our Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or other Grants, Priviledges, or Ordinance, which be, or may ſeem to be contrary, to the Premiſes notwithſtanding.

And moreover, We Will and Command, all and ſingular Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and all other our Officers, Miniſters, and faithful Subjects, to be aiding, helping, and aſſiſting to you,at your commandment,in the due execution hereof, as they tender Our Pleaſure, and will anſwer to the Coſts, at their utmoſt Perils.

And We Will and Grant, That theſe Our Letters Patents ſhall be a ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge for you, and any of you, againſt Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors; and all, and every other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever they be, of, for, or concerning the Premiſes, or any parcel thereof, or for the execution of this Our Commiſſion, or any part thereof.

In Witneſs whereof, We have cauſed theſe Our Letters to be made Patents, and to continue and endure for one whole Year next coming after the Date hereof. Witneſs our Self at *Wiſtminſter*, the 8*th* day of *February*, the third and fourth Years of Our Reign.

Number 33.

A Letter writ by the Council, expreſſing their Jealouſies of the Lady Elizabeth.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

Mr. *Pope*, after our very hearty Commendations, ye ſhall underſtand, That amongſt divers other deviliſh Practices, attempted from time to time,by *Dudly Aſhton*, and other Traitors in *France*,for the diſturbance of the Quiet of the Realm; they have now lately ſent over one *Cleyberdo*, who (if I the Lord Chancellor be not deceived in the Man) was, whilſt I was Preſident in *Wales*, indicted of a Burglary, and ſhould have been, if he had not eſcaped by the means of certain his Complices, who took him from the Sheriffs Man, as well for the ſaid Burglary, as for divers other notable Robberies, and other Offences, made ſure enough from attempting this Enterprize now. This Man being ſent by the foreſaid Traitors into the extream parts of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*; where naming himſelf to be Earl of *Devonſhire*, he hath, by ſpreading abroad of ſlanderous Letters & Proclamations,abuſed the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Graces Name; pronouncing thereby, as much as in him lay, to ſtir the King's and Queen's Majeſties Subjects in thoſe parts to Rebellion, as by the Copies of the ſaid Letters and Proclamations, which we ſend unto you herewith, may at better length appear unto you. And albeit the People there have ſhewed themſelves ſo true

and obedient Subjects, as immediately upon the understanding of this Enterprize, they did of themselves, and without any Commandment, apprehend as many of the Attempters of this devilish Practice as they could come by, whereby their good-will and truth to the King and Queen's Majesties doth well appear. Yet because this Matter is spread already abroad, and that peradventure many Constructions and Discourses will be made thereof, we have thought meet to signify the whole Circumstances of the Cause unto you, to be by you opened unto the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Grace, at such time as ye shall think convenient; to the end it may appear unto her how little these Men stick, by falshood and untruth, to compass their Purpose; not letting, for that intent, to abuse the Name of her Grace, or any others: which their Devises nevertheless are (God be thanked) by his Goodness discovered from time to time to their Majesties preservance, and confusion of their Enemies. And so bid you heartily well to fare. From *Eltham*, the 30*th* of *July*, 1556.

Your Loving Friends,

Nichol. Eborac. Canc. *Arundel.* *Thomas Ely.* *R. Rochester.* *Henry Jernegam.*

Number 34.

A Letter from Sir Edward Carne, *concerning the Suspension of Cardinal* Pool's *Legatine Power.*

An Original.

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

PLeaseth it your most Excellent Majesties, according as I advertised your Highness in my Letters of the 8*th* of this; So I have informed all the Cardinals that be here of the Congregation of the Inquisition, as the most Reverend Lord Cardinal *Morone* advised me, informing them of the good Proceedings and Reformations made, by the most Reverend Lord Cardinal's Grace there, as well in *Clero* as in *Populo*; not only in things pertaining *ad cultum Dei*, but also in other, pertaining to the Common-Weal of Christ's Church, in such sort as Christ's Religion doth so prosper there, that there is good hope all things should come to their perfection in time. And for that purpose his Grace had called there a Synod of the Clergy of the Realm, where many good Ordinances, for the maintenance of the Premises been past already; and many ready in hand for to pass, and not fully ended nor perfected: which should be staid, in case the Legacy should be there-hence revoked, which might turn to the great danger and dammage of many in that your Majesty's Realm, in case due Reformation throughout and perfectly were not made: Therefore I desired them,

that when the Matter were moved amongſt them, ſo to weigh it, as ſuch a good beginning, that through your Majeſty's Goodneſs hath been there, be not brought by their doings here, into no worſe terms, then your Majeſties, with no little pain, hath always travelled to bring it unto: Adding beſides divers Caſes that daily might fall, which could not be holpen without the Authority of this See: And that Men newly reduced to the Unity of the Church, would rather ſtand in their naughty Doings, whoſe Examples might be noiſome to many; than repair hither for any help; But having the Legate there, would gladly ſeek help at his hands being preſent amongſt them.

And likewiſe for reduction of your Majeſty's Realm of *Ireland* to the Unity of the Church, which whether it were paſt or no, I doubted, and ended throughly: And if it were, yet were it moſt expedient that there ſhould be Reformation, as well in *Clero* as in *Populo*; which could not well be, in caſe the Legacy continue not there. This is the effect of the Points that I informed them upon, who all thought it moſt expedient, that the Legacy ſhould continue there, and would not fail to ſtay, as much as might lie in them, for theſe Conſiderations above rehearſed; and thought, being of ſuch importance, that if my Lord's Grace were not there already, it were moſt expedient that he ſhould be ſent thither, rather than to be revoked; and hereof, as well Cardinal *Morone*, as all the other, would needs I ſhould move his Holineſs.

Whereupon the 12*th* of this, I went to the Pope himſelf, upon pretence to give him thanks for the Proviſion of the Church of *Chicheſter*, and of the moſt gracious and honourable Report that he made in the Conſiſtory the ſame time, of your Highneſs my Soveraign Lady the Queen; where his Holineſs declared ſo much Goodneſs and Vertue of your Majeſty, that he, and this See, could not, he ſaid, ſhew ſo much favour to any of yours, as the ſame required. As undoubtedly, as far as I could hear, he doth, whenſoever he hath occaſion to ſpeak of your Majeſty, ſo reverently as more could not be; who prevented me, and ſaid, that he was glad that I was come unto him, and truſted that God had ſent me thither: for there had been with him, the day before, Cardinal *Pacheco*, who ſhewed him of the good inclination of your Majeſty, my Soveraign Lord, to have Peace with him and the Church. And that alſo he had received a Letter from the moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal's Grace there-hence, who had ſpoken with your Majeſty, and found the ſame ſo well inclined to have Peace with his Holineſs, as might be deſired; which his Holineſs ſaid he liked very well, and held up his hands, beſeeching Almighty God to continue your Majeſty in that good mind. And then he began to declare, how that God provided, and always confirmed you, the Queen's Majeſty, not only to do good to that Realm, but to all Chriſtendom alſo; in whom his Holineſs had ſuch hope, that the ſame will ſo help with the King's Majeſty, that Peace may follow betwixt the Church and him: and he of his part coveted nothing more, as it ſhould appear, if the King's Majeſty would treat of it; Yea, he ſaid, though he ſhould ſuſtain great Damage thereby, he will win his Majeſty if he can.

And where his Majeſty is informed, that his Holineſs would hear none of thoſe that were ſent to him from his Majeſty, as *Franciſco*

Pacheco,

Pacheco, and one Citizen of *Naples*; he ſaid, That he never heard that either the ſaid *Franciſco*, or the ſaid Citizen, had any Letter or Word to him from his Majeſty; If they had had, he, as he ſaid, who giveth Audience daily to as many as do ſeek it at his hands, without denial, would have heard them, or any that had been ſent from his Highneſs; and this, he ſaid, all that be about him can teſtify, and called God to Record of it. And yet, he ſaid, that the King's Majeſty is informed of the contrary; whereupon, he ſaid, that his Majeſty was brought in belief, that it was ſufficient for his Highneſs to offer himſelf to be heard, and ſeeing he could not, he was diſcharged towards God, and ſo lay the fault in his Holineſs; from the which Error, ſo his Holineſs named it, he would and wiſhed that his Majeſty ſhould be brought: for his Holineſs cauſed to be enquired of them, Whether they had any Letters, or any thing to ſay of his Majeſty's behalf to him, and could hear of none; Wherefore his Holineſs deſired me to write to your Majeſty, and to ſignify the ſame to your Highneſs; and of his Holineſs behalf, to pray you to advertiſe the King's Majeſty, that therein was no lack of his Holineſs: Saying, If his Majeſty had ſent to him, he would have gladly heard him; or if it may pleaſe his Majeſty yet to ſend, no Man will be more glad thereof than he: And ſaid further, that God, who had called him to that place, knew that he always hath been of mind to have a General Council for a Reformation throughout Chriſtendom, and in ſuch Place as had been meet for it; and doubted not, but that he would have ſeen Chriſtendom in ſuch Order, that ſuch Enormities as do reign in many Parts, ſhould have been reformed, if theſe Wars had not troubled him: Saying therewith, That the Power of the Church is not able to maintain Wars of it ſelf, bnt that God had provided Aid elſewhere; but if he can have Peace, he will embrace it, he ſaid, though it were to his loſs. And prayed me to deſire your Majeſty, of his behalf, to put to your good help towards it. To whom, after thanks firſt given to his Holineſs for the ſaid good Opinion that he had of your Majeſty, and alſo of the Proviſion made of the ſaid Church of *Chickeſter*, I ſaid, that I was glad to hear of that good inclination of his Holineſs to Peace; and ſaid, that I would gladly ſignify to you, the Queen's Majeſty, according to his Holineſs Pleaſure: And that I had heard of divers, that his Holineſs would not give Audience, to ſuch as you my Soveraign Lord had ſent to him; whereof I was ſorry, and yet nevertheleſs truſted that betwixt his Holineſs and your Majeſty, ſhould be as great Amity as appertaineth; and had not ſo good hope thereof, ſithence this War began, as now hearing his Holineſs to be ſo well inclined to it; not doubting but all the World ſhould perceive no lack of your Majeſty's behalf, as far as any Reaſon required.

Whether this be done for a practice to pleaſe, leaſt any ſtir be there againſt the Frenchmen, which is moſt feared here, I am not able to ſay, for there lacketh no practice in this Court that they think may ſerve for their purpoſe. The truth is, that there is jarring betwixt the Pope and the French now; with whom the Pope is nothing contented, neither they with him, as it is credibly reported here. All the Italians that the Pope had in the French Camp be all gone; the French handled them

them very ill and vile, and especially *Don Antonio de Caraffa* the Pope's Nephew: So that it is thought here, that the Pope will turn the Leaf, if any were here of your behalf, the King's Majesty, that had Authority to treat with his Holiness: And if it please your Majesty to send any hither for that purpose, by the Opinion of all your Majesty's well-willers here, there can come but good of it.

After this Communication, I lamented to his Holiness greatly of one thing, that I had heard his Holiness pretended to do: And forasmuch as your Majesty had placed me here with his Holiness, and that the case was such, that it touched the maintenance of the Common-Wealth of Christian Religion within your Majesty's Realm there, so much, that of Duty I could do no less but open it to his Holiness, trusting that the same, who had always shewed himself most ready, with all benignity, to do for You, the Queen's Majesty, and your Realm, would so continue still: Which thing was, I said, That his Holiness would revoke his Legat there, which should be too great a prejudice to the Church of that Realm, to be done before all things were truly stablished there, and opened unto his Holiness all the Considerations before rehearsed, whereof I had informed the Cardinals in as ample manner as I could. Then, he said, that there was nothing that he could do for you, the Queen's Majesty, or your said Realm, but he would do it most gladly, unless occasion should be given there-hence that he might not. And as touching the Revocation of the Legat in *England*, he said, That it was done already, and not for to provide any thing within that Realm, but only for because, it was not convenient that any Legat of his should be within any of the King's Majesty's Realms or Dominions; and therefore he revoked his Nuncio's from *Naples*, from *Spain*, and all other parts of the King's Majesty's Realms and Dominions, and of *England* therefore: Nevertheless, he said, if you the Queen's Majesty would write to him, for the continuance of his Legat there, he would restore him to his former Authority, or any thing else that your Majesty should think expedient for him to do. Then, I said, It would be long time before Answer can come from *England* hither; and if his Revocation should be once known in *England*, what would come of it, I doubted. Therefore I besought his Holiness not to suffer it to pass, for if it be once known abroad, it shall be a great comfort to the Wicked, and discomfort to the good, whereby many Inconveniences might ensue. Then, he said, that that is done, cannot be undone. I said, That his Holiness had not so far gone in his Decree, but that he might moderate it, that it need not extend to *England*. And then I told him, that he had shewed me, that in all his Proceedings, he would have your Majesty's Realm of *England* separated from all other the King's Majesty's Realms, and now had set it as far further as any of the other; therefore, I said, his Holiness should consider it, and that the Decree in no wise should extend thither. Then, he said, That it could not stand with the Majesty of the Place that he sat in, to revoke any part of the Decree solemnly given in the Consistory, in the presence of all the Cardinals. I said, That his Holiness, with his Honour, might well do it; considering that when he gave the Decree, he was not informed of such Inconveniences that might ensue thereof; and

now being informed by me, his Holineſs had not only a juſt cauſe to revoke it, but alſo of congruence ought to do it; conſidering that his Holineſs had the Cure of all Mens Souls: and if any Inconveniency ſhould follow through his Holineſs Doings, it could not be choſen but his Holineſs muſt anſwer for it; where his Holineſs ſuffering all things to proceed in his due courſe, as it hath been begun, all Dangers that have been before rehearſed might be avoided; therefore now his Holineſs had a good Cauſe to ſtay his Decree in that behalf: All which he took in good part, and ſaid thus, I muſt needs do for that Realm what I can, and therefore to morrow is the Congregation of the Inquiſition, and then the Matter ſhall be propounded, where, he ſaid, he would do what he could; and willed me to reſort to the Cardinal St. *Jacobo* to inform him, that he might procure it there. I ſaid, I would; indeed I had been with the ſaid Cardinal before, and had informed him fully; nevertheleſs I went to him again, to ſhew him the Pope's Pleaſure therein; who ſaid, he would do his Duty therein. Indeed that Matter occupied the Pope and the Cardinals all that Congregation time. The next morrow, as the Cardinals ſaid, the Concluſion was, That the Pope would make anſwer to me himſelf. Indeed he thought to take Counſel of the ſaid Congregation, before I had been with them about the ſame Decree, but not to revoke any part thereof, but to have their advice in framing of it. So that if I had not gone to him, the Decree had gone forth, with the intimation thereof, and the inhibition; but being with his Holineſs this Evening, to know what was to be had herein; his Holineſs, after a long Oration, in commendation of you the Queens Majeſty, he ſaid, That in caſe yonr moſt Excellent Majeſty would write to him for the continuance of his Legat, for ſuch Cauſes as ſhould ſeem good to the ſame, the Legat to be yet expedient therein, he would appoint my Lord's Grace there to continue, but he could in no wiſe revoke his Decree made in open Conſiſtory. I laid many things that his Holineſs might do it, and that divers of his Predeceſſors had done it, upon Cauſes before not known; with divers Examples that I ſhewed him in Law; that at the laſt, he ſaid plainly, He would not revoke his Decree; but for becauſe of my Suit, he ſaid he was content to ſtay, and to go no further till your Majeſty's Letters do come, and charged the Datary, and his Secretary *Berigno*, that they ſend forth no intimation of his Decree of the ſaid Revocation, without his ſpecial Commandment; where-elſe he ſaid, the Intimation had been ſent forth with an Inhibition alſo: And ſo all is ſtaied, that nothing here-hence ſhall go forth till your Pleaſure, the Queen's Majeſty, be known therein; which the Pope doth look for: Until which Intimation, the Legacy there doth continue.

Occurrents here be no other, but that the 10*th* of this, the late made Duke of *Paleano* departed here-hence towards the Duke's Camp, which doth lie yet in the Siege of *Civitella*, within your Majeſty's Realm of *Naples*. They that ſeem to bear their good Wills here towards your Majeſty, do ſay here, that they may lie there long before they take it, for they cannot hurt it much with Battery. And they ſay, the Counts *de Sancto Flore*, and *de Sarme*, be within the Town with two thouſand Souldiers; many of the Frenchmen be ſlain there. Nevertheleſs, others

do

do ſay, that it ſtandeth in danger of taking; for becauſe the Frenchmen have gotten a Hill, from the which they do beat ſore into the Town, and have withdrawn certain Waters from them of the Town, and do undermine it; the moſt part here thinketh they ſhall loſe their labour, for it is very ſtrong.

The Gallies of *Marſeilles* arrived at *Civita Vechia*, ſix or ſeven days paſt, and brought twelve Enſigns more of French Souldiers to reinforce the French Army; and as far as I can learn, they return again to fetch more, always to refreſh their Camp with freſh Souldiers, in the lieu of ſuch as be periſhed: Of the which twelve Enſigns, the French Ambaſſador choſe out three, which he hath ſent to the Duke of *Guiſe*, well furniſhed; the reſt he diſcharged, but all the other that came, be gone to the Camp, to ſuch Captains as will retain them there, for ſuch of the other as be ſlain, or otherwiſe periſhed. *Don Antonio de Carraffa* doth as yet return to the Camp, neither intendeth to go as I hear. I heard ſay, That the Duke of *Alva* was within ſixteen miles of the Frenchmen, with a great Army of Horſemen and Footmen, what he doth is not ſpoken of here, for there is none that can paſs to them, or from them hither; there is ſuch ſtrait keeping, aud dangerous paſſing.

Here be ill News from *Piedmont*, for they ſay here, the Frenchmen in thoſe Parts have taken *Cheraſto*, a very ſtrong Town in *Piedmont*, which I truſt be not true. The common Report is here, That if the Frenchmen be not withſtanded in time, they will do much hurt in *Italy*.

The Pope doth ſet forth a Bull for Money, that one of every hundred ſhall be paid of the value of all the Lands that be within the Churches Dominions, which they ſay will draw to Two or three Millions, if it be paid.

And having no other at this preſent, I beſeech Almighty God to conſerve both your moſt Excellent Majeſties, in long and moſt proſperous Life together.

From *Rome*, the 15*th* of *May*, 1557.

Your Majeſties moſt humble Subject,

and Poor Servant,

Edward Carne.

Number

Number 35.

The Appeal of Henry Chichely, *Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury, *to a General Council from the Pope's Sentence.*

IN Dei Nomine Amen. Per Presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod anno ab incarnatione Domini secundum cursum & computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ 1427. indictione quinta Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Domini Martini, Divina Providentia Papæ quinti, Anno decimo, mensis vero Aprilis die sexto. Reverendissimus in Christo Pater & Dominus, Dominus Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ Primas, & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, in Capella Majori Manerii sui de Ford Cantuarien. Diocæseos personaliter existens, mihi Notario Publico, & testibus infra-scriptis presentibus, quandam appellationem in scriptis redactam fecit, legit & interposuit, ac appellativit sub eo, qui sequuntur, tenore verborum. In Dei Nomine. Amen. Coram vobis authentica persona & testibus hic Presentibus, Ego Henricus dictus Cant. permissione divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, dico, allego, & in his scriptis propono, quod fui & sum Ecclesiam Sanctam Cant. cum jure Legationis natæ, prerogativis, consuetudinibus, compositionibus, aliisq; jurisdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, & pertinentibus suis universis canonice assecutus, ipsamq; sic assecutam nonullo tempore pacifice & inconcusse possedi, prout sic possideo de presenti; fuiq; & sum Ecclesiæ Romanæ, & Sedis Apostolicæ obedientiæ, Filius Catholicus, ac jurium & libertatum dictarum Ecclesiæ & Sedis juxta posse, assiduus defensor, & promotor; integri status, bonæ famæ & opinionis illesæ & in possessione eorundem existens, nullisq; suspentionis aut excommunicationis, seu irregularitatis, aut interdicti sententiæ vel sententiis innodatus: Quodq; ex parte mei Henrici Archiepiscopi prædicti in possessione præmissorum omnium, & quasi ex verisimilibus conjecturis ac communicationibus quampluribus mihi & Ecclesiæ meæ, ac juri legationis, prerogativis, consuetudinibus, compositionibus, jurisdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, & pertinentiis Ecclesiæ, Cantuar. prædictæ factis, circa præmissa & eorum singula grave posse prejudicium generari; Ne Sanctissimus in Christo Pater & Dominus noster Dominus Martinus, divina providentia Papa quintus, vel quivis alius quavis Autoritate, vice vel mandato, scienter vel ignoranter ad sinistram vel minus veram suggestionem, aut informationem emulorum personæ, dignitatis aut Ecclesiæ meæ (quod absit) me non vocato, legitimeve præmonito, causæ cognitione & juris, justitiæq; ordinem prætermisso, in prejudicium status mei, dignitatis, legationis, prerogativæ, consuetudinum, compositionum, jurisdictionum, jurium, libertatum & pertinentium jure Metropolitico, vel alias dictam Ecclesiam meam Cantuar. & me ejus nomine concernentium quicquam attemptet, seu faciat aliqualiter attemptari, citando, monendo, mandando, inhibendo, decernendo, suspendendo, interdicendo, excommunicando, privando, sequestrando, pronunciando, definiendo, & declarando, seu quovis Ex M. SS. D.G. *Peyt.*

alio modo gravando; Ad Sacrosanctum Concilium generale facientes, constituentes & representantes, facturos, constituturos & representaturos, si ipsum cælebrari contigerit, & in defectum ipsius Concilii tenendi, & celebrandi, ad tribunal Dei omnipotentis & Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus idem sanctissimus Pater, Commissarius & Vicarius existit in terris, in his scriptis ob & ad tuitionem, protectionem & defensionem omnium, & singulorum præmissorum fuerit & sit legitime provocatum, Sanctissimus tamen in Christo Pater, & Dominus noster, Dominus Martinus dicta providentia hujus nominis Papa quintus asserens, ut dicta fide dignorum relatione, ad suum pervenisse auditum, quod ego, qui ad defensionem, obedientiam jurium, & honorem Sedis Apostolicæ in Provincia Cantuarien. Legatus natus sum, propter emolumenta Ecclesiastica provenientia ex Ecclesiis Cathedralibus totius Regni Angliæ tempore vacationum eorundum, quæ ex quadam (ut me asserere dicit) consuetudine usibus meis applicare dignoscor ad resistendum provisionibus Apostolicis de Ecclesiis hujusmodi Cathedralibus sum proclivior, Et quod jura & honorem Sedis Apostolicæ non defendo nec protego, imo potius impugno, & impugnantibus assisto, in animæ meæ periculum, prædictæ Sedis contemptum, dictarumque Ecclesiarum Cathædralium prejudicium & scandalum plurimorum; Cum tamen, suæ benedictionis beatitudinis reverentia semper salva, nullum horum quæ sic mihi impinguntur sunt vera, sed notorie minus vera, post & contra præmissam provocationem per me factam, me a Legatione dictæ Sedis, necnon ab omni jurisdictione, superioritate, potestate sive Dominio percipiendi emolumenta Ecclesiastica, aliarum Ecclesiarum Cathædralium dicti Regni usque ad beneplacitum suum, & Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritate Apostolica, & ex certa scientia (ut asserit) nullatenus in ea parte monitum, citatum, convictum vel confessum, sed absentem, non per contumaciam causæ, cognitione juris & judiciorum ac justitiæ ordine in omnibus prætermisso, voluntarie & minus præpropere duxerit suspendendum, hisque non contentus, sed gravamina accumulans mihi in virtute obedientiæ nihilominus injunxerit, ne de legatione Sedis Apostolicæ prædictæ, necnon jurisdictione, Authoritate, & Dominio percipiendi emolumenta hujusmodi tempore vacationum Ecclesiarum prædictarum per me vel per alium, seu alios quovis quasito ingenio, vel colore de cætero quomodolibet me intromittam: Et insuper jurisdictionem, superioritatem, potestatem, & dominium dictarum Ecclesiarum Cathædralium tempore illarum vacationum ad capitula singularum Ecclesiarum devolvi voluit, singulos processus, necnon excommunicationis suspensionis & interdicti sententias, & alias pœnas ac censuras Ecclesiasticas, si quod per me vel alium seu alios contra capitula Ecclesiarum Cathedralium præfatarum, aut alias personas quascunque occasione consuetudinis memoratæ, at legationis, officii (dicto duranto beneplacito) ferri contigerit quomodolibet, vel haberi, irritos & inanes decrevit (salva semper suæ Sanctitatis reverentia in omnibus) minus juste in personæ meæ, status, dignitatis, juris, legationis natæ, prerogativæ, consuetudinum, compositionum, jurisdictionum, jurium, libertatum & pertinentiarum prædictarum, necnon Ecclesiæ meæ Cantuariensis prædictæ præjudicium non modicum & gravamen. Unde ego Henricus dictus Cantuariæ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus pro prædictis sentiens me, statum, dignitatem & Ecclesiam meam prædictam ex omnibus & singulis

singulis gravaminibus prædictis, nimium prægravari, & prægravatum ab eisdem omnibus & singulis, & his, quæ eorum & cujuslibet eorum occasione colligi poterunt, aut debebunt; ad Sacrosanctum Concilium Generale, universalem Ecclesiam representans, & ad personas & status Concilium Generale facientes, constituentes & representantes, facturos, constituturos & representaturos; & ad ipsum Concilium Generale proxime celebrandum, ubicunque ipsum celebrari contigerit, & defectu ipsius Concilii tenendi & celebrandi, ad Tribunal Dei Omnipotentis, & Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus idem Sanctissimus Pater Commissarius & Vicarius existit in terris, Appello; & Apostolos peto instanter, instantius & instantissime mihi dari, liberari & fieri cum effectu: & juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod non sunt decem dies plene elapsæ, ex quo mihi certitudinaliter primo constabat de gravaminibus antedictis; Quodque nescio certitudinaliter ubi invenirem dictum Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum ad notificandam eidem Appellationem prædictam, quatenus de jure notificanda est infra tempus a parte juris limitatum: Et Protestor me velle dictam Appellationem meam corrigere & emendare, eidem addere & ab eadem detrahere, ac eam omnibus, quorum interest, notificare & intimare pro loco & tempore opportunis toties, quoties mihi expediens fuerit, juris beneficio in omnibus semper salvo. Super quibus idem Reverendissimus Pater & Dominus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis me Notarium Publicum subscriptum requisivit, sibi unum vel plura conficere instrumentum vel instrumenta. Acta sunt hæc omnia prout subscribuntur & recitantur sub Anno Domini, indictione Pontificatus, mense, die, & loco prædictis; præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, & discretis viris M. W. P.yn Curiæ Cant. Officii, & Thoma B. Archidiacono Sanctarum in Ecclesia Linc. utriusq; juris Doctoribus.

In Dei, &c. Coram vobis, &c. Ego Henricus dictus C. &c. Unde ego H. dictus C. &c. sentiens me, statum, dignitatem & Ecclesiam meam prædictam, ex omnibus & singulis gravaminibus prædictis nimium prægravari, & prægravatum, ab eisdem omnibus & singulis gravaminibus prædictis & his, quæ eorum & cujuslibet eorum occasione colligi poterunt aut debebunt, ad dictum Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, & Sedem Apostolicam melius informandum, & informandam, Appello & Apostolos peto instanter, instantius & instantissime mihi dari, liberari, & fieri cum effectu, &c.

Number 36.

Instructions sent by the Privy Council, representing the State of the Nation to King Philip, *after the loss of* Calais.

First, to say,

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

THat we be most bounden unto his Majesty for his good Affection towards this Realm; and his gracious Disposition and Offer, to put this Force to the Field this Year, being else otherwise determined, for the recovery of that Honour and Reputation, which this Realm hath lost by the loss of *Calais*.

To say, That this Offer of his Majesty we should not only have, upon our Knees, accepted, but also in like wise have sued first for the same.

And so undoubtedly we would have done, if other respects hereafter following, which we trust his Majesty will graciously understand, had not been (to our great regret) the lett thereof.

First; We do consider, That if we should send over an Army, we cannot send under 20000 Men; the levying, and sending over whereof, will ask a time; before which time, considering also the time the Enemy hath had (being now almost a Month) to Fortify and Victual the Place, it is thought the same will be in such strength, as we shall not be able alone to recover it.

We do consider how unapt and unwonted our People be to lie abroad, and specially in the Cold: And what Inconveniency might follow also at their hands, (besides the loss of Charges) if their hope for recovery of *Calais* should not come to pass.

The Charge of this Army (if it should go over) would stand the Realm in one hundred and seventy thousand pounds at the least, for five months; which Sum (having regard to other necessary Charges for the Defence of the Realm, both by Land and by Sea, which the People only have in their Heads, with a wan hope of the recovery of *Calais*) neither we doubt will be granted of the People; nor if it were, can be conveniently levied in time to serve the turn.

Great Garisons continually, and an Army for Defence against the Scots and Frenchmen by Land, must of necessity be maintained, the charge whereof will be one way and another (go the next way we can) e're the Year go about, an hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The defence of the Sea-Coast, and the Isles, and the setting forth of an Army by Sea, will cost the Realm in a Year (all things accounted) above two hundred thousand pounds; and yet all will be too little that way, if the Danes and the Sweeds, which we very much doubt, should be our Enemies.

The Sums amounting in the whole, to five hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides Provision of Ammunition, which will be chargeable; and Furniture of Ordnance, whereof we have great lack, by the loss of *Calais* aud *Guisnes*.

We

We ſee not how it can be levied in one Year to ſave us, unleſs the People ſhould of new have ſtrange Impoſitions ſet upon them, which we think they would not bear.

The Queen's Majeſty's own Revenue, is ſcarce able to maintain her Eſtate.

The Noblemen and Gentlemen, for the moſt part receiving no more Rent than they were wont to receive, and paying thrice as much for every thing they provide, by reaſon of the baſeneſs of the Mony, are not able to do as they have done in times paſt.

The Merchants have had great loſſes of late, whereby the Cloathiers be never the richer.

The Farmers, Graſiers, and other People, how well-willing ſoever they be taken to be, will not be acknown of their Wealth, and by the miſcontentment of this loſs, be grown ſtubborn and liberal of Talk.

So that conſidering our Wants on every ſide, our lack of Mony at home; our want of credit, by reaſon of this Loſs abroad; the ſcarcity of Captains and Leaders of our Men, which be but few; the unwillingneſs of our People to go abroad, and leave their Things at home, without a certain hope of recovering their Loſs; the need we have to defend Home, (looking as we do to be aſſaulted both by Land and by Sea) how deſirous ſoever we be to recover *Calais*, and well-willing to ſerve his Majeſty, (either for that purpoſe, or in any other thing wherein it ſhall pleaſe him to employ us) we ſee not how we can poſſibly (at the leaſt, for this Year) ſend over an Army; nor until we may be aſſured of fewer Enemies than we fear to have cauſe to doubt; and have time to bring ſuch as be ill Men amongſt our People, and now be ready (againſt their Duties) to make Uproars and Stirs amongſt our ſelves, to Order and Obedience.

Wherefore, in moſt humble wiſe, upon our Knees, we ſhall beſeech the King's Majeſty to accept, in gracious part, this our Anſwer, which we make much againſt our Hearts, if we might otherwiſe chuſe. And as for our own Perſons, we ſhall beſtow, with all that ever we have, to the death, where and however it ſhall pleaſe him, ſubmitting our ſelves to his Majeſty's Judgment in this Matter, and to the execution and doing of that whatſoever, either his Majeſty, or any other Man, ſhall deviſe to be done, better than we have ſaid in this Anſwer, and more for the honour and ſurety of their Majeſties, and Common-Wealth of this their Realm. *Feb.* 1. 1577.

Number 37.

Sir Thomas Pope*'s Letter, concerning the Anſwer made by the Lady* Elizabeth, *to a propoſition of Marriage, ſent over by the Elected King of* Sweden.

First, After I had declared to her Grace how well the Queen's Majeſty liked of her prudent and honourable Anſwer made to the ſame Meſſenger; I then opened unto her Grace the Effect of the ſaid Meſſengers Ex M.S. D,G.*Petyt.*

ſengers Credence; which after her Grace had heard, I ſaid, The Queen's Highneſs had ſent me to her Grace, not only to declare the ſame, but alſo to underſtand how her Grace liked the ſaid Motion. Whereunto, after a little pauſe taken, her Grace anſwered in form following. Maſter *Pope*, I require you, after my moſt humble Commendations to the Queen's Majeſty, to render unto the ſame like thanks, that it pleaſed her Highneſs, of her Goodneſs, to conceive ſo well of my Anſwer made to the ſame Meſſenger, and here withal, of her Princely Conſideration, with ſuch ſpeed to command you, by your Letters, to ſignify the ſame unto me; who before remained wonderfully perplexed, fearing that her Majeſty might miſtake the ſame; for which her Goodneſs, I acknowledg my ſelf bound to honour, ſerve, love, and obey her Highneſs, during my Life: Requiring you alſo to ſay unto her Majeſty, That in the King, my Brother's time, there was offered me a very honourable Marriage or two, and Ambaſſadors ſent to treat with me touching the ſame; whereupon I made my humble Suit unto his Highneſs, as ſome of Honour yet living can be teſtimonies, that it would like the ſame to give me leave, with his Grace's favour, to remain in that Eſtate I was, which of all others beſt liked me or pleaſed me. And in good Faith, I pray you ſay unto her Highneſs, I am even at this preſent of the ſame mind, and ſo intend to continue, with her Majeſty's favour; and aſſuring her Highneſs, I ſo well like this Eſtate, as I perſwade my ſelf there is not any kind of Life comparable unto it. And as concerning my liking the ſaid Motion made by the ſaid Meſſenger, I beſeech you ſay unto her Majeſty, That to my remembrance, I never heard of his Maſter before this time; and that I ſo well like, both the Meſſage and the Meſſenger, as I ſhall moſt humbly pray God, upon my Knees, that from henceforth I never hear of the one nor of the other; aſſure you, that if it ſhould eſt-ſoons repair unto me, I would forbear to ſpeak to him. And were there nothing elſe to move me to miſlike the Motion, other than that his Maſter would attempt the ſame, without making the Queen's Majeſty privy thereunto, it were cauſe ſufficient. And when her Grace had thus ended, I was ſo bold as of my ſelf to ſay unto her Grace, (her pardon firſt required) that I thought few or none would believe, but that her Grace could be right-well contented to marry, ſo there were ſome honourable Marriage offered her by the Queen's Highneſs, or her Majeſty's Aſſent. Whereunto her Grace anſwered; What I ſhall do hereafter I know not, but I aſſure you, upon my Truth and Fidelity, and as God be merciful unto me, I am not at this time otherwiſe minded than I have declared unto you, no, though I were offered the greateſt Prince in all *Europe*. And yet percaſe the Queen's Majeſty may conceive this rather to proceed of a maidenly ſhamefaſtneſs, than upon any ſuch certain determination.

Tho. Pope.

FINIS.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

BOOK III.

Number 1.

The Device for Alteration of Religion, in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth: *offered to Secretary* Cecill.

Question 1.

WHen the Queen's Highness may attempt to reduce the Church of England *again to the former purity, and when to begin the Alteration?* Ex M. SS. Nob.D.*Grey* de *Ruthen.*

Answer.

At the next Parliament; so that the Dangers be foreseen, and Remedies provided; for the sooner that Religion is restored, God is the more glorified, and as we trust, will be more merciful unto us, and better save and defend her Highness from all Dangers.

Quest. 2.

What Dangers may ensue thereof?

Answ. 1.

The Bishop of *Rome*, all that he may, will be incensed, he will Excommunicate the Queen's Highness, Interdict the Realm, and give it in Prey to all Princes that will enter upon it; and stir them up to it by all manner of means.

2. The

2. The French King will be encouraged more to the War, and make his People more ready to fight against us, not only as Enemies, but as Hereticks: He will be in great hope of Aid from hence, of them that are discontented with this Alteration, looking for Tumults and Discords: He will also stay concluding of Peace, upon hope of some alteration.

3. *Scotland* also will have the same Causes of boldness, and by that way the French King will seem soonest to attempt to annoy us. *Ireland* also will be very difficultly stayed in the Obedience, by reason of the Clergy that is so addicted to *Rome*.

4. Many People of our own, will be very much discontented, especially all such as governed in the late Queen *Mary*'s Time, and were chosen thereto for no other Causes, or were then most esteemed for being hot and earnest in that other Religion, and now remain unplaced and uncalled to Credit, will think themselves discredited, and all their Doings defaced, and study all the ways they can to maintain their own Doings, destroy and despise all this Alteration.

5. Bishops, and all the Clergy, will see their own ruin; and in Confession, and Preaching, and all other means and ways they can, will persuade the People from it; they will conspire with whomsoever, will attempt and pretend to do God a Sacrifice, in letting the Alteration, though it be with murder of Christian Men, and Treason. Men which be of the Papists Sect, which of late were in a manner all the Judges of the Land; the Justices of the Peace chosen out by the late Queen in all the Shires, such as were believed to be of that Sect, and the more earnest therein, the more in estimation; These are most like to join and conspire with the Bishops, and Clergy. Some, when the Subsidy shall be granted, and Mony levied, (as it appeareth that necessarily it must be done) will be therewith offended, and like enough to conspire and arise, if they have any heed to stir them to do it, or hope of Gain or Spoil.

6. Many such as would gladly have Alteration from the Church of *Rome*, when they shall see peradventure that some old Ceremonies be left still, for that their Doctrine, which they embrace, is not allowed and commanded only, and all other abolished and disproved, shall be discontented, and call the Alteration a Cloak'd Papistry, or a Mingle-Mangle.

Quest. 3.

What Remedy for the same Dangers? What shall be the manner of doing of it? and what is necessary to be done before?

Answ. 1.

First, for *France*, to practise a Peace, or if it be offered, not to refuse it: If Controversy of Religion be there amongst them, to kindle it. *Rome* is less to be feared, from whom nothing is to be feared, but evil Will, Cursing, and Practising. *Scotland* will follow *France* for Peace, but there may be Practice to help forward their Division, and especially to augment the Hope of them who inclined them to good Religion. For

For certainty, to fortify *Barwick*, and to employ Demilances, and Horsemen, for safety of the Frontiers, and some Expences of Mony in *Irland*. The fourth divided in five parts.

1. The first is of them which were of Queen *Mary*'s Council, elected or advanced to Authority, only or chiefly for being of the Pope's Religion, and earnest in the same. Every Augmentation, or Conservation of such Men in Authority or Reputation, is an encouraging those of their Sect, and giveth hope to them that it shall revive and continue, although it hath a contrary shew: lest seeing the Pillars to stand still untouched, it be a confirmation of them that are wavering Papists, and a discouraging of such as are but half inclined to this Alteration. *Dum in dubio est animus, parvo momento huc illuc impellitur.* This must be searched by all Law, so far as Justice may extend, and the Queen's Majesty's Clemency not to be extended, before they do acknowledg themselves to have fallen into the lapse of the Law. They must be abased of Authority, discredited in their Countries, so long as they seem to repugn the true Religion, or to maintain the old Proceedings; and if they should seem to allow and bear with the new Alteration, yet not lightly to be credited, *quia neophiti*; and no Man, but he loveth that time wherein he did flourish, and when he came, and as he came; those Ancient Laws and Orders he will defend and maintain, with whom and in whom he was in Estimation, and Authority, and a Doer: for every Man naturally loveth that which is his own Work and Creature. And contrary, as those Men be abased, so must her Highness old and sure Servants, who have tarried with her, and not shrunk in the late Storm, be advanced, with Authority and Credit, that the World may see that her Highness is not unkind, nor unmindful. And throughout all *England*, if such Persons, as are known to be sure in Religion, and God's Cause, shall be slack; yet their own Safety and Estate, should cause to be vigilant, careful, and earnest for the conservation of her Estate, and maintenance of this Alteration; and in all this, she shall do but the same that the late Queen *Mary* did, to establish her Religion.

2. The second is, the Bishops and Clergy, being in manner all made and chosen, such as were thought the stoutest and mightiest Champions of the Pope's Church, who in the late Queen *Mary*'s Times, taking from the Crown, impoverishing it, by extorting from private Men, and all other means possible, *per fas & nefas*, have sought to enrich and advance themselves. These, her Majesty being inclined to use much clemency, yet must seek, as well by Parliament, as by the just Laws of *England*, in the Premunire, or other such Penal Laws, to bring again in order; and being found in the default, not to pardon, until they confess their Fault, put themselves wholly to her Highness Mercy, abjure the Pope of *Rome*, and conform themselves to the new Alteration; and by these means, well handled, her Majesty's necessity of Mony may be somewhat relieved.

3. The third is to amended, even as all the rest above, by such ways as Queen *Mary* taught, That no such as were, may be in Commission of Peace in their Shires; but rather Men meaner in Substance, and younger in Years, so that they have discretion, to be put in Place. A sharp Law made and extended against Assemblies of People, without

Authority. Lieutenants made in every Shire, one or two Men known to be sure of the Queen's Devotion. In the mean time, Musters and Captains appointed, Young Gentlemen, which do favour her Highness. No Office of Jurisdiction or Authority to be in any discontented Man's hands, so far as Justice or Law may extend.

4. The fourth is to be remedied otherwise, than by gentle and dulce handling; it is by the Commissioners, and by the readiness and good-will of the Lieutenants and Captains; to repress them, if any should begin a Tumult, or murmur, or provide any Assembly, or stoutness, to the contrary.

5. The fifth; For the Discontentation of such as could be content to have Religion altered, but would have it to go, for fear the strait Laws upon the Promulgation of the Book, and severe execution of the same, at the first would so oppress them, that it is great hope it shall touch but a few: And better it were that they did suffer, than her Highness and Common-Wealth, should shake or be in danger; and to this they must well take heed that draw the Book. And herein the Universities must not be neglected, and the hurt which the last Visitation in Queen *Mary*'s Time did, must be amended: Likewise such Colleges, where Children be instructed to come to the University, as *Eaton*, and *Winchester*, that as well the encrease hereafter, as this present time, may be provided for.

Quest. 4.

What may be done of her Highness, for her own Conscience, openly, before the whole Alteration? or if the Alteration must tarry longer?

Answer.

This consultation is to be referred to such Learned Men as be meet to shew their Minds therein, and to bring a Plot or Book hereof ready drawn to her Highness; which being approved by her Majesty, may so be put in the Parliament-House. To which, for the time it is thought that these are apt Men, Dr. *Bill*, Dr. *Parker*, Dr. *May*, Dr. *Cox*, Mr. *Whitehead*, *Grindall*, *Pilkington*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, to call them together, and to be amongst them: and after the consultation with these, to draw in other Men of Learning, and grave and apt Men for your Purpose and Credit, to have their Assents. As for that is necessary to be done before, it is thought to be most necessary, that a strait Prohibition be made of all Innovation, until such time as the Book come forth, as well that there should be no often Changes in Religion, which would take away Authority in the common Peoples estimation, as also to exercise the Queen's Majesty's Subjects to Obedience.

Queſt. 5.

What Orders be fit to be in the whole Realm, as in the interim?

Anſwer.

To alter no further than her Majeſty hath, except it be to receive the Communion, as her Majeſty pleaſeth, at high Feaſts; and that where there be more at the Maſs, that they do always communicate with the Executor in both kinds. And for her Highneſs Conſcience, till then, if there be ſome other devout ſort of Prayer, or Memory, and the or Maſs.

Queſt. 6.

What Noblemen be fit to be made privy to thoſe Proceedings, before it be opened to the whole Council?

Anſwer.

The Marqueſs *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Pembrook*, Lord *John Gray*.

Queſt. 7.

What Allowance the Learned Men ſhall have for the time they are about to renew the Book of Common Prayers, and Order of certain Ceremonies and Service in the Church; and when they ſhall meet?

Anſwer.

Being ſo many Perſons as muſt attend ſtill upon it, two Meſſes of Meat is thought yet indifferently to ſuffice for them, and their Servants. The Place is thought moſt meet, either in ſome ſet Place, or rather at Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Lodging in *Cannon-Row*. At one of thoſe Places, muſt Proviſion be laid in, of Wood, of Coal, and Drink.

Number 2.

Dr. Sand's *Letter to Dr.* Parker, *concerning some Proceedings in Parliament.*

An Original.

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. Cant.

YE have rightly considered that these times are given to taking, and not to giving; for ye have stretched forth your hand further than all the rest. They never asked us in what state we stand, neither consider that we want; and yet in the time of our Exile, were we not so bare as we are now brought: but I trust we shall not linger here long, for the Parliament draweth towards an end. The last Book of Service is gone through with a *Proviso*, to retain the Ornaments which were used in the first and second Year of King *Edward*, until it please the Queen to take other order for them; our gloss upon this Text is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the mean time shall not conveigh them away, but that they may remain for the Queen. After this Book was past, *Boxall*, and others, quarrelled with it, that according to the order of the Scripture, we had not *gratiarum actio*; for, saith he, *Christus accepit panem, gratias egit*, but in the time of Consecration we give no Thanks. This he put into the Treasurers Head, and into Count *de Sorcus* Head; and he laboured to alienate the Queen's Majesty from confirming of the Act, but I trust they cannot prevail. Mr. Secretary is earnest with the Book, and we have ministred Reasons to maintain that part. The Bill of Supreme Government, of both the Temporality and Clergy, passeth with a *Proviso*, that nothing shall be judged hereafter, which is not confirmed by the Canonical Scriptures, and four General Councils. Mr. *Lever* wisely put such a scruple into the Queen's Head, that she would not take the Title of *Supream Head*. The Bishops, as it is said, will not swear unto it as it is, but rather lose their Livings. The Bill is in hand to restore Men to their Livings; how it will speed I know not. The Parliament is like to end shortly, and then we shall understand how they mind to use us. We are forced, through the vain Bruits of the lying Papists, to give up a Confession of our Faith, to shew forth the Sum of that Doctrine which we profess, and to declare that we dissent not amongst our selves. This Labour we have now in hand, on purpose to publish that, so soon as the Parliament is ended; I wish that we had your Hand unto it. Ye are happy that ye are so far from this tossing, and gross Alterations and Mutations; for we are made weary with them; but ye cannot long rest in your Cell, ye must be removed to a more large Abbey: and therefore in the mean time take your pleasure, for after ye will find but a little, *Nihil est statutum, de conjugio Sacerdotum, sed tanquam relictum in medio. Lever* was married now of late; The Queen's Majesty will wink at it, but not stablish it by Law, which is nothing else but to bastard our Children. Other things another time. Thus praying you to commend me to your Abbesses, I take my leave of you for this present hastily, at *London*, April *ult.* 1559.

He was Dean of *Windsor* and *Peterb.* in Q. *Mary's* Time.

A Minister at *Frankfort* much commended by *Calvin*, to be followed as an Example.

Yours, *Edwin Sands.*

Number 3.

The first Proposition, upon which the *Papists* and *Protestants* Disputed in *Westminster-Abbey*. With the Arguments which the Reformed Divines made upon it.

It is against the Word of God, and the Custom of the Primitive Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People in Common-Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments.

BY these words (*the Word*) we mean only the written Word of God, or Canonical Scriptures. Ex M.S. Col. C.Ch. Cant.

And by *the Custom of the Primitive Church*, we mean, the Order most generally used in the Church for the space of five hundred Years after Christ; in which Times lived the most notable Fathers, as *Justin, Ireneus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Hierome, Ambrose, Augustine*, &c.

This Assertion, above-written, hath two parts.

First, That the use of a Tongue not understood of the People, in common Prayers of the Church, or in the Administration of the Sacraments, is against God's Word.

The second, That the same is against the Use of the Primitive-Church.

The first part is most manifestly proved by the 14*th* Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, almost throughout the whole Chapter; in the which Chapter St. *Paul* intreateth of this Matter, *ex professo*, purposely: And although some do cavil, that St. *Paul* speaketh not in that Chapter of Praying, but of Preaching; yet it is most evident, to any indifferent Reader of Understanding, and appeareth also by the Exposition of the best Writers, That he plainly there speaketh not only of Preaching and Prophesying, but also of Prayer and Thanksgiving, and generally of all other publick Actions, which require any Speech in the Church or Congregation.

For of Praying, he saith, *I will pray with my Spirit, and I will pray with my Mind; I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with my Mind.* And of Thanksgiving, (which is a kind of Prayer) *Thou givest Thanks well, but the other is not edified; And how shall he that occupieth the room of the Unlearned, say Amen to thy giving of Thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest?* And in the end, ascending from Particulars to Universals, concludeth, *That all things ought to be done to Edification.*

Thus much is clear by the very words of St. *Paul*, and the Ancient Doctors, *Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome*, and others, do so understand this

this Chapter, as it ſhall appear by their Teſtimonies, which ſhall follow afterward.

Upon this Chapter of St. *Paul*, we gather theſe Reaſons following.

1. All things done in the Church, or Congregation, ought to be ſo done, as they may edify the ſame:

But the uſe of an Unknown Tongue in Publick Prayer, or Adminiſtration of Sacraments, doth not edify the Congregation;

Therefore the uſe of an unknown Tongue, in Publick Prayer, or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is not to be had in the Church.

The firſt part of this Reaſon, is grounded upon St. *Paul*'s words, commanding all things to be *done to Edification.*

The ſecond part is alſo proved by St. *Paul*'s plain words. Firſt, By this Similitude; *If the Trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall be prepared to Battel?* Even ſo likewiſe, when ye ſpeak with Tongues, except ye ſpeak words that have ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeak in the Air, that is to ſay, in vain, and conſequently without edifying.

And afterward, in the ſame Chapter, he ſaith, *How can he that occupieth the place of the Unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of Thanks: ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? For thou verily giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified.*

Theſe be St. *Paul*'s words, plainly proving, That a Tongue not underſtood, doth not edify.

And therefore both the parts of the Reaſon thus prov'd by St. *Paul*, the Concluſion followeth neceſſarily.

2. Secondly; Nothing is to be ſpoken in the Congregation in an Unknown Tongue, except it be interpreted to the People, that it may be underſtood. *For*, ſaith *Paul*, *if there be no Interpreter to him that ſpeaketh in an unknown Tongue*, taceat in Eccleſiâ, *let him hold his peace in the Church.* And therefore the Common Prayers, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, neither done in a known Tongue, nor interpreted, are againſt this Commandment of *Paul*, and not to be uſed.

3. The Miniſter, in Praying, or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, uſing Language not underſtood of the Hearers, is to them barbarous, an Alien, which of St. *Paul* is accounted a great Abſurdity.

4. It is not to be counted a Chriſtian Common-Prayer, where the People preſent declare not their Aſſent unto it, by ſaying *Amen*; wherein is implyed all other words of Aſſent.

But St. *Paul* affirmeth, That the People cannot declare their Aſſent, in ſaying *Amen*, except they underſtand what is ſaid as afore.

Therefore it is no Chriſtian Common-Prayer, where the People underſtandeth not what is ſaid.

5. *Paul* would not ſuffer, in his time, a ſtrange Tongue to be heard in the Common-Prayer in the Church, notwithſtanding that ſuch a kind of Speech was then a Miracle, and a ſingular Gift of the Holy Ghoſt,

Ghost, whereby Infidels might be persuaded and brought to the Faith: much less is it to be suffered now among Christian and Faithful Men, especially being no Miracle, nor especial Gift of the Holy Ghost.

6. Some will peradventure answer, That to use any kind of Tongue in Common-Prayer, or Administration of Sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. *Paul* is to the contrary; for he commandeth all things to be done *to Edification*: He commandeth to keep silence, if there be no Interpreter. And in the end of the Chapter, he concludeth thus; *If any Man be Spiritual, or a Prophet, let him know, that the things which I write are the Commandment of the Lord.* And so, shortly to conclude, the use of a strange Tongue, in Prayer and Administration, is against the Word and Commandment of God.

To these Reasons, grounded upon St. *Paul*'s words, which are the most firm Foundation of this Assertion, divers other Reasons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures, and otherwise.

1. In the *Old Testament*, all things pertaining to the Publick Prayer, Benediction, Thanksgiving, or Sacrifice, were always in their Vulgar and Natural Tongue.

In the second Book of *Paraleipomenon*, Cap. 29. it is written, *That* Ezechias *commanded the* Levites, *to praise God with the Psalms of* David, *and* Asaph *the Prophet*; which doubtless were written in the *Hebrew*, their Vulgar Tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the Law, much more ought we to do the like; who, as Christ saith, must pray *in Spiritu & Veritate.*

2. The final end of our Prayer is, (as *David* saith) *Ut populi conveniant in unum, & annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, & laudes ejus in Hierusalem.*

But the Name and Praises of God cannot be set forth to the People, unless it be done in such a Tongue, as they may understand.

Therefore Common-Prayer must be had in the Vulgar Tongue.

3. The definition of Publick Prayer, out of the words of St. *Paul*; *Orabo Spiritu, Orabo & Mente. Publicè orare, est vota communia mente ad Deum effundere, & ea Spiritu hoc est, Lingua testari.* Common Prayer is, to lift up our Common Desires to God with our Minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our Tongues. Which Definition is approved of by St. *Augustine de Magist.* C. 1. *Nihil opus est (inquit) loqutione, nisi forte ut Sacerdotes faciunt, significandæ mentis Causâ, ut populus intelligat.*

4. The Ministrations of the Lord's last Supper, and Baptism, are, as it were, Sermons of the Death and Resurrection of Christ.

But Sermons to the People, must be had in such Language, as the People may perceive, otherwise they should be had in vain.

5. It

5. It is not lawful for a Christian Man to abuse the Gifts of God.
But he that prayeth in the Church in a strange Tongue, abuseth the Gift of God; for the Tongue serveth only to express the mind of the Speaker to the Hearer. And *Augustine* saith, *de Doct. Christ. lib.* 4. *cap.* 10. *Loquendi omnino nulla est causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur.* There is no cause why we should speak, if they, for whose cause we speak, understand not our speaking.

6. The Heathen, and Barbarous Nations of all Countries, and sorts of Men, were they never so wild, evermore made their Prayers, and Sacrifice to their Gods, in their own Mother Tongue; which is a manifest Declaration, that it is the very Light and Voice of Nature.

Thus much upon the ground of St. *Paul*, and other Reasons out of the Scriptures; joining therewith the common Usage of all Nations, as a Testimony of the Law of Nature.

Now for the second part of the Assertion, which is, *That the use of a strange Tongue, in publick Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, is against the Custom of the Primitive Church.* Which is a Matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed, either of great Ignorance, or of wilful Malice.

Justinus Apol. 2. For, first of all, *Justinus Martyr*, describing the Order of the Communion in his time, saith thus; *Die Solis urbanorum & rusticorum cætus fiunt, ubi Apostolorum, Prophetarumq; literæ, quoad fieri potest, præleguntur: Deinde cessante Lectore Præpositus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honestarum rerum invitans. Post hæc consurgimus omnes, & preces offerimus, quibus finitis, profertur (ut diximus) Panis, Vinum & Aqua, tum præpositus quantum potest preces offert, & gratiarum Actiones; plebs vero Amen accinit.* Upon the *Sunday* Assemblies, are made both of the Citizens and Country-men; where as the Writings of the Disciples, and of the Prophets, are read as much as may be. Afterwards when the Reader doth cease, the Head-Minister maketh an Exhortation, exhorting them to follow so honest things. After this we rise all together, and offer Prayers; which being ended, (as we have said) Bread, Wine, and Water, are brought forth; then the Head-Minister offereth Prayers, and Thanksgivings, as much as he can, and the People answereth, *Amen.*

These words of *Justin*, who lived about 160 Years after Christ, considered with their Circumstances, declare plainly; That not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the Prayers, and Administration of the Lord's Supper, were done in a Tongue understood.

Both the Liturgies of *Basil* and *Chrysostom*, declare, That in the Celebration of the Communion, the People were appointed to answer to the Prayer of the Minister, sometimes *Amen*; sometimes *Lord have mercy upon us*; sometimes, *And with thy Spirit*; and, *We have our Hearts lifted up unto the Lord*, &c. Which Answers they would not have made in due time, if the Prayers had not been made in a Tongue understood.

And for further proof, let us hear what *Basil* writeth in this Matter to the Clerks of *Neocesarea*; *Cæterum ad Objectum in Psalmodiis crimen, quo maximè simpliciores terrent Calumniatores*, &c. 'As touching that is 'laid to our charge in Psalmodies and Songs, wherewith our Slanderers 'do fray the Simple, I have this to say, That our Customs and Usage in 'all Churches, be uniform and agreeable. For in the Night, the Peo-'ple with us riseth, goeth to the House of Prayer: and in Travel, Tri-'bulation, and continual Tears, they confess themselves to God; and at the 'last rising again, go to their Songs, or Psalmodies, where being divided 'into two parts, sing by course together, both deeply weighing and con-'firming the Matter of the Heavenly Saying; and also stirring up their 'Attention and Devotion of Heart, which by other means be alienated 'and pluck'd away. Then appointing one to begin the Song, the rest 'follow, and so with divers Songs and Prayers, passing over the Night 'at the dawning of the Day, all together, even as it were with one 'Mouth, and one Heart, they sing unto the Lord a new Song of Con-'fession, every Man framing to himself meet words of Repentance. *Basil. Epist. 63.*

'If ye will flee us from henceforth for these things, ye must flee also 'the *Egyptians*, and both the *Lybians*, ye must eschew the *Thebians*, *Pa-'lestines*, *Arabians*, the *Phenices*, the *Syrians*, and those which dwell 'besides *Euphrates*. And to be short, all those with whom Watchings, 'Prayers, and common singing of Psalms are had in honour.

These are sufficient to prove, that it is against God's Word, and the Use of the Primitive Church, to use a Language not understood of the People, in Common Prayer, and Ministration of the Sacraments.

Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an Untruth and Abuse crept, at the first, into the Church, but also how it is maintained so stifly at this Day; And upon what ground, these that will be thought Guides, and Pastors of Christ's Church, are so loath to return to the first Original of St. *Paul's* Doctrine, and the Practice of the Primitive Catholick Church of Christ.

J. Scory. *R. Cox.*
D. Whithead. *E. Grindal.*
J. Juel. *R. Horn.*
J. Almer. *E. Gest.*

The God of Patience and Consolation, give us Grace to be like minded one towards another, in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may, with one mouth, praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Number 4.

The Anſwer of Dr. *Cole*, to the firſt Propoſition of the *Proteſtants*, at the Diſputation before the Lords at *Weſtminſter*.

Eſt contra Verbum Dei, & conſuetudinem veteris Eccleſiæ Linguâ Populo ignotâ uti in publicis precibus, & Adminiſtratione Sacramentorum.

Moſt Honourable;

Ex MS.Col. Cor.C.Cant. WHereas theſe Men here preſent, have declared openly, That it is repugnant, and contrary to the Word of God,to have the Common Prayers, and Miniſtration of the Sacraments, in the Latin Tongue, here in *England*; and that all ſuch Common Prayer, and Miniſtration, ought to be, and remain in the Engliſh Tongue. Ye ſhall underſtand, that to prove this their Aſſertion, they have brought in as yet *only one place* of Scripture, taken out of St. *Paul's* firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, Cap. 14. with certain other places of the Holy Doctors; whereunto anſwer is not now to be made: But when the Book, which they read, ſhall be delivered unto us, according to the appointment made in that behalf, *then*, *God willing*, *we* ſhall make anſwer, as well to the Scripture, as other Teſtimonies alledged by them, ſo as all good Men may evidently perceive and underſtand the ſame Scripture to be miſconſtrued, and drawn from the native and true ſenſe: And that *it is not St.* Paul's *mind* there to treat of Common Prayer, or Miniſtration of any Sacraments. And therefore we now have only to declare, and open before you briefly (which after, as opportunity ſerves in our Anſwer, ſhall appear more at large) cauſes which move us to perſiſt and continue in the order received, and to ſay, and affirm, that to have the Common Prayer, or Service, with the Miniſtration of the Sacraments in the Latin Tongue, is convenient, (and as the ſtate of the Cauſe ſtandeth at this preſent) neceſſary.

Second Section.

1. And *this we affirm*, firſt, becauſe *there is no Scripture manifeſt* aganiſt this our Aſſertion and Uſage of the Church. And though there were any, yet it is not to be condemn'd that the Church hath receiv'd. Which thing may evidently appear in many things that were ſometime expreſly commanded by God and his Holy Apoſtles.

2. As for Example, (to make the Matter plain) ye ſee the expreſs Command of Almighty God; touching the obſervation *of the Sabbath-Day*, to be changed by Authority of the Church (*without any Word of God written* for the ſame) into the *Sunday*. The Reaſon whereof appeareth not to all Men; and howſoever it doth appear, and is accepted of all good Men, without any Controverſy of Scripture; yea, without

without any mention of the Day, saving only that St. *John* in his *Apocalyps*, nameth it, *Diem Dominicam:* In the change whereof, all Men may evidently understand the Authority of the Church, both in this cause, and also in other Matters to be of great weight and importance, and therein esteemed accordingly.

3. *Another* Example we have given unto us by the Mouth of our Saviour, himself, who washing the feet of his Disciples, said, *I have herein given you an Example, that as I have done, even so do you.* Notwithstanding these express words, the Holy Church hath left the thing undone, without blame: not of any Negligence, but of great and urgent Causes, which appeareth not to many Men, and yet universally without the breach of God's Commandment (as is said) left undone. Was not the Fact also, and, as it seemeth, the express Commandment of Christ, our Saviour, changed and altered, by the Authority of the Church, in the highest Mystery of our Faith, the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar? For he ministreth the same (as the Scripture witnesseth) after Supper. And now if a contentious Man would strain the Fact to the first Institution, St. *Augustine* answereth (not by Scripture, for there is none to improve it, but indeed otherwise) even as the Apostles did, *Visum est Spiritui sancto, ut in honorem tanti Sacramenti, in os Christiani hominis prius intret Corpus Dominicum quam exteri cibi.* It is determin'd (saith St. *Augustine*) by the Holy Ghost, that in the honour of so great a Sacrament, the Body of our Lord should enter first into the Mouth of a Christian Man before other external Meats. So that notwithstanding it was the Fact of Christ himself, yet the Church moved by the Holy Ghost, (as is said) hath changed that also, without offence likewise. By the which Sentence of St. *Augustine*, manifestly appeareth, that this Authority was deriv'd from the Apostles unto this Time; the which same Authority, according to Christ's Promises, doth still abide and remain with his Church.

4. *And hereupon* also resteth the Alteration of the Sacrament under one kind, when-as the multitude of the *Gentiles* entred, the Church instructed by the Holy Ghost, understood Inconveniencies, and partly also Heresy to creep in through the Ministration under both kinds; and therefore, as in the former Examples, so in this now, (the Matter nothing diminished, neither in it self, nor in the Receivers, and the thing also being received before, by a common and uniform Consent, without contradiction) the Church did decree, that from henceforth it should be received under the form of Bread only; and whosoever should think and affirm, that Whole Christ remained not under *both kinds*, pronounc'd him to be in Heresy.

5. *Moreover*, we read in the Acts, whereas it was determined in a Council holden at *Hierusalem* by the Apostles, that the *Gentiles* should abstain from Strangled, and Blood, in these words, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, & Nobis*, &c. *It is decreed, by the Holy Ghost, and Us*, (say the Apostles) *that no other burden be laid upon you, than these necessary things, That ye abstain from things offered up unto Idols, and from Blood; and from that is strangled, and from Fornication.* This was the Commandment of God, (for still it is commanded, upon pain of damnation, to keep our Bodies clean from Fornication) and the other, join'd by the Holy Ghost with the same, not kept nor observed at this day.

6. Likewise in the *Acts of the Apostles* it appeareth, That among them in the Primitive Church, all things were common. They sold their Lands and Possessions, and laid the Mony at the Feet of the Apostles, to be divided to the People as every Man had need; insomuch that *Ananias* and *Saphira*, who kept back a part of their Possession, and laid but the other part at the Apostles Feet, were declared by the Mouth of St. *Peter*, to be tempted by the Devil, and to lye against the Holy Ghost, and in example of all other, punish'd with sudden Death. By all which Examples, and many other, it is manifest, that though there were any such Scripture which they pretend, as there is not, yet the Church wherein the Holy Ghost is alway resident, may order the same, and may therein say as truly, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, & Nobis*, as did the Apostles; For Christ promised unto the Church, That the Holy Ghost should teach them all Truth, and that He himself would be with the same Church unto the Worlds end. And hereupon we do make this Argument with St. *Augustine*, which he writeth in his Epistle *ad Januarium*, after this sort, *Ecclesia Dei inter multam paleam multaque Zizania constituta, multa tolerat; & tamen quæ sunt contra fidem, vel bonam vitam non approbat, nec tacet, nec facit.*

To this *Major*, we add this *Minor*; But the Catholick Church of God, neither reproveth the Service, or Common Prayer, to be in the Learned Tongue, nor yet useth it otherwise.

Therefore it is most lawful and commendable so to be.

Third Section.

Another Cause that moveth us to say and think, is, That otherwise doing, (as they have said) there followeth necessarily the breach of Unity of the Church, and the Commodities thereby are withdrawn and taken from us; there follows necessarily an horrible Schism and Division.

In alteration of the Service into our Mother Tongue, we condemn the Church of God, which hath been heretofore, we condemn the Church that is present, and namely the Church of *Rome*.

To the which, howsoever it is lightly esteemed here among us, the Holy Saint and Martyr, *Ireneus*, saith in plain words thus; *Ad hanc Ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnes alias Ecclesias convenire; hoc est omnes undiq; Fideles.* It is necessary (saith this Holy Man) who was nigh to the Apostles, or rather in that time, for he is called σύγχρονος *Apostolorum*) that all Churches do conform themselves, and agree with the See or Church of *Rome*, all Churches, that is to say (as he declareth himself) all Christian and Faithful Men. And he alleadgeth the Cause why it is necessary for all Men to agree therewith, (*propter potentiorem principalitatem*) for the greater Preeminence of the same, or for the mightier Principality.

From this Church, and consequently from the whole Universal Church of Christ, we fall undoubtedly into a fearful and dangerous Schism, and therewith into all Incommodities of the same.

That in this doing, we fall from the Unity of the Church, it is more manifest than that we need much to stand upon. St. *Augustine, Contra Cresconium Grammaticum*, putting a difference between *Heresis* and

Schisma, saith, *Schisma est diversa sequentium secta, Heresis autem Schisma inveteratum.*

To avoid this horrible Sin of Schism, we are commanded, by the words of St. *Paul*, saying, *Obsecro vos ut id ipsum dicatis omnes & non sint in vobis Schismata.*

And that this changing of the Service out of the Learned Tongue, is doing contrary to the Form and Order universally observed, is plain and evident to every Man's Eye.

They are to be named *Hereticks* (saith he) which obstinately think and judg in Matters of Faith, otherwise than the rest of the Church doth. And those are called *Schismaticks*, which follow not the Order and Trade of the Church, but will invent of their own Wit and Brain other Orders, contrary or diverse to them which are already, by the Holy Ghost, universally establish'd in the Church. And we being declin'd from God by Schism, note what follows; There is then no Gift of God, no Knowledg, no Justice, no Faith, no Works, and finally, no Vertue that could stand us in stead, though we should think to glorify God by suffering Death, (as St. *Paul* saith) 1 *Cor.* 13. Yea, there is no Sacrament that availeth to Salvation, in them that willingly fall into Schism, that without fear separate and divide themselves from the Sacred Unity of Christ's Holy Spouse, the Church, as St. *Augustine* plainly saith; *Quicunque ille est, qualiscunque ille est, Christianus non est qui in Ecclesia Christi non est*; that is, Whosoever he be, whatsoever degree or condition he be of, or what qualities soever he hath; though he should speak with the Tongues of Angels, speak he never so holily, shew he never so much Vertue, yet is he not a Christian Man that is guilty of that Crime of Schism; and so no Member of that Church.

Wherefore this is an evident Argument; Every Christian Man is bound, upon pain of Damnation, by the plain words of God, uttered by St. *Paul*, to avoid the horrible Sin of Schism.

The changing of the Service-Book out of the Learned Tongue, it being universally observ'd through the whole Church from the beginning, is a cause of an horrible Schism; wherefore every good Christian Man is bound to avoid the change of the Service.

Now to confirm that we said before, and to prove that to have the Common Prayer, and Ministration of the Sacraments in English, or in other than is the Learned Tongue, let us behold the first Institution of the *West Church*, and the Particulars thereof.

And first, to begin with the Church of *France*: *Dyonisius*, St. *Paul's* Scholar, who first planted the Faith of Christ in *France*: *Martialis*, who (as it is said) planted the Faith in *Spain*: And others which planted the same here in *England*, in the time of *Eleutherius*: And such as planted the Faith in *Germany*, and other Countries: And St. *Augustine*, that converted this Realm afterwards, in the time of *Gregory*, almost a thousand Years ago: It may appear that they had Interpreters, as touching the Declaration and Preaching of the Gospel, or else the Gift of Tongues: But that ever, in any of these *West Churches*, they had the Service in their own Language, or that the Sacraments, other than

than Matrimony, were ministred in their own Vulgar Tongue; that does not appear by any Ancient Historiographer. *Whether* shall they be able ever to prove that it was so generally, and thereby by continuance, in the Latin, the self-same Order and Words remain still; whereas all Men do consider, and know right-well, that in all other inferiour and barbarous Tongues, great change daily is seen, and specially in this our English Tongue, which *in quovis Seculo fere*, in every Age, or hundred Years, there appeareth a great change and alteration in this Language.

For the proof whereof, there hath remained many Books of late in this Realm, (as many do well know) which we, that be now Englishmen, can scarcely understand or read. And if we should so often, (as the thing may chance, and as alteration daily doth grow in our Vulgar Tongue) change the Service of the Church, what manifold Inconveniences and Errors would follow, we leave it to all Mens Judgments to consider. So that hereby may appear another invincible Argument, which is, the Consent of the whole Catholick Church, that cannot err in the Faith and Doctrine of our Saviour Christ, but is (by St. *Paul*'s saying) *the Pillar and Foundation of all Truth.*

Moreover, the People of *England* do not understand their own Tongue, better than *Eunuchus* did the *Hebrew*; of whom we read in the *Acts*, that *Philip* was commanded to teach him; and he reading there the Prophesy of *Esay*, *Philip* (as it is written in the 8*th* Chapter of the *Acts*) enquired of him, Whether he understood that which he read, or no? He made answer, saying, *Et quomodo possum, si non aliquis ostenderit mihi*; in which words are reproved the intollerable boldness of such as will enterprize without any Teacher; yea, contemning all Doctors to unclasp the Book, and thereby, instead of Eternal Food, drink up deadly Poison. For whereas the Scripture is misconstrued, and taken in a wrong sense, that it is not the Scripture of God, but as St. *Hierom* saith, Writing upon the *Epistle to the Galathians*, it is the Scripture of the Devil: And we do not contend with Hereticks for the Scripture, but for the true sense and meaning of the Scripture.

We read of Ceremonies in the Old Testament, as the Circumcision, the Bells and Pomegranates; of *Aaron*'s Apparel, with many other, and kinds of Sacrifices; which all were, as St. *Paul* saith unto the *Hebrews*, *Justitia Carnis*; and did not inwardly justify the Party before God, that objected, in Protestation of their Faith in Christ to come: And although they had the knowledg of every Fact of Christ, which was signified particularly by those Ceremonies. And it is evident and plain, that the High Priest entred into the inner Part of the Temple, (named, *Sanctum Sanctorum*) whereas the People might not follow, nor lawful for them to stand, but there, where they could neither see, nor hear, what the Priest either said, or did, as St. *Luke* in the first Chapter of his Gospel, rehearseth in the History of *Zachary*.

Upon Conference of these two Testaments, may be plainly gathered this Doctrine, That in the School of Christ, many things may be said and done, the Mystery whereof the People knoweth not, neither are they bound to know. Which things, that is, that the People did not

hear

hear and underſtand the Common Prayer of the Prieſt and Miniſter, it is evident and plain, by the practice of the Ancient *Greek* Church, and that alſo that now is at *Venice*, or elſe-where.

In that *East* Church, the Prieſt ſtandeth, as it were, in a Travice, or Cloſet, hang'd round about with Curtains, or Vails, apart from the People. And after the Conſecration, when he ſheweth the Bleſſed Sacrament, the Curtains are drawn, whereof *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaketh thus; *Cum Vela videris retrahi, tunc ſuperne Cœlum aperiri cogita*; When thou ſeeſt the Vails, or Curtains drawn open, then think thou that Heaven is open from above.

It is alſo here to be noted, That there is two manners of Prayings, one Publick, another Private; for which cauſe the Church hath ſuch conſiderations of the Publick Prayer, that it deſtroyeth not, nor taketh away the Private Prayer of the People in time of Sacrifice, or other Divine Service; which thing would chance, if the People ſhould do nothing but hearken to anſwer, and ſay, *Amen*. Beſides the impoſſibility of the Matter, whereas, in a great Pariſh, every Man cannot hear what the Prieſt ſaith, though the Material Church were defaced, and he left the Altar of God, and ſtood in the midſt of the People.

Furthermore, If we ſhould confeſs that it were neceſſary to have Common Prayer in the Vulgar Tongue, theſe two Hereſies would follow upon it; that Prayer profiteth no Man but him that underſtandeth it, and him alſo that is preſent and heareth it; and ſo, by conſequent, void was the Prayer for St. *Peter* in Priſon, by the Church abroad.

Now conſider the Practice of this Realm.

If we ſhould grant the Service to be in Engliſh, we ſhould not have that in the ſame form that it is in now, being in Latin; but be-like we ſhould have that, as it was, of late days. The Matter of which Service is taken out of the *Pſalms*, and other part of the Bible, Tranſlated into Engliſh, wherein are manifeſt Errors, and falſe Tranſlations, which all by depravation of God's Scripture, and ſo, *verè mendacia.* Now if the Service be ſo fram'd, then may Men well ſay upon us, That we ſerve God with Lyes.

Wherefore we may not ſo travel and labour to alter the form of our Common Prayer, that we leſe the Fruit of all Prayer, which by this barbarous contention, no doubt, we ſhall do. And the Church of God hath no ſuch cuſtom, as St. *Paul* alledgeth in ſuch Contentions. And may not the whole World ſay unto us, as St. *Paul* ſaid unto the *Corinthians*, 1 *Cor.* 14. *An à vobis Verbum Dei proceſſit, aut in vos ſolos pervenit?* As though the whole Church had been ever in Error, and never had ſeen this Chapter of St. *Paul* before: And that the Holy Ghoſt had utterly forſaken his Office, in leading that into all Truth, till now of late certain, boaſting of the Holy Ghoſt, and the ſincere Word

of

of God, hath enterprised to correct and overthrow the whole Church.

Augustinus, lib. 1. contra *Julianum Pelagium, à Græcis pro suâ Heresi profugum, querentem, ad hunc modum, respondit: Puto (inquit) tibi eam partem orbis debere sufficere, in quâ primum Apostolorum suorum voluit Dominus gloriosissimo Martyrio Coronari. Et idem paulo post; Te certe (Julianum alloquitur) Occidentalis Terra generavit, Occidentalis Regeneravit Ecclesia. Quid ei quæris inferre, quod in eâ non invenisti, quando in ejus membra venisti? Imò, Quid ei quæris auferre, quod in eâ tu quoque accepisti? Hæc ille.*

A number of Authorities out of the Doctors we could rehearse, that maketh for the Unity of the Church, and for not disturbing the quiet Government of the same; which all impugn this their first Assertion by way of Argument. But because they have framed their Assertion so, that we be compelled to defend the *Negative*, (in the probation whereof, the Doctors use not directly to have many words); therefore of purpose we leave out a number of the Sayings of the Doctors, (which all, as I said before, would prove this first Matter by way of Argument) lest we should be tedious, and keep you too long in a plain Matter.

And therefore now to conclude, for not changing the Divine Service, and the Ministration of the Sacraments from the Learned Tongue (which thing doth make a Schism, and a Division between us and the Catholick Church of God) we have brought in the Scripture that doth forbid all such Schism. And also the Consent and Custom of the whole Church, which cannot Err, and maketh us bold to say as we do; with other things, as ye have heard, for confirmation of the same. And in answering to the first Matter, we intend (God willing) to say much more; beseeching Almighty God so to inspire the Heart of the Queen's Majesty, and her most Honourable Council, with the Nobility of this Realm, and Us that be the Pastors of the People in these Causes, that so we may dispose of the Service of God, as we may therein serve God: And that we do not, by altering the said Service from the Uniform manner of Christ's Church, but also highly displease God, and procure to Us infamy of the World, the Worm of Conscience, and Eternal Damnation; which God forbid: and grant us Grace to acknowledg, confess, and maintain his Truth. *To whom be all Glory.* Amen.

Number

Number 5.

The Declaration of the Proceedings of a Conference begun at Westminster, *the last of* March, 1559, *concerning certain Articles of Religion; and the breaking up of the said Conference, by default and contempt of certain Bishops, Parties of the said Conference.*

THE Queen's most Excellent Majesty having heard of diversities of Opinions in certain Matters of Religion, amongst sundry of her Loving Subjects; and being very desirous to have the same reduced to some Godly and Christian Concord, thought it best, by advice of the Lords, and others of her Privy Council, as well for the satisfaction of Persons doubtful, as also for the knowledg of the very Truth, in certain Matters of difference, to have a convenient chosen number of the best Learned of either Part, and to confer together their Opinions and Reasons; and thereby to come to some good and charitable Agreement. And hereupon, by her Majesty's Commandment, certain of her said Privy Council, declared this purpose to the Arch-Bishop of *York*, being also one of the said Privy Council, and required him, that he would impart the same to some of the Bishops, and to make choice of 8, nine, or ten of them; and that there should be the like number named of the other part; and further also declared to him (as then was supposed) what the Matters should be: and as for the time it was thought upon; and then after certain days past, it was signified by the said Arch-Bishop, that there was appointed (by such of the Bishops to whom he had imparted this Matter) eight Persons; that is to say, four Bishops, and four Doctors, who were content, at the Queen's Majesty's Commandment, to shew their Opinions, and as he termed it, render account of their Faith in those Matters, which were mentioned, and that specially in writing. Although, he said, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute upon them. It was hereupon fully resolved, by the Queen's Majesty, with the Advice aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both Parts, for avoiding of much alteration in words. And that the said Bishops should, because they were in Authority of Degree Superiours, first declare their Minds and Opinions to the Matter, with their Reasons, in writing. And the other number, being also eight Men of good degree in Schools, (and some having been in Dignity in the Church of *England*) if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their Opinions in like manner. And so each of them should deliver their Writings to the other to be considered what were to be improved therein; and the same to declare again in Writing at some other convenient day; and the like Order to be kept in all the rest of the Matters. Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

All this was fully agreed upon with the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and so

ſo alſo ſignified to both Parties; and immediately hereupon divers of the Nobility, and States of the Realm, underſtanding that ſuch a Meeting and Conference ſhould be, and that in certain Matters, thereupon the preſent Court of Parliament conſequently following, ſome Laws might be grounded, they made earneſt means to her Majeſty, that the Parties of this Conference might put and read their Aſſertions in the Engliſh Tongue, and that in the preſence of them, the Nobility and others of her Parliament-Houſe, for the better ſatisfaction, and enabling of their own Judgments to treat and conclude of ſuch Laws, as might depend thereupon. This alſo being thought very reaſonable, was ſignified to both Parties, and ſo fully agreed upon. And the day appointed for the firſt Meeting to be the *Friday* in the Forenoon, being the laſt of *March*, at *Weſtminſter* Church, where both for good Order, and for Honour of the Conferences by the Queen's Majeſty's Commandment; the Lords and others of the Privy-Council were preſent, and a great part of the Nobility alſo.

And notwithſtanding the former Order appointed and conſented unto by both Parties, yet the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Colleagues, alleadging, that they had miſtaken that their Aſſertions and Reaſons ſhould be written, and ſo only recited out of the Book, ſaid, Their Book was not then ready written, but they were ready to Argue and Diſpute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in Speech, that which they had to ſay to the firſt Propoſition.

This variation from the former Order, and ſpecially from that which themſelves had, by the ſaid Arch-Biſhop, in writing before required, (adding thereto the Reaſon of the Apoſtle, that *to contend with words, is profitable to nothing, but to the ſubverſion of the Hearer*) ſeemed to the Queen's Majeſty ſomewhat ſtrange; and yet was it permitted, without any great reprehenſion, becauſe they excuſed themſelves with miſtaking the Order, and argued, that they would not fail, but put it in writing, and according to the former Order, deliver it to the other Part.

And ſo the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Colleagues, appointed Dr. *Cole*, Dean of *Pauls*, to be their Utterer of their Minds, who partly by Speech only, and partly by reading of Authorities written; and at certain times being informed of his Colleagues what to ſay, made a declaration of their Meanings and their Reaſons to the firſt Propoſition.

Which being ended, they were asked, by the Privy Council, If any of them had any more to be ſaid? and they ſaid; No. So as then the other Part was licenſed to ſhew their Minds, which they did accordingly to the firſt Order, exhibiting all that which they meant, to propound in a Book written. Which, after a Prayer, and Invocation made moſt humbly to Almighty God, for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a Proteſtation alſo to ſtand to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, builded upon the Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, was diſtinctly read by one *Robert Horn*, Batchelor in Divinity, late Dean of *Dureſm*. And the ſame being ended, (with ſome likelyhood, as it ſeemed, that the ſame was much allowable to the Audience) certain of the Biſhops began

to

to say contrary to their former Answer, that they had now much more to say to this Matter; wherein, although they might have been well reprehended for such manner of cavillation, yet for avoiding any more mistaking of Orders in this Colloquie, or Conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered, and thus openly agreed upon of both Parts, in the full Audience, that upon the *Monday* following, the Bishops should bring their Minds and Reasons in Writing, to the second Assertion, and the last also, if they could, and first read the same; and that done, the other Part should bring likewise theirs to the same; and being read, each of them should deliver to other the same Writings. And in the mean time the Bishops should put in writing, not only all that which Doctor *Cole* had that day uttered, but all such other Matters, as they any otherwise could think of for the same; and as soon as might possible, to send the same Book, touching the first Assertion to the other part; and they should receive of them that Writing which Master *Horn* had there read that day; and upon *Monday* it should be agreed what day they should exhibit their Answer touching the first Proposition.

Thus both parts assented thereto, and the Assembly was quietly dismissed. And therefore upon *Monday* the like Assembly began again at the Place and Hour appointed; and there, upon what sinister or disordered meaning, is not yet fully known, (though in some part it be understanded) the Bishop of *Winchester*, and his Colleagues, and specially *Lincoln*, refused to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious Order on *Friday*, that which they had prepared for the second Assertion; and thereupon, by the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, they being first gently and favourably required, to keep the Order appointed, and that taking no place, being secondly, as it behoved, pressed with the more earnest request, they neither regarding the Authority of that Place, nor their own Reputation, nor the Credit of the Cause, utterly refused that to do.

And finally, being again particularly every one of them apart, distinctly by Name required to understand their Opinions therein; they all (saving one, which was the Abbot of *Westminster*, having some more consideration of Order, and his Duty of Obedience, than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their Book read, some of them as more earnestly than other some, so also some others more indiscreetly and irreverently than others.

Whereupon giving such Example of Disorders, Stubbornness, and Self-will, as hath not been seen and suffered in such an Honourable Assembly, being of the two Estates of this Realm, the Nobilities and Commons, besides the Persons of the Queen's Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, the same Assembly was dismissed, and the Godly, and most Christian Purpose of the Queen's Majesty made frustrate: And afterwards, for the contempt so notoriously made, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, who have most obstinately disobeyed, both Common Authority, and varied manifestly from their own Order; specially *Lincoln*, who shewed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the *Tower* of *London*; and the rest, saving the Abbot of

of *Westminster*, stand bound to make daily their personal appearance before the Council, and not to depart the City of *London* and *Westminster*, until further Order be taken with them for their Disobedience and Contempt.

N. Bacon, Cust. Sigill.
F. Shrewsbury. *F. Bedford.* *Pembrok.*
E. Clynton.
G. Rogers. *F. Knollys.* *W. Cecill.* *A. Cave.*

Number 6.

An Address made by some Bishops and Divines, to Queen Elizabeth, *against the Use of Images.*

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

WE knowing your gracious Clemency, and considering the necessity of the Matter that we have to move, the one doth encourage us, and the other compel us (as before) to make our humble Petition unto your Highness, and to renew our former Suit, not in any respect of self-will, stoutness, or striving against your Majesty, (God we take to Witness) for with *David*, we confess that we are but as *Canes mortui, aut Pulices* in comparison. But we do it only for that fear and reverence, which we bear to the Majesty of Almighty God, in whose Hands to fall, 'tis terrible; for it lieth in his Power to destroy for ever, and to cast both Body and Soul into Hell Fire. And lest in giving just offence to the little Ones, in setting a Trap of Errors for the Ignorant, and digging a Pit for the Blind to fall into, we should not only be guilty of the Blood of our Brethren, and deserve the wrathful *Væ*, and Vengeance of God, but also procure, to our reclaiming Consciences, the biting Worm, that never dieth, for our endless confusion. For in what thing soever we may serve your Excellent Majesty, not offending the Divine Majesty of God, we shall, with all humble Obedience, be most ready thereunto, if it be even to the loss of our Life; for so God commandeth of us, Duty requireth of us, and we with all conformity have put in proof. And as God, through your gracious Government, hath delivered unto us innumerable Benefits, which we most humbly acknowledg, and with due Reverence daily give him Thanks. So we do not doubt, but that of his Mercy He will happily finish in your Majesty that good Work, which of His free Favour He hath most graciously begun; that following the Examples of the Godly Princes which have gone before, you may clearly purge the polluted Church, and remove all occasions of Evil. And for so much as we have heretofore, at sundry times, made Petition to your Majesty concerning the Matter of Images, but at no time exhibited any Reasons for the removing of the same. Now, lest we should seem to say much, and prove little, to alleage Consciences without the Warrant

vant of God, and unreasonably require that, for the which we can give no Reason, we have at this time put in writing, and do most humbly exhibit to your gracious Consideration, those Authorities of the Scriptures, Reasons, and pithy Persuasions, which as they have moved all such our Brethren, as now bear the Office of Bishops, to think and affirm Images not expedient for the Church of Christ; so will they not suffer us, without the great offending of God, and grievous wounding of our own Consciences, (which God deliver us from) to consent to the erecting or retaining of the same in the place of Worshipping; and we trust, and most earnestly ask it of God, that they may also persuade your Majesty, by your Regal Authority, and in the Zeal of God, utterly to remove this Offensive Evil out of the Church of *England*, to God's great Glory, and our great Comfort.

Here follow the Reasons against them, of which I have given a full Abstract in the History, and therefore do not set them down here, for they are very large. The Address concludes in these words.

Having thus declared unto your Highness a few Causes of many, which do move our Consciences in this Matter, we beseech your Highness, most humbly, not to strain us any further, but to consider that God's Word doth threaten a terrible Judgment unto us, if we being Pastors and Ministers in His Church, should assent unto the thing, which in our Learning and Conscience, we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of Error, Superstition, and Idolatry; and finally, *Heb.* 13.
to the ruins of the Souls committed to our Charge, for the which we *1 Pet.* 5.
must give an account to the Prince of Pastors at the last Day. We pray your Majesty also, not to be offended with this our Plainness and Liberty, which all good and Christian Princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of Godly Bishops.

St. *Ambrose*, writing to *Theodosius* the Emperor, uses these words; *Sed neque Imperiale est libertatem dicendi negare, neque Sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere.* *Epist. lib.* 5. *Epist.* 29.

And again; *In causa vero Dei quem audies, si Sacerdotem non audies, cujus Majore peccatur periculo? Quis tibi verum audebit dicere, si Sacerdos non audeat?* *Ibidem.*

These, and such-like Speeches of St. *Ambrose*, *Theodosius*, and *Valentinianus*, the Emperors did take in good part; and we doubt not, but your Grace will do the like, of whose, not only Clemency, but also Beneficence, we have largely tasted.

We beseech your Majesty also, in these, and such-like Controversies of Religion, to refer the discusement, and deciding of them, to a Synod of the Bishops, and other Godly Learned Men, according to the Example of *Constantinus Magnus*, and other Christian Emperors, that the Reasons of both Parties being examined by them, the Judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful Matters.

And to return to this present Matter; We most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, That besides weighty Causes in Policy, which we leave to the Wisdom of the Honourable Counsellors, the establishing of Images by your Authority, shall not only utterly discredit our Ministries, as builders of the thing which we have destroyed, but also blemish

blemish the Fame of your most Godly Brother, and such notable Fathers as have given their Lives for the Testimony of God's Truth, who by publick Law removed all Images.

The Almighty and Everliving God, plentifully endue your Majesty with His Spirit and Heavenly Wisdom; and long preserve your most gracious Reign, and prosperous Government over us, to the advancement of his Glory, to the overthrow of Superstition, and to the Benefit and Comfort of all your Hignesses loving Subjects. Amen.

Number 7.

The Queen's Commissions to the Visitors that were sent to the Northern Parts.

ELizabetha Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, Fidei Defensor, &c. Charissimis, Consanguineis & Consiliariis nostris Francisco Comiti Salop. Domino Præsidenti Consilii nostri in partibus Borealibus, & Edwardo Comiti de Darbia, ac charissimo consanguineo nostro Thomæ Comiti Northumb. Domino Guardiano sive custodi Marchiarum nostrarum de Le East March,& midle March versus Scotiam, ac perdilecto & fideli nostro Willielmo Domino Evers, ac etiam dilectis & fidelibus nostris Henrico Piercy, Thomæ Gargrave, Jacobo Crofts & Henrico Gates Militibus, necnon dilectis nobis Edwino Sandys Sacræ Theologiæ Professori, Henrico Harvy Legum Doctori, Richardo Bowes, Georgio Brown, Chistophero Estcot, & Richardo Kingsmell Armigeris, Salutem. Quoniam Deus Populum suum Anglicanum imperio nostro subjecit, cujus regalis suscepti muneris rationem perfecte reddere non possumus, nisi veram religionem & sincerum numinis divini cultum in omnibus Regni nostri partibus propagaverimus: Nos igitur regalis & absolutæ potestatis nostræ, nobis in hoc Regno nostro commissæ, respectu, quoniam utrumq; Regni nostri statum, tam Ecclesiasticum,quam Laicum visitare, & certas pietatis ac virtutis regulas illis præscribere constituimus, præfatum Franciscum Comitem Salop. Edwardum Comitem de Darbia, Thomam Comitem Northumb, Willielmum Dominum Evers, Henricum Piercy, Thomam Gargrave, Jacobum Crofts, Henricum Gates, Milites; Edwinum Sandys, Henricum Harvy, Georgium Brown, Christophorum Estcot, Richardum Bowes, & Richardum Kingsmell Armigeros, ad infrascriptum vice, nomine, & Authoritate nostris exequendum, vos quatuor, tres aut duo vestrum ad minimum deputavimus, & substituimus ad visitandum igitur, tam in capite, quam in membris Ecclesias Cathedrales, Civitates & Diocæses Eboracen. Cestrens. Dunelmen. & Carlionen. necnon quascunque alias Collegiatas, Parochiales & Præbendales Ecclesias, ac loca alia Ecclesiastica quæcunque, tam exempta, quam non exempta in & per easdem Civitates & Diocæses visabiliter constitutas, Clerumq; & Populum earundem in eisdem degentes sive residentes; Deque statu Ecclesiarum & locorum hujusmodi, necnon vita, moribus & conversatione, ac etiam qualitatibus personarum in Ecclesiis & locis prædictis degentium,

sive

five commorantium modis omnibus, quibus id melius aut efficacius poteritis inquirendum & investigandum: criminosos, ac susceptæ Religioni subscribere obstinate & peremptorie recusantes; vel quocunque alio modo delinquentes; Atq; culpabiles condignis pœnis, etiam usq; ad beneficiorum, dignitatum, sive officiorum suorum privationem, fructuum vel reddituum, & proventionem Ecclæsiarum & Locorum, quibus præsunt, sequestrationem, vel quamcunque aliam congruam & competentem coercionem inclusive puniendam & corrigendam; Atq; ad probatiores vivendi mores modis omnibus, quibus ad melius & efficacius poteritis, reducendum; Testamenta quorumcunq; defunctorum infra loca prædicta decedentium probanda, approbanda & informanda, administrationesq; bonorum eorundem Executorum in eisdem testamentis nominatis committendum, administrationesq; insuper ac sequestrationes bonorum ab intestatis sive per viam intestatorum, etiam descendentes in debita juris forma expediendum & concedendum, ac committendum; Computaq; quoq; tam executorum, quam administratorum, & sequestratorum quorumcunq; recipiendum, examinandum, admittendum, terminandum: ac insuper eosdem executores, administratores, & sequestratores, omnes & singulas acquietandum, relaxandum & finaliter dimittendum, Causasq; quascunq; examinandum, audiendum & finaliter terminandum. Contumaces autem, & rebelles, cujuscunq; conditionis sive status fuerint, si quos inveneritis, tam per censuras Ecclesiasticas, quam personarum apprehensionem & incarcerationem, ac recognitionem, acceptionem ac quæcunq; alia juris Regni nostri remedia compescendum, necnon injunctiones præsentibus annexas personis in eisdem nominatis nomine nostro tradendum, aliasq; injunctiones congruas & competentes vice & authoritate nostris eis indicendum, dandum & assignandum, pœnasque convenientes in earum violatores infligendum, & irrogandum; Ecclesiis etiam, & alia loca dimissorum, vacantia & pro vacantibus habenda fore decernendum & declarandum, pensionesq; legittimas, congruas & competentes cedentibus vel resignandis hujusmodi assignandum & limitandum, præsentatosq; ad beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunq; infra civitates, Ecclesias aut Diocæses prædictas constituta, durante visitatione nostra hujusmodi, si habiles fuerint & idonei, ad eadem admittendum, ac de & in eisdem instituendum & investiendum, cum suis juribus, & pertinentibus universis, eosq; in realem, actualem & corporalem possessionem earundem inducendum, & induci faciendum, atque mandandum, necnon clericorum & beneficiatorum quorumcunq; tam pro ordinibus, quam beneficiis per eos adeptis, literas & munimenta exigendum & recipiendum, eaq; diligenter examinandum, & discutiendum, & quos non sufficienter munitos in ea parte comperitis, ab officio dimittendum, & sic jure munitis declarandum, & pronunciandum. Synodos quoq; & capitula, tam generalia quam specialia, cleri & populi hujusmodi per executionem premissorum aut reformationem quamcunq; faciendum & convocandum: Procurationes quoq; Synodalia ratione nostræ hujus visitationis debite petendum, exigendum, & levandum, ac etiam non solventes aut solvere recusantes per censuras Ecclesiasticas compellendum, coercendum & cogendum; necnon concionandi potestatem hujusmodi personis concedendum, quas ad hoc divinum munus suscipiendum aptas esse judicaveritis: Incarceratos quoque, & vinculis commissos ob religionis causam antea licet condemnatos, causis incarcerationis

carcerationis & condemnationis hujusmodi prius examinatis, & plenarie discussis,examinandum, discutiendum ac in integrum,justitia id poscente, restituendum, deliberandum & extra prisonam dimittendum, necnon causas deprivationum examinandum, ac contra statuta & ordinationes hujus Regni nostri Angliæ, vel juris Ecclesiastici ordinem deprivatos restituendum, ac omnia & singula alia, quæ circa hujusmodi visitationis seu reformationis negotia necessaria fuerint,seu quomodolibet oportuna, etiamsi verba magis specialia de se exigunt & requirunt, faciendum,& expediendum. Vobis quatuor, tribus aut duobus vestrum,ut præfertur de quorum eminenti doctrina morumq;, & Concilii gravitate, ac in rebus gerendis fide & industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras committimus ac plenam in dicto tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem, cum cujuslibet congruæ & legitimæ coercionis potestate. Et prætcrea certos viros prudentes, ac pios assignandum, & nominandum, per quos de statu rerum instruemini & quorum opera presentes utemini, in omnibus causis ad hanc visitationem nostram spectantibus, quantum vobis convenire videbitur. Iidem viri a vobis commissariis assignati plenam potestatem habebunt, etiam post Commissariorum decessum, & post finitum etiam visitationis tempus, de omnibus articulis, ordinibus & institutis ejusdem visitationis inquirendi, Et violatores eorum, cujuscunq; conditionis fuerint, conveniendi & examinandi; Et omnes quærelas, quatenus ullum impedimentum aut offensionem nostræ visitationis continebunt,accipiendi & audiendi, & hujusmodi personas, offensiones, & quærelas Comissariis nostris Londini residentibus,& ad Ecclesiasticarũ rerum reformationem Delegatis, præsentabunt, & exhibebunt illis viis & modis, quibus hoc convenientissime videbunt fieri posse. Mandantes omnibus, & singulis Majoribus, Vice-comitibus, Justiciariis ac quibuscunque aliis officiariis,ministris & subditis nostris,quatenus nobis in & circa præmissorum executionem effectualiter assistant,auxilientur, & suffragentur, ut insuper sagacitatis, diligentiæ, factorumq; vestrorum omnium evidens & perpetuum specimen nobis, posterisq; nostris remaneat, inventaq; & invenienda pro recordatorum defectu debitam reformationem correctionemve non subterfugiant, aut a memoria prolabantur. Nos suprema ac regali authoritate nostra prædicta dilectos, & fideles subditos nostros Thomam Peircy, & Joanem Hoges, & eorum deputatos per Comissarios nostros approbandos, notarios præcipuos per antea legitime existentes, actorum, instrumentorum, decretorum, summarum, judiciorum, censurarum, cæterorumq; omnium, & singulorum, quæ per vos, vestrumve Aliquem in Visitatione hac nostra Regia peragentur, judicabuntur,decernentur,fient,ferentur,& pronunciabuntur, Scribas,Registrarios nostros præcipuos, & principales conjunctim & divisim ordinamus, nominamus & constituimus; eisq; officium, & officia Registri Scribat nostri presentis cum omnibus officia prædicta tangentiä, eorumq; deputatis per Comissarios nostros approbandis conjunctim & divisim damus, deputamus, assignamus, & decernimus per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teste meipsa apud Westmonast. 24 die Junii, Anno Regni nostri primo.

Number

Number 8.

Ten Letters written to, and by Dr. Parker, concerning his Promotion to the See of Canterbury.

An Original.

AFter my right-hearty Commendations, these are to signify unto you, That for certain Matters touching your self, which I trust shall turn you to good, I would wish that you should repair hither to *London*, with as convenient speed as you can, where you shall find me at *Burgeny* House in *Pater Noster Row*, if it be not over-long e're you come. And if it chance that I be returned into *Suffolk* before your coming, then I would you should make your repair unto my Brother-in-Law, Sir *William Cecil*, the Queen's Secretary, declaring unto him, that I appointed you to wait upon him to know his pleasure touching such Matters as he and I did talk of concerning you. Thus wishing you well to do, I bid you heartily farewel. Ex M. SS. Reverendiss. D.D. *Gul.* Arch. *Cant.*

Written the 9*th* of *December*, 1558. By,

Yours assuredly,

N. Bacon.

Dr. Parker's Answer to the former Letter.

A Copy.

RIght Worshipful, with my thankful Duty of Commendations, hearing of your sickness still to occupy you, I was right-heartily sorry that I molested you with so long a Letter, into which fault, for that I will not fall again at this present, I shall use the fewer words. Sir, If I may know at what time I might, in your return down, wait on your Worship at *Burgeny*, or at *New-market*, I will, by God's Grace, so appoint my self to be there first, the rather for that I would not give occasion to have your Journey either protracted, or yet diverted out of the right Line thereof. In the mean time I shall beseech God to restore your strength, that ye may the sooner be restored to the Common-Wealth, which in this apparent necessity of worthy Persons, I fear, feeleth God's Hand in this his Visitation to be burdenous. I would wish ye were not much stirring abroad in the distemperance of the Air, so contrarious to the state of Mens Bodies, once pierced with this insolent *Quartane*, as Experience sheweth. I think the Spring-time, as in natural respects, must be expected, though Almighty God be bound to no time. Thus I heartily commend you to his gracious protection, this 20*th* of *December*.

Your most bounden assuredly to command, *M. P.*

A Letter written to him by Secretary Cecil.

An Original.

AFter my hearty Commendations. The Queen's Highneſs minding preſently to uſe your Service in certain Matters of Importance, hath willed me ſo to ſignify unto you, to the end you ſhould forthwith, upon the ſight hereof, put your ſelf in order to make your undelaied repair hither unto *London*; at which your coming up, I ſhall declare unto you her Majeſty's further Pleaſure, and the occaſion why you are ſent for; and hereof praying you therefore in no wiſe to fail, I bid you well to fare.

From *Weſtminſter*, the 30*th* of *December*, 1558.

Your Loving Friend,

W. Cecil.

Another Letter of the Lord Keepers to him.

An Original.

AFter hearty Commendations, theſe are to ſignify unto you, That ye may aſſure your ſelf, that you ſhall have any thing that I can do for you touching the requeſt of your Letters, or any other Matter being in my Power: I do think that ye have received, e're this, a Letter from Mr. Secretary, willing you to come up immediately, if your Health will ſuffer, for certain weighty Matters touching the Queen's Service; ſo as I truſt, by your preſence, all things to your own contentation ſhall come the better to paſs. If this Letter be not come to your Hands, and therewith you be not able to come, it ſhall be behoveful for you to ſignify ſo much, becauſe I have been willed alſo to haſte your coming up. Thus right-heartily fare ye well. Written the 4*th* of *January*, 1558. By,

Yours aſſuredly,

N. Bacon.

Number

Dr. Parker's Answer.

A Copy.

Right Worshipful;

AFter my Duty of Commendations. Where of late I received your Letters to this effect, That I should repair up unto you at *London*, upon occasion, as ye wrote, which may turn me to good, so judged by a late Conference with the Right Worshipful Sir *William Cecil*, Secretary to the Queen's Majesty, of long time my special good Friend and Master, ye shall understand that my *Quartane* hath so much distempered the state of my Health, that without apparent danger, I cannot as yet commit my self to the adventure of the Air, as by divers essays I have attempted of late, to my greater pain, and further hinderance; whereupon, if your opportunity might so serve, I would most heartily pray your Worship to signify so much. And further, yet in confidence of your old good Heart to me, I would be a Suiter to you, as I was once to Sir *John Cheek*, my entire good Friend, and Patron, to the said Sir *William Cecil*, that where he was desirous, by his mediation, to do me good, (as here you use to call it) even as I was then framed in mind, so am I at this day. I would be inwardly heavy and sorry that his favourable Affection should procure me any thing above the reach of mine Ability, whereby I should both dishonest my self, and disappoint the expectation of such as may think that in me, which I know is not; but specially I might clog and cumber by Conscience to Godward, before whom I look every day to appear to make mine Answer, which I think, and as I trust, is not far off: Notwithstanding though I would most fain wear out the rest of my Life in private state, yet concerning that very small Talent credited unto me, I would not so unthankfully to God ensue my quiet, that I could not be content to bestow it, so it were there, whether my Heart and Conscience, afore this time, and daily yet doth incline me: I mean, to be no further abled, but by the Revenue of some Prebend, (without charge of Cure, or of Government) to occupy my self to dispense God's Word amongst the simple strayed Sheep of God's Fold, in poor destitute Parishes and Cures, more meet for my decayed Voice, and small Quality, than in Theatrical and great Audience: which walk, and wish I would to be near their Quarters, where we both were born, by occasion whereof I might have opportunity to wait other-while on you at *Redgrave*, whether I have vowed my first Journey, immediately upon my strength recovered, by the occasion of your friendly Request of your Letters ye sent me. And if I might be yet bolder with you, as I was with the said Sir *John Cheek*, to disclose my desire of all Places in *England*, I would wish to bestow most my time in the University, the State whereof is miserable at this present, as I have had intelligence from time to time thereof. And if in any respect I could do Service, as a weak Member of the Common-Wealth, I think I might do it with them, having long Acquaintance, and some Experience in the Doings thereof; which Judgment had the said Sir *John Cheek* towards me:

And therefore to ſet me on work, had once, by the favour of the ſaid Mr. Secretary, procured to have me named to the Maſterſhip of Trinity College, which yet chanced not to that effect, God otherwiſe determining the Matter in his Providence. But to tell you my Heart, I had rather have ſuch a thing as *Bennet-College* is in *Cambridg*, a Living of twenty Nobles by the Year at the moſt, than to dwell in the Deanry of *Lincoln*, which is 200 at the leaſt. Now Sir, ye may ſee herein, yet my Ambition in writing thus much, but I ſhall pray you to accept the Circumſtances, which ye may better inſinuate to Mr. Secretary, than I dare be bold, by my rude Letters, to moleſt his favourable goodneſs, or yet preſcribe to your, or his Worſhip, Wiſdom and Prudence. In concluſion, at the Reverence of God, I pray you, either help that I be quite forgotten, or elſe ſo appointed, that I be not entangled now of new, with the concourſe of the World, in any reſpect of publick ſtate of living, whereby I ſhall have an unfeigned ſignification of your very good Will to me indeed, and be bound to pray for you during my Life.

Some of your Scholars at *Cambridg*, enjoying the benefit of your liberal Exhibition, have ſent your Worſhip now their Letters, ſome be ſick and abſent.

Thus repriſing the quiet of my Mind, and having good hope in your friendlineſs to the conſiderations aforeſaid, I wiſh you a full recovery of your Health, and a continuance in God's Grace and Favour, with all your Family.

Your Beadſman to command,

M. P.

A long Letter of Dr. Parker's, *excuſing himſelf from the Offer of the Arch-Biſhoprick of* Canterbury.

An Original.

Right Honourable, my Duty preſuppoſed. It is an old ſaid Proverb, *Ubi quis dolet ibidem & manum frequenter habet*, beſeeching you, for God's ſake, the rather to bear the importunity of this my hand-writing, ſuppoſing that this may be one of the laſt Solicitations that I ſhall moleſt you with.

Sir, Your ſignification uttered to me at my firſt coming to you at *London*, concerning a certain Office ye named to me, did hold me in ſuch carefulneſs all my time of being there, with the recurring of a dull Diſtemperance, ſet in my Head by the Dregs of my *Quartane*, and as yet not remedied, whereby I had no diſpoſition to my Book; beſide ſome other diſpleaſant Cogitations concerning the ſtate of this Time, made me have ſo little joy of my being at *London*, as I had never leſs in my Life: moſt glad when my Back was turned thereunto. But to come near to my intent of writing, I ſhall pray to God, yea, beſtow

bestow that Office well, ye shall needcare the less for the residue. God grant it chanceth neither on an arrogant Man, neither on a faint-hearted Man, nor on a covetous Man; The first shall both sit in his own light, and shall discourage his Fellows to join with him in Unity of Doctrine, which must be their whole strength; for if any heart-burning be betwixt them, if private Quarrels stirred abroad be brought home, and so shall shiver them asunder, it may chance to have that success which I fear in the conclusion will follow. The second Man should be too weak to commune with the Adversaries, who would be the stouter upon his pusillanimity. The third Man not worth his Bread, profitable for no Estate in any Christian Common-Wealth, to serve it rightly.

For my part, I pray God I never fall into his Indignation and Wisdom; it were not for a Subject to deserve his Prince's Displeasure, and sorry would I be to discontent Mr. Secretary, and you, for whose worshipful Favours, I count my self more bound to pray to God, and to wish well to them for all the Men in the Realm beside. I speak it sincerely, without flattery; for though I have little wit, yet I can discern betwixt Men, who delight to be flattered, and who not, though I would not consider how dishonest it were for me to use it. But, Sir, except ye both moderate and restrain your over-much good Will in the former respect to me-ward, I fear, in the end, I shall dislike you both, and that your Benevolencies should, by occasion of my obstinate untowardness, jeopard me into Prison; yet there shall I bear you my good Heart, which I had rather suffer in a quiet Conscience, than to be intruded into such Room and Vocation, wherein I should not be able to answer the Charge, to God, nor to the World, wherein I should not serve the Queen's Honour, which I wish most heartily advanced in all her wise and godly Proceedings; nor yet should I live to the Honour of the Realm, and so finally should but work a further displeasant contemplation to my good Friends who preferred me.

This, this is the Thing that makes me afraid, my Lord, though I passed not on mine own shame and rebuke; and therefore, by God's Favour, and your good Helps, I never intend to be of that Order, better or worse, higher nor lower; *Non omnia possumus omnes; & tutissimum est ut quisque hanc artem exerceat in qua educatus, & ad quam natura homines formavit.* And as for other Furnishments, I am too far behind. When I came first up to *London*, I had thirty pounds in my Purse, not ten shillings more, whereof I have wasted a good part; and if I were placed, as some of my Friends wish to me, what would that do to begin, or to furnish my Houshold. And I hear how the Citizens of *Norwich* pray for the Soul of their last Bishop, for when upon his departure they seized his Goods, to answer his Debts to them, streight-way came the Queen's Officers and discharged them all, which yet were not able, for all his spare Hospitality, to pay half that he owed.

Furthermore, to come to another Consideration, of a further Imperfection, which I would have dissembled to you and others, but it cannot be, but I must open it to you, my assured good Master and Friend,

Friend, in secrecy, whose old good Will maketh me the less abashed, to be so homely with you at this time. In one of my Letters, I made a little signification of it, but peradventure ye did not mark it. Sir, I am so in Body hurt and decayed, *coram Deo non mentior*, that whatsoever my Ability were, either of worldly Furniture, or inward Quality; and though my Heart would right-feign serve my Sovereign Lady, the Queen's Majesty, in more respects than of my Allegiance, not forgetting what words her Grace's Mother said to me of her, not six days before her apprehension, yet this my painful Infirmity, will not suffer it in all manner of Services. Flying in a Night, for such as sought for me, to my peril, I fell off my Horse so dangerously, that I shall never recover it; and by my late Journey up, and my being there at *London*, not well setled, it is increased to my greater pain. I am fain sometime to be idle, when I would be occupied; and also to keep my Bed, when my Heart is not sick.

This was one cause why I was importune to you for that room, whereof I made mention in my former Letters, by the which I might be abled, by the portion of that Stipend, in this my Impoverishment, to wear out my Life tolerably, and should not by that be occasioned to come up to any Convocations, as having no Voice in that House; and peradventure being there, I might be a mean for the fewer Matters of disturbance, to come up to Mr. Secretary, now Chancellor there, to molest him, more than should need, whose gentle affability might provoke some inconsiderate Men not to regard his other greater Affairs. And yet though I were so placed, I would not forswear *London*, or the Court either, at times as could stand with my Ability and Health of Body, if my Service could be any ways acceptable, and were agreeable to the proportion of my Capacity.

Sir, Because I may not dissemble with you, I have told you all now, do with me what ye will, I might be ashamed to spend so many words in a Cause private of my self; but yet because ye must be Partner of some lack, if I answered not the expectation, I could no less do, but make you privy before-hand. I pray you think not that the Prognostication of Mr. *Michael Nostre Dame* reigneth in my Head. I esteem that fantastical Hotch-potch not so well, as I credit *Lucianus* Book, *De veris Narrationibus*; nor yet all other vain Prophesies of *Sands*, more than I regard Sir *Thomas Moor*'s Book of Fortunes Answers upon the chance of three Dice casting. I would I saw no more cause to fear the likelyhood of God's Wrath deserved, for disolute Life, to fall upon the Realm, by the evidence of his true Word, and by God's old practices: and yet no Man considereth his ire already begun, *Dum non finit viros dolosos dimidiare dies suos.* I shall pray to God to defend you and your Family, and that ye may revolve in Mind Christ's serious Admonition, *Quid proderit homini, si totum mundum lucretur, si animæ suæ* (*Mat.* 16.)
detrimentum patiatur. Et non in abundantia cujusquam, est vita hominis (*Luc.* 11.)
ex his quæ possidet.

Sir, My Duty of Heart maketh me bold with you, not otherwise meaning before God, but thanking him many times that Mr. Secretary and you may have the doing of things in this greedy World, and that

ye have so good credit, and ready access to the Queen's Majesty, to comfort her good Inclination, whom I beseech the God of Heaven to preserve with her Council, yea, and with the Seniority of her Spiritual Ministers also, against whom I see a great Charge set before them, to overcome that,must specially go through their hands by diligent watching, upon the unruly Flock of the English People, if they were not so much acloyed with Worldly Collections, Temporal Commissions, and Worldly Provisions. I speak this the rather in this respect, which I thought good to put to your understanding; At my last being at *London*, I.heard and saw Books printed, which be spread abroad, whose Authors be Ministers of good estimation; the Doctrine of the one, is to prove, That a Lady Woman cannot be, by God's Word, a Governor in a Christian Realm. And in another Book going abroad, is Matter set out to prove, That it is lawful for every private Subject to kill his Soveraign, *ferro, veneno, quocunque modo*, if he think him to be a Tyrant in his Conscience, yea, and worthy to have his Reward for his Attempt: *Exhorrui cum ista legerem.* If such Principles be spread into Mens Heads, as now they be framed and referred to the Judgment of the Subject, of the Tenant, and of the Servant, to discuss what is Tyranny, and to discern whether his Prince, his Land-lord, his Master, is a Tyrant, by his own fancy, and collection supposed, What Lord of the Council shall ride quietly minded in the Streets, among desperate Beasts? What Master shall be sure in his Bed-chamber? It is the surest way for every Man to serve God truly in his Vocation, to deserve the rather his protection:and then both the Devil and Man,Forreign and Intestine, shall have their Malices retorted upon themselves again. But thus goeth the Devil about to dull the heretical Stomachs of Princely Men, to do good in their turn of time, to serve God and the Common-Wealth. They say that the Realm is full of *Anabaptists*, *Arrians*, *Libertines*, *Free-will Men*, &c. against whom only I thought Ministers should have needed to fight in Unity of Doctrine. As for the Romish Adversaries, their Mouths may be stopped with their own Books, and Confessions of late days; I never dreamed that Ministers should be compelled to impugn Ministers; the Adversarys have good sport betwixt themselves, to prognostick the likelyhood. Some *Protestants* peradventure, perceiving how Men nip them to disable them, to keep any Learned Men in House to confer with, and to beat down these Seditious Sects, if any inconvenience, for want of preaching, shall fall, they may chance to say a Verse of *David*'s Psalter, *Lætabitq; justus, cum viderit vindictam, & manus suas lavabit in sanguine peccatoris*, as not caring for their Assurances, who abase them so low: and some peradventure have cast already their starting shifts, and make Provision against all Adventures. Well, I pray God all be Conscience to God, that is sometime so pretended: Men be Men, yea, after the School of Affliction, Men be Men, Hypocrisie is a privy Thief, both in the Clergy and in the Laity. To make an end of such Conference, which I would gladly have told you presently, but I could not wait so much leisure in you, and opportunity; and loath I was to have begun my Tale, and not to have ended it, by reason of interruption by others. But as for the principal occasion of my writing, howsoever it may dislike you, yet shall I ever-more acknowledg my Duty to you, yea, though now

ye

ye give me quite up: I reverence you so much, that I had rather ye disliked me utterly by times, with your less repentance, rather than ye and other of my loving Friends should bear any envy, or any displeasant unthankfulness, and so too late to repent for your commending of me, (if a perswasion in an appearance, is not surely grounded to be seen) when Experience should have shewed the Trial. And therefore I write it to you in time again, after the signification of my very first Letters to prevent you, for I know ye may, with a few words, remedy all the towardness yet concluded.

And think not, I pray your Honour, that I seek mine privat Gain, or my idle ease, put me where ye will else; and if, as far as my power of Knowledg, and of Health of Body will extend, I do not apply my self to discharge my Duty, let me be thrust out again like a Thief. I thank God my Conscience condemneth me not, that I have been aforetime any great gatherer; and now, for the upholding of two or three Years more of Life, to heap unproportionably, I count it madness; and more than this purpose, by God's Grace, I dare promise nothing: And as for such few Folks which I may leave behind me, they shall not say by me, I trust, That happy be these Children whose Fathers go to the Devil for their sake. Your Lordship knoweth with what Patrimony I began the World with, and yet have hitherto lived with enough, yea, when all my Livings were taken from me, yet God, I thank him, ministred to me sufficiently, above the capacity of my understanding, or foreseeing. And thus commending your good Lordship to that merciful Governance, I pray your Honourable Wisdom to put this scribling out of the way, from every Man's sight and intelligence.

Right Honourable, after my duty of Commendations to your Lordship, I am bold now to send you a Fancy of my Head, expressed in these few Leaves; which if I had compact in a Letter, it would have seemed over-long, and being comprised in Leaves, may appear to be but a very little Book of one Sheet of Paper, which yet I so devised, upon consideration of your Business, which will not suffer you to be long detained in Matters impertinent, and therefore ye may turn in the Leaf and read it at divers leasures, if your Lordship shall vouchsafe the reading. And thus wishing you joy of Heart, which I feel to be a great Treasure in this World, as the want, a grievous torment; I pray God preserve your Honourable Goodness, with my good Lady your Wife. If ye see ought in my Quire worth reformation, ye know I am disciplinable, and have read, *quod meliora sunt vulnera diligentis, quam fraudulenta oscula odentis*: Wherefore reserving mine unreasonable determination, as you shall know, I shall yield my self wholly conformable to your Honour, *ubi, quomodo, quando, aliquid, vel tandem nihil.* Of an Occasion lately ministred, I have sent my Letters to Mr. Secretary concerning another Matter, *primo Martii.*

Your assured Orator,

M. P.

Number

A Letter written to him by the Lord Keeper concerning it.

An Original.

THat before this time I have not ſent you Anſwer to your laſt Letters; the cauſe hath been, for that I could by no mean underſtand to what end the Matter mentioned in thoſe Letters would grow unto; but perceiving this day, by a Reſolution made in the Queen's Highneſs preſence, that your Friends ſhall very hardly deliver you of the Charge written of in the ſame Letters, I thought it good to make you privy thereunto; and therewith to adviſe you, to commit to the Judgment of your Friends, your Ability and Diſability to ſerve, where and when you ſhall be called. If I knew a Man to whom the deſcription made, in the beginning of your Letter, might more juſtly be referred, than to your ſelf, I would prefer him before you; but knowing none ſo meet indeed, I take it to be my duty to prefer you before all others, and the rather alſo, becauſe otherwiſe I ſhould not follow the Advice of your own Letter. The reſt, which is much, I defer until our next meeting. It is like, that e're it be long, you ſhall receive Letters ſubſcribed by me and others jointly. Thus right-heartily farewel. From the Court the 17*th* of *May*, 1559.

Yours aſſuredly,

N. Bacon.

An Order ſent to him, requiring him to come up to London.

AFter our hearty Commendations. Theſe be to ſignify unto you, that for certain Cauſes, wherein the Queen's Majeſty intendeth to uſe your Service, her Pleaſure is, That you ſhould repair up hither with ſuch ſpeed, as you conveniently may; and at your coming up, you ſhall underſtand the reſt. Thus right-heartily fare ye well.

From the Court, the 19*th* of *May*, 1559.

Your loving Friends,

N. Bacon.

W. Cecill.

A second Order to the same effect.

An Original.

AFter our hearty Commendations. Where before this time we directed our Letters unto you, declaring thereby, that for certain Causes, wherein the Queen's Majesty intendeth to use your Service, you should repair hither with all convenient speed, whereof we have as yet received none Answer. And therefore, doubting lest by the default of the Messenger, the Letter be not come to your hands, we have thought good again to write unto you, to the intent you should understand her Highness Pleasure is, That you should make your repair hither with all speed possible. Thus right-heartily farewel. From the Court, the 28*th* day of *May*, 1559.

Your loving Friends,

N. Bacon, C. S.

W. Cecill.

Dr. Parker's *Letter to the Queen, excusing himself.*

An Original.

PLeaseth it your most Honourable Majesty to be gracious Lady, to my poor Suit, which at this time extream necessity compelleth me to make, both in respect of my constrained Conscience to Almighty God, as also in the regard of my Duty which I owe to your noble Estate, and most high Authority. So it is, most gracious and soveraign Lady, where I have understanding of your most favourable Opinion toward me, your Graces most simple Subject, concerning the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury*, In consideration whereof, I ought, and do acknowledg my most bounden Duty to be a faithful Orator for your Grace during my Life. Yet calling to examination my great unworthiness, for so high a Function, which mine disability I might alleadg at length iu particularity, but for molesting your Graces most weighty Affairs, I am bold thus, by my writing, to approach to your Honour to discharge me of that so high and chargable an Office, which doth require a Man of much more Wit, Learning, Vertue, and Experience than I see, and perfectly know can be performed of me worthily, to occupy it to God's Pleasure, to Your Grace's Honour and to the Wealth of your loving Subjects beside. Many other imperfections in me, as well for temporal Ability for the furnishing thereof, as were seemly to the Honour of the Realm; as also of infirmity of Body, which will not suffer me to attend on so difficult a Cure, to the discharge thereof, in any reasonable expectation. And where, most gracious Lady,

Lady, beside my humble Duty of Allegiance to your Princely Dignity, I am otherwise, for the great Benefits which sometime I received at Your Graces honourable Mother's Benevolence (whose Soul I doubt not but is in blissful felicity with God) most singularly obliged, above many other, to be Your most faithful Beadsman, both in thanking Almighty God for his Fatherly Protection hitherto over Your noble Person, And also furthermore to pray for the continuance of your fortunate Reign in all godly Prosperity. So I am right sorry, and do lament within my self, that I am so basely qualified inwardly in Knowledg, and outwardly in extern Sufficiencies, to do Your Grace any meet Service, as I would wish could be acceptable, and to Your Graces expectation: assuring Your noble Estate, that in any other smaller Vocation, under the degree of such chargeable Offices, and more agreeable to my Infirmity, if it shall be so seem, to Your high Wisdom, and merciful Liberality, I shall endeavour my self to attend thereon; referring yet my self wholly to Your Grace's Pleasure, rather than by just allegation of my unworthiness, the loyal Duty of my faithful Heart should be any ways suspected to Your reverend Majesty.

Your Grace's poor Subject,
Matthew Parker.

Number 9.

The Instrument of Dr. *Parker*'s Consecration; with some Attestations of the Authenticalness of it.

Rituum atque Ceremoniarum Ordo, in Consecrando Reverendissimo in Christo Patre, Mattheo Parker, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, in Sacello suo apud Manerium suum de Lambeth, die Dominico 17. viz. die Mensis Decembris, Anno Dom. 1559. habit.

PRincipio, Sacellum Tapetibus ad Orientem adornabatur, solum vero panno rubro insternebatur, Mensa quoq; Sacris peragendis necessaria, tapeto pulvinariq; ornata ad Orientem sita erat. Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.*

Quatuor preterea Cathedræ, quatuor Episcopis, quibus munus consecrandi Archiepiscopi delegabatur, ad austrum Orientalis Sacelli partis erant positæ.

Scamnum preterea tapeto pulvinaribusq; instratum, cui Episcopi genubus flexis innitere(n)tur, ante Cathedras ponebatur.

Pari quoq; modo Cathedra, scamnumq; tapeto pulvinariq; ornatum, Archiepiscopo, ad Borealem Orientalis ejusdem Sacelli partis plagam posita erant.

Hiis rebus ita ordine suo instructis, Mane circiter quintam aut sextam per Occidentalem portam ingreditur Sacellum Archiepiscopus, toga talari coccinea caputioq; indutus, quatuor precedentibus funalibus, & quatuor comitatus Episcopis, qui ejus consecrationi inservirent (verbi gratia) Gui-

lielmo Barlow olim Bathon. & Wellen. Episcopo, nunc vero ad Cicestren Episcopatum electo, Johanne Scory olim Cicestriæ Episcopo & nunc ad Herefordensem vocato, Milone Coverdallo olim Exoniens. Episcopo, & Johanne Hodgskinne Bedfordiæ Suffraganeo. Qui omnes postquam sedes sibi paratas ordine singuli suo occupassent, Preces continuo matutinæ per Andream Pierson Archiepiscopi Capellanum clara voce recitabantur, quibus peractis, Johannes Scory (de quo supra diximus) suggestum conscendit, atque inde assumpto sibi, in thema; *Seniores ergo* qui in vobis sunt obsecro consenior, &c. non ineleganter concionabatur.

Finita concione, egrediuntur simul Archiepiscopus reliquique quatuor Episcopi Sacellum, se ad sacram communionem paraturi, neque mora confestim per borealem portam in vestiarum ad hunc modum vestiti redeunt. Archiepiscopus nimirum linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur. Cicestrensis electus, capa serica ad sacra peragenda paratus utebatur. Cui ministrabant operamq; suam prebebant duo Archiepiscopi Capellani, Nicholaus, viz. Bullingham Lincolniæ Archidiaconus, & Edmundus Gest Cantuariensis quoq; Archidiaconus, capis sericis similiter, vestiti. Hereford electus & Bedford Suffraganeus, linteis superpelliceis induebantur.

Milo vero Coverdallus non nisi toga lanea talari utebatur,

Atque hunc in modum vestiti & instructi ad communionem celebrandam perrexerunt Archiepiscopo genubus flexis ad infimum Sacelli gradum sedente.

Finito tandem Evangelio, Hereforden. electus, Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus & Milo Coverdallus (de quibus supra) Archiepiscopum coram Cicestren. electo apud mensam in Cathedra sedenti his verbis adduxerunt; Reverende in Deo Pater, hunc virum pium pariter atq; doctum tibi offerimus atq; presentamus, ut Archiepiscopus consecretur. Postque hæc dixissent, proferebatur illico Reginæ diploma sive mandatum pro consecratione Archiepiscopi, quo per Reverendum Thomam Yale Legum Doctorem perlecto, Sacramentum de Regio Primatu sive suprema ejus authoritate tuenda juxta Statuta 1. An. Regni Serenissimæ Reginæ nostræ Elizabeth. promulgata ab eodem Archiepiscopo exigebatur, quod cum ille solemniter tactis corporaliter sacris Evangeliis conceptis verbis prestitisset, Cicestrens. electus quædam præfatus atque populum ad orationem hortatus, ad Litanias decantandas Choro respondente se accinxit. Quibus finitis, post quæstiones aliquot Archiepiscopo per Cicestrien. electum propositas, & post orationes & suffragia quædam juxta formam Libri antedicti Parliamenti editi, apud Deum habita, Cicestriensis Herefordiensis, Suffraganeus Bedfordiensis & Milo Coverdallus, manibus Archiepiscopo impositis. Accipe (inquiunt *Anglicè*) Spiritum Sanctum, & gratiam Dei quæ jam per impositionis manuum in te est excitare memento. Non enim timoris, sed virtutis, dilectionis & sobrietatis spiritum dedit nobis Deus. His ita dictis, Biblia Sacra illi in manibus tradiderunt hujusmodi apud eum verba habentes, In legendo, hortando, & docendo vide diligens sis, atque ea meditare assidue quæ in hisce Libris scripta sunt, noli in his segnis esse quo incrementum inde proveniens omnibus innotescat & palam fiat. Cura quæ ad te & ad docendi munus spectant diligenter. Hoc enim modo non teipsum solum, sed & reliquos Auditores tuos per Jesum Christum

Dominum nostrum salvabis. Postquam hæc dixissent, ad reliqua communionis solennia pergit Cicestrensis, nullum Archiepiscopo tradens pastorale baculum : cum quo communicabant una Archiepiscopus, & illi Episcopi supra nominati cum alliis etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peractisque sacris, egreditur per borealem orientis Sacelli partis portam Archiepiscopus quatuor illis comitatus Episcopis qui eum consecraverant, & confestim iisdem ipsis stipatus Episcopis per eandem revertitur portam albo Episcopali superpelliceo, crimeraque (ut vocant) ex nigro serico indutus, circa collum vero collare quoddam ex pretiosis pellibus sabellinis (vulgo *Sables* vocant) consutum gestabat. Pari quoque modo Cicestrensis & Herefordensis, suis Episcopalibus amictibus, superpellicio scilicet & crimera uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus vero & Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus togis solummodo talaribus utebantur. Pergens deinde Occidentalem portam versus Archiepiscopus Thomæ Doyle Economo, Johanni Baker Thesaurario, & Johanni Marche computo rotulario, singulis singulos Albos dedit Baculos, hoc scilicet modo eis muneribus & officiis suis ornans.

Hiis itaque hunc ad modum ordine suo, ut jam ante dictum est peractis, per occidentalem portam Sacellum egreditur Archiepiscopus generosioribus quibusque sanguine ex ejus familia eum precedentibus, reliquis vero eum a tergo sequentibus.

Acta gestaque hæc erant omnia in præsentia Reverendorum Episcoporum, Edmundi Gryndall Londinensis Episcopi electi, Richardi Cockes Eliensis electi, Edwini Sandes Wigorniensis electi, Anthonii Huse Armigeri, Principalis & Primarii Registrarii dicti Archiepiscopali, Thomæ Argall Armigeri Regrarii Cicestriæ Prerogativæ Cantuariensis, Thomæ Willet, & Johannis Incent Notariorum publicorum, & aliorum quoque nonnullorum.

Concordat cum Originali in Bibliotheca Collegii
Corp. Christi apud Cantabrigiens.

Ita testor Matth. Whinn Notarius
Public. & Acad. Cantabr. Registrarius Principalis.

Jan. 8.
1674.

Cambridg. Jan. 11. 1674.

WE whose Names are hereunto subscribed, having seen the Original, whereof this Writing is a perfect Copy, and considered the Hand, and other Circumstances thereof, are fully persuaded that it is a true and genuine Record, of the Rites and Ceremonies of Arch-Bishop *Parker*'s Consecration, and as ancient as the Date it bears. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands, the Day and Year above written.

Hen. Paman Orat. Publicus.
Hen. More D. D.
Ra. Widdrington S. T. D. & D. Marg. P.

C. C. C. C.

WE the Master and Fellows of *Corpus Christi* College, in the University of *Cambridg*, do hereby declare and certify, That this Writing, being a Narrative of Arch-Bishop *Parker*'s Consecration, in *Lambeth* Chappel, is faithfully transcribed from the Original Record in our College Library: and that we are fully satisfied that the said Records is as ancient as the Date it bears, and the occasion to which it doth refer. Nor can we doubt, but the plain and evident Tokens of Antiquity which it carries, will as much satisfy any ingenuous Persons who shall have a sight thereof: Which therefore we shall readily afford to those who shall repair to the College for that purpose.

John Spencer D. D. Master of the Coll.
John Peckover, B. D.
Erasmus Lane, B. D.
Ri. Sheldrake, B. D.
Sam. Beck, B. D.
Hen. Gostling, B. D.
Will. Briggs, M. A.
John Richer, M. A.

Number 10.

An Order set down for the Translating of the Bible, by King *James*.

Ex MS. D. *Bolase*.

The Places and Persons agreed upon for the Hebrew, *with the particular Books by them undertaken.*

Westminster.	Mr. Dean of *Westminster*. Mr. Dean of *Pauls*. Mr. Doctor *Saravia*. Mr. Doctor *Clark*. Mr. Doctor *Leifield*. Mr. Doctor *Teigh*. Mr. *Burleigh*. Mr. *King*. Mr. *Tompson*. Mr. *Beadwell*.	*Penteteuchon.* The Story from *Joshua* to the first Book of *Chronicles*, exclusive.

Cambridg.

Cambridg.	Mr. *Livelye.* Mr. *Richardson.* Mr. *Chatterton.* Mr. *Dillingham.* Mr. *Harrison.* Mr. *Andrews.* Mr. *Spalding.* Mr. *Burge.*	From the first of the *Chronicles*, with the rest of the Story, and the *Hagiographi*, viz. *Job*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Canticles*, *Ecclesiastes.*
Oxford.	Doctor *Harding.* Dr. *Reynolds.* Dr. *Holland.* Dr. *Kilbye.* Mr. *Smith.* Mr. *Brett.* Mr. *Fairclough.*	The four, or greater Prophets, with the *Lamentations*, and the twelve lesser Prophets.
Cambridg.	Doctor *Dewport.* Dr. *Branthwait.* Dr. *Radclife.* Mr. *Warde*, Eman. Mr. *Downes.* Mr. *Boyes.* Mr. *Warde*, Reg.	The Prayer of *Manasses*, and the rest of the *Apochrypha.*

The Places and Persons agreed upon for the Greek, *with the particular Books by them undertaken.*

Oxford.	Mr. Dean of *Christ-Church.* Mr. Dean of *Winchester.* Mr. Dean of *Worcester.* Mr. Dean of *Windsor.* Mr. *Savile.* Dr. *Perne.* Dr. *Ravens.* Mr. *Haviner.*	The four Gospels. *Acts of the Apostles.* *Apocalyps.*
Westminster.	Dean of *Chester.* Dr. *Hutchinson.* Dr. *Spencer.* Mr. *Fenton.* Mr. *Rabbet.* Mr. *Sanderson.* Mr. *Dakins.*	The Epistles of Saint *Paul.* The Canonical Epistles.

The

The Rules to be observed in Translation of the Bible.

1. THe ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the *Bishops Bible*, to be followed, and as little altered, as the Truth of the Original will permit.

2. The Names of the Prophets, and the Holy Writers, with the other Names of the Text, to be retained, as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.

3. The old Ecclesiastical Words to be kept, *viz.* the word *Church* not to be translated *Congregation*, &c.

4. When a Word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the Ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the Propriety of the Place, and the Analogy of the Faith.

5. The division of the Chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

6. No Marginal Notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be exprest in the Text.

7. Such Quotations of Places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.

8. Every particular Man of each Company, to take the same Chapter, or Chapters, and having translated, or amended them severally by himself, where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.

9. As any one Company hath dispatched any one Book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his Majesty is very careful in this Point.

10. If any Company, upon the review of the Book so sent, doubt or differ upon any Place, to send them word thereof; note the Place, and withal send the Reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the General Meeting, which is to be of the chief Persons of each Company at the end of the Work.

11. When any Place of special obscurity is doubted of, Letters to be directed, by Authority, to send to any Learned Man in the Land, for his judgment of such a Place.

12. Letters to be sent from every Bishop, to the rest of his Clergy, admonishing them of this Translation in hand; and to move and charge, as many as being skilful in the Tongues; and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular Observations to the Company, either at *Westminster*, *Cambridg*, or *Oxford*.

13. The Directors in each Company, to be the Deans of *Westminster* and *Chester* for that Place; and the King's Professors in the *Hebrew* or *Greek* in either University.

14. These Translations to be used, when they agree better with the Text than the Bishops Bible, *viz.*

- *Tindall's.*
- *Matthew's.*
- *Coverdale's.*
- *Whitchurch's.*
- *Geneva.*

15. Besides

15. Besides the said Directors before mentioned, three or four of the most Ancient and Grave Divines, in either of the Universities, not employed in Translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon conference with rest of the Heads to be Overseers of the Translations, as well *Hebrew* as *Greek*, for the better observation of the *4th* Rule above specified.

Number 11.

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, set out by the Order of both Arch-Bishops, Metropolitans, and the rest of the Bishops, for the Unity of Doctrine to be taught and holden of all Parsons, Vicars, and Curats, as well in testification of their common Consent in the said Doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the Ministers of the Church, for diversity of Judgment: as necessary for the instruction of their People, to be read by the said Parsons, Vicars, and Curats, at their Possession-taking, or first entry into their Cures. And also after that, yearly, at two several times; that is to say, the Sundays *next following* Easter-*day, and St.* Michael *the Arch-Angel, or on some other* Sunday, *within one month after those Feasts, immediately after the Gospel.*

FOrasmuch as it appertaineth to all Christian Men, but especially to the Ministers and the Pastors of the Church, being Teachers and Instructers of others, to be ready to give a Reason of their Faith, when they shall be thereunto required: I for my part now appointed your Parson, Vicar, or Curat, having before my Eyes the Fear of God, and the Testimony of my Conscience, do acknowledg for my self, and require you to assent to the same.

I.

First; That there is but one living and true God, of infinite Power, Wisdom, and Goodness; the maker and preserver of all Things. And that in Unity of this God-head, there be three Persons of one Substance, of equal Power and Eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II.

I believe also whatsoever is contained in the Holy Canonical Scriptures. In the which Scriptures are contained all things necessary to Salvation; by the which also, all Errors and Heresies may sufficiently be

be reproved and convicted; and all Doctrine and Articles, necessary to Salvation, established. I do also most firmly believe and confess all the Articles contained in the Three Creeds; The *Nicene* Creed, *Athanasius* Creed, and our Common Creed, called, the *Apostles Creed*; for these do briefly contain the principal Articles of our Faith, which are at large set forth in the Holy Scriptures.

III.

I do acknowledg also that Church to be the Spouse of Christ, wherein the Word of God is truly taught, the Sacraments orderly ministred, according to Christ's Institution, and the Authority of the Keys duly used. And that every such particular Church, hath authority to institute, to change, clean to put away Ceremonies, and other Ecclesiastical Rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused; and to constitute other, making more to Seemliness, to Order, or Edification.

IV.

Moreover, I confess, That it is not lawful for any Man to take upon him any Office or Ministry, either Ecclesiastical or Secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by their High Authorities, according to the Ordinances of this Realm.

V.

Furthermore, I do acknowledg the Queen's Majesty's Prerogative and Superiority of Government of all Estates, and in all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, within this Realm, aud other her Dominions and Countries, to be agreable to God's Word, and of right to appertain to her Highness, in such sort as is in the late Act of Parliament expressed; and sithence by her Majesty's Injunctions declared and expounded.

VI.

Moreover, touching the Bishop of *Rome*, I do acknowledg and confess, that by the Scriptures, and Word of God, he hath no more Authority than other Bishops have in their Provinces and Diocesses: And therefore the Power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the Supream Head of the Universal Church of Christ, and so to be above all Emperors, Kings, and Princes, is an usurped Power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of God, and contrary to the Example of the Primitive Church; and therefore is, for most just Causes, taken away and abolished in this Realm.

VII.

Furthermore, I do grant and confess, That the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Holy Sacraments, set forth by the Authority

Authority of Parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that it is Catholick, Apoſtolick, and moſt for the advancing of God's Glory, And the edifying of God's People; both for that it is in a Tongue that may be underſtanded of the People, and alſo for the Doctrine and Form of miniſtration contained in the ſame.

VIII.

And although, in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, there is neither Exorciſm, Oil, Salt, Spittle, or hallowing of the Water now uſed; and for that they were of late Years abuſed, and eſteemed neceſſary. Where they pertain not to the ſubſtance and neceſſity of the Sacrament, they be reaſonably aboliſhed, and yet the Sacrament full and perfectly miniſtred, to all intents and purpoſes, agreeable to the Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt.

IX.

Moreover, I do not only acknowledg, that Privat Maſſes were never uſed amongſt the Fathers of the Primitive Church; I mean, publick Miniſtration, and receiving of the Sacrament by the Prieſt alone, without a juſt number of Communicants, according to Chriſt's ſaying, *Take ye, and eat ye*, &c. But alſo that the Doctrine that maintaineth the Maſs to be a Propitiatory Sacriſice for the Quick and the Dead, and a mean to deliver Souls out of Purgatory, is neither agreeable to Chriſt's Ordinance, nor grounded upon Doctrine Apoſtolick. But contrary-wiſe, moſt ungodly and moſt injurious to the precious Redemption of our Saviour Chriſt, and his only-ſufficient Sacriſice offered once for ever, upon the Altar of the Croſs.

X.

I am of that mind alſo, That the Holy Communion, or Sacrament, of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, for the due obedience to Chriſt's Inſtitution, and to expreſs the vertue of the ſame, ought to be miniſtred unto the People under both kinds. And that it is avouched by certain Fathers of the Church, to be a plain Sacrilege to rob them of the Myſtical Cup, for whom Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious Blood, ſeeing he himſelf hath ſaid, *Drink ye all of this.* Conſidering alſo, That in the time of the Ancient Doctors of the Church, as *Cyprian*, *Hierom*, *Auguſtine*, *Gelaſius*, and others, ſix hundred Years after Chriſt, and more, both the Parts of the Sacrament were miniſtred to the People.

Laſt of all.

As I do utterly diſallow the extolling of Images, Reliques, and feigned Miracles; and alſo all kind of expreſſing God Inviſible, in the form of an Old Man, or the Holy Ghoſt in form of a Dove; and all other vain worſhipping of God, deviſed by Man's fantaſy; beſides, or contrary

contrary to the Scriptures, As wandering on Pilgrimages, setting up of Candles, praying upon Beads, and such-like Superstition; which kind of Works, have no promise of Reward in Scripture, but contrary-wise, Threatnings and Maledictions: So I do exhort all Men to the Obedience of God's Law, and to the Works of Faith, as Charity, Mercy, Pity, Alms, devout and fervent Prayer, with the affection of the Heart, and not with the Mouth only; Godly Abstinence and Fasting, Chastity, Obedience to the Rulers and Superior Powers, with such-like Works, and godliness of Life commanded by God in his Word; which, as St. *Paul* saith, *hath Promises both of this Life, and of the Life to come; and are Works only acceptable in God's sight.*

These things, above-rehearsed, though they be appointed by common Order, yet do I, without all compulsion, with freedom of Mind and Conscience, from the bottom of my Heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledg to be true and agreeable to God's Word. And therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have Cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same; That we all joining together in unity of Spirit, Faith, and Charity, may also at length be joined together in the Kingdom of God, and that through the Merits and Death of our Saviour Jesus Christ. To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all Glory and Empire, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Imprinted at *London*, in *Pauls* Church-Yard, by *Richard Jugge*, Printer to the Queen's Majesty.

Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.

* Number 12.

Sir *Walter Mildmay*'s Opinion, concerning the keeping of the Queen of Scots (*October* 26. 1569.) at *Windsor* Castle.

An Original.

The Question to be considered on, is, Whether it be less perilous to the Queen's Majesty, and the Realm, to retain the Queen of Scots *in* England, *or to return her home into* Scotland ?

IN which Question, these things are to be considered. On the one side, What Dangers are like to follow if she be retained here; and thereupon, if so avoiding of them, it shall be thought good to return her, then what Cautions and Provisions are necessary to be had.

On the other side, are to be weighed the Dangers like to follow if she be returned home; and thereupon, if for eschewing of them, it shall be thought good to retain her here, then what Cautions and Provisions are in that Case necessary.

Dangers in retaining the Queen of Scots.

Her unquiet and aspiring Mind, never ceasing to practise with the Queen's Subjects. Her late practise of Marriage between the Duke of *Norfolk* and her, without the Queen's knowledg. The Faction of the Papists, and other Ambitious Folks, being ready and fit Instruments for her to work upon. The Commiseration that ever followeth such as be in misery, though their Deserts be never so great. Her cunning and sugred entertainment of all Men that come to her, whereby she gets both Credit and Intelligence. Her practice with the French and Spanish Ambassadors, being more near to her in *England*, than if she were in *Scotland*; and their continual sollicitation of the Queen for her delivery, the denial whereof may breed War. The danger in her escaping out of Guard, whereof it is like enough she will give the Attempt. So as remaining here, she hath time and opportunity to practise and nourish Factions, by which she may work Confederacy, and thereof may follow Sedition and Tumult, which may bring peril to the Queen's Majesty and the State. Finally, it is said, That the Queen's Majesty, of her own disposition, hath no mind to retain her, but is much unquieted therewith, which is a thing greatly to be weighed.

Cautions if she be returned.

To deliver her into the Hands of the Regent, and the Lords now governing in *Scotland*, to be safely kept. That she meddle not with the State, nor make any alteration in the Government, or in Religion. That by sufficient Hostages it may be provided, that neither any Violence be used to her Person, nor that she be suffered to Govern again, but live privately, with such honourable Entertainment as is meet for the King of *Scots* Mother. That the League Offensive and Defensive, between *France* and *Scotland*, be never renewed. That a new and perpetual League be made between *England* and *Scotland*, whereby the Queen's Majesty may shew an open Maintenance and Allowance of the King's Authority and Estate, and of the present Government, so as the *Scots* may wholly depend on her. That the Regent, and the Lords of *Scotland*, do make no composition with the Scots Queen, neither suffer her to marry, without consent of the Queens Majesty. That the Faults whereof she hath been accused, and her declining and delaying to Answer that Accusation, may be published to the World, the better to discourage her Factious Party, both here and in *Scotland*.

Dangers in returning Her.

The manner how to deliver her Home, with the Queen's Majesty's Honour and Safety, is very doubtful. For if she be delivered in Guard, that came hither free, and at liberty, how will that stand with the Queen's Honour, and with the Requests of the French and Spanish Kings, that have continually sollicited her free delivery, either into *Scotland* or *France*; or if she die in Guard, either violently or naturally, her Majesty shall hardly escape slander. If, again, she be delivered home at Liberty, or if being in Guard she should escape, then these Perils may follow.

The suppressing of the present Government in *Scotland*, now depending upon the Queen's Majesty, and advancing of the contrary Faction depending upon the French. The alteration of Religion in *Scotland*. The renewing of the League, Offensive and Defensive, between *France* and *Scotland*, that hath so much troubled *England*. The renewing of her pretended claim to the Crown of this Realm. The likelyhood of War to ensue between *France*, *Scotland*, and Us, and the bringing in of Strangers into that Realm to our annoyance, and great charge, as late Experience hath shewed. The supportation that she is like to have of the French and Spanish Kings. And though Peace should continue between *England* and *Scotland*, yet infinite injuries will be offered by the Scots Queen's Ministers upon the Borders, which will turn to the great hurt of the Queen's Majesty's Subjects, or else to her greater Charges to redress them; for the change of the Government in *Scotland*, will change the Justice which now is had, unto all Injury and Unjustice. The likelyhood she will revoke the Earl *Bothwell*, now her Husband, though unlawful, as it is said, a Man of most

most evil and cruel Affection to this Realm, and to his own Country-men: Or, if she should marry another that were a-like Enemy, the Peril must needs be great on either side.

And albeit to these Dangers may be generally said, That such Provision shall be made, by Capitulations with her, and by Hostages from the Regent, and the Lords of *Scotland*, as all these Perils shall be prevented.

To that may be answered.

That no Fact which she shall do here in *England* will hold, for she will alleage the same to be done in a Forreign Country, being restrained of Liberty. That there is great likelyhood of escape, wheresoever she be kept in *Scotland*; for her late escape there, sheweth, how she will leave no way unsought to atchieve it; and the Country being, as it is, greatly divided, and of nature marvellously Factious, she is the more like to bring it to pass. Or if the Regent, by any practice, should yield to a composition, or finding his Party weak, should give over his Regiment, Then what assurance have we, either of Amity or Religion. That the Regent may be induced to do this, appeareth by his late secret Treaty with the Duke of *Norfolk*, for her Marriage, without the Queen's Majesty's knowledg. And though the Regent should persevere constant, yet if he should be taken away directly, or indirectly, (the like whereof is said, hath been attempted against him) then is all at large, and the Queen of Scots most like to be restored to her Estate, the Factions being so great in *Scotland*, as they are; so as the Case is very tickle and dangerous to hang upon so small a Thread, as the Life of one Man, by whom it appeareth the whole at this present is contained.

And touching the Hostages, though that Assurance might be good to preserve her from Violence in *Scotland*, yet it may be doubted how the same will be sufficient to keep her from escaping or governing again, seeing, for her part, she will make little Conscience of the Hostages if she may prevail; and the punishing of the Hostages, will be a small satisfaction to the Queen's Majesty for the Troubles that may ensue. And for the doubt of her escape, or of Rebellion within this Realm, it may be said, That if she should not be well guarded, but should be left open to practise, then her Escape, and the other Perils, might be doubted of; but if the Queen's Majesty hold a stricter hand over her, and put her under the Care of a fast and circumspect Man, all practice shall be cut from her, and the Queen's Majesty free from that Peril. And more safe it is for the Queen to keep the Bridle in her own Hand, to restrain the Scottish Queen, than in returning her home, to commit that trust to others, which by Death, composition, or abusing of one Person, may be disappointed.

And if she should, by any means, recover her Estate, the doubt of Rebellion there, is not taken away, but rather to be feared, if she have ability to her Will. And if she find strength, by her own or Forreign Friends, she is not far off to give Aid, upon a main Land, to such as will stir for her; which, so long as she is here, they will for-

bear, left it might bring most Peril to her self, being in the Queen's Hands. The like respect, no Doubt will move Forreign Princes to become Requesters, and no Threatners, for her delivery.

And where it is said, That the Queen's Majesty cannot be quiet so long as she is here, but it may breed danger to her Majesty's Health. That is a Matter greatly to be weighed, for it were better to adventure all, than her Majesty should inwardly conceive any thing to the danger of her Health. But as that is only known to such as have more inward Acquaintance with her Majesty's disposition, than is fit for some other to have. So again, it is to be thought, that her Majesty being wise, if the Perils like to follow, in returning her Home, were laid before her; and if she find them greater than the other, she will be induced easily to change her Opinion, and thereby may follow to her Majesty's great satisfaction and quietness.

Cautions if she be retained.

To remove her somewhat nearer the Court, at the least within one days Journey of *London*, whereby it shall be the more easie to understand of her Doings.

To deliver her in custody to such as be thought most sound in Religion, and most void of practice.

To diminish her number, being now about forty Persons, to the one half, to make thereby the Queen's Charges the less, and to give her the fewer means of Intelligence.

To cut from her all Access, Letters and Messages, other then such as he that shall have the Charge shall think fit.

To signify to all Princes, the occasion of this streight Guard upon her, to be her late practice with the Duke of *Norfolk*, which hath given the Queen cause to doubt: further assuring them, that she shall be used honourably, but kept safely from troubling the Queen's Majesty, or this State.

That she be retained here, until the Estate of *Scotland* be more setled, and the Estate of other Countries now in garboil, be quieted, the Issue whereof is like to be seen in a Year or two.

Number

Number 12.

A Letter written by the Earl of Leicester, *to the Earl of* Sussex, *concerning the Queen of* Scots; *taken from the first Draught of it, written with his own hand.*

MY good Lord, I received your Letter in the answer of mine; and though I have not written sooner again to your Lordship, both according to yonr desire, and the necessity of our Cases at this time; yet I doubt not but you are fully advertised of her Majesty's Pleasure otherwise. For my own part, I am glad your Lordship hath prospered so well in your Journey, and have Answered, in all Points, the good Opinion conceived of you. Ex M. SS. Nob. D. *Evelyn.*

And touching her Majesty's further Resolution, for these Causes, my Lord, I assure you, I know not well what to write. First, I see her Majesty willing and desirous, as Reason is, to work her own Security, and the quietness of her State, during her time, which I trust in God shall be far longer than we shall live to see end of. And herein, my Lord, there be sundry Minds, and among our selves, I must confess to your Lordship, we are not fully agreed which way is best to take. And to your Lordship, I know I may be bold, beside the Friendship I owe you, the Place you hold presently, doth require all the understanding that may be, to the furtherance of her Majesty's good Estate; wherefore I shall be the bolder even to let you know as much as I do, and how we rest among us.

Your Lordship doth consider, for the State of *Scotland*, her Majesty hath those two Persons, being divided, to deal with, the Queen of *Scotland*, lately by her Subjects deprived, and the young King her Son Crown'd and set up in her Place. Her Majesty, of these two, is to chuse, and of necessity must chuse which of them she will allow and accept, as the Person sufficient to hold the principal Place. And here groweth the Question in our Council to her Majesty, Which of these two are most fit for her to maintain and join in Amity with? To be plain with your Lordship, The most in number do altogether conceive her Majesty's best and surest way is, to maintain and continue the young King in this his Estate, and thereby to make her whole Party in *Scotland*, which by the setling of him, with the cause of Religion, is thought most easiest, most safest, and most probable for the perpetual quieting and benefit to her own Estate, and great assurance made of such a Party, and so small Charges thereby, as her Majesty may make account to have the like Authority, and assured Amity in *Scotland*, as heretofore she had in the time of the late Regent.

The Reasons against the other, are these shortly.

The Title that the Queen claimeth to this Crown: The overthrow of Religion in that Country: The impossibility of any assurance for the observing of any Pact or Agreement made between our Soveraign and

and her. These be Causes your Lordship sees sufficient to dissuade all Men from the contrary Opinion. And yet, my Lord, it cannot be denied, upon indifferent looking into the Matter on both sides, but the clearest is full enough of Difficulties. And then, my Lord, is the Matter disputable; and yet I think verily, not for Argument-sake, but even for Duty and Conscience-sake, to find out Truth, and safest means for our Soveraign's best doing. And thus we differ. The first you have heard touching the young King.

On the other side this it is thought, and of these I must confess my self to your Lordship to be one: And God is my Judg, whether it be for any other respect in this World, but that I suppose, and verily believe it may prove best for her Majesty's own quietness during her time.

And here I must before open to your Lordship indeed her Majesty's true State she presently stands in; which, though it may be granted the former Advice the better way, yet how hardly it layeth in her Power to go thorow withal, you shall easily judg. For it must be confessed, That by the taking into her protection the King and the Faction, she must enter into a War for it: And as the least War being admitted, cannot be maintained without great Charge: so such a War may grow, *France* or *Spain* setting in foot, as may cause it to be an intollerable War. Then being a War, it must be Treasure that must maintain it. That she hath Treasure to continue any time in War, surely, my Lord, I cannot see it: And as your Lordship doth see the present Relief for Mony we trust upon, which either failing us, or it rising no more than I see it like to be, not able long to last; Where is there further hope of help hereafter? For my own part I see none. If it be so, then, my Lord, that her Majesty's present estate is such as I tell you, which I am sure is true; How shall this Counsel stand with security, by taking a Party to enter into a War, when we are no way able to maintain it; for if we enter into it once, and be driven, either for Lack, or any other way, to shrink, what is like to follow of the Matter, your Lordship can well consider; the best is, we must be sorry for that we have done, and per-chance seek to make a-mends, where we neither would nor should. This is touching the present State we stand in. Besides we are to remember what already we have done; how many ways, even now together, the Realm hath been universally burdened.

First, For the keeping of new bands, after the furnishing of Armour; and therein how continually the Charge sooner hath grown, than Subsidies payed.

And lastly, the marvellous charge in most Countries against the late Rebellion, with this Loan of Mony now on the neck of it. Whether this State doth require further cause of imposition, or no, I refer to your Lordship? And whether entring into a further Charge than her Majesty hath presently wherewithal to bear, it will force such a Matter or no, I refer to wiser to judg.

And now, my Lord, I will shew you such Reasons as move me to think as I do. In Worldly Causes, Men must be governed by Worldly Policies; and yet so to frame them, as God, the Author of all, be chiefly regarded. From him we have received Laws, under which all Mens Policies and Devices ought to be Subject; and through his

Ordinance, the Princes on the Earth have Authority to give Laws; by which also, all Princes have the Obedience of the People. And though in some Points, I shall deal like a Worldly Man for my Prince, yet I hope I shall not forget that I am a Christian, nor my Duty to God.

Our Question is this; Whether it be meeter for our Soveraign to maintain the young King of *Scotland*, and his Authority; or upon Composition, restore the Queen of *Scots* into her Kingdom again? To restore her simply, we are not of Opinion, for so I must confess a great over-sight, and doubt no better Success, than those that do Object most Perils thereby to ensue. But if there be any Assurances in this World to be given, or any Provision by Worldly Policy to be had, then, my Lord, I do not see but Ways and Means may be used with the Queen of *Scots*, whereby her Majesty may be at quiet, and yet delivered of her present great Charge. It is granted and feared of all sides, that the cause of any trouble or danger to her Majesty, is the Title the Queen of *Scotland* pretends to the Crown of this Realm. The Danger we fear should happen by her, is not for that she is Queen of *Scotland*, but that other the great Princes of Christendom do favour her so much, as in respect of her Religion, they will in all Causes assist her; and specially, by the colour of her Title, seem justly to aid and relieve her, and the more lawfully take her and her Causes into their Protection. Then is the Title granted to be the chief Cause of danger to our Soveraign. If it be so, Whether doth the setting up the Son in the Mothers Place, from whence his Title must be claimed, take away her Title in the Opinion of those Princes, or no, notwithstanding she remain Prisoner? It appeareth plainly, No; for there is continual Labour and means made, from the greatest Princes, our Neighbours, to the Queen's Majesty, for restoring the Queen of *Scotland*, to her Estate and Government, otherwise they protest open Relief and Aid for her. Then though her Majesty do maintain the young King in his present Estate, yet it appears that other Princes will do the contrary: And having any advantage, how far they will proceed, Men may suspect. And so we must conceive, that as long as this Difference shall continue, by the maintaining of these two, so long shall the same Cause remain, to the trouble and danger of the Queen's Majesty. And now to avoid this whilst she lives, What better Mean is there to take this Cause away, but by her own consent, to renounce and release all such Interest or Title as she claimeth, either presently or hereafter, during the Life of her Majesty, and the Heirs of her Body. Albeit, here may two Questions be moved.

First, Whether the *Scots* Queen will renounce her Title, or no?

Secondly, If she will do so, What Assurance may she give for the performance thereof?

To the first, It is most certain she hath, and presently doth offer, wholly and frankly, to release and renounce all manner of Claims and Titles, whatsoever they be, to the Crown of this Realm, during her Majesty's Life, and the Heirs of her Body.

And for the second; She doth likewise offer all manner of Security and Assurances, that her Majesty can devise, and is in that Queen's possible Power to do, she excepteth none.

Then

Then must we consider what may be Assurances, for here is the difficulty. For that Objections be that Princes never hold Promises longer than for their own Commodity; and what Security soever they put in, they may break if they will. All this may be granted; but yet that we must grant also, that Princes do daily Treat and deal one with another; and of necessity are forced to trust to such Bonds and Assurances as they contract by. And as there is no such Surety to be had in Worldly Matters, but all are subject to many Casualties; yet we see such Devices made, even among Princes, as doth tie them to perform that, which if they might conveniently chuse, they would not. And in this Matter of the Queen of *Scotland*, since she doth offer both to leave the cause of the difference that is between the Queen's Majesty and her; and also to give all Surety that may be by our selves devised to observe the same; I do not see but such means may be devised to tie her so strongly, as though she would break, yet I cannot find what advantage she shall get by it. For beside, that I would have her own simple Renunciation to be made by the most substantial Instrument that could be devised. The assent of some others should confirm the same also. Her own Parliaments at home should do the like with the full Authority of the whole Estates. They should deliver her Son, and such other principal Noblemen of her Realm for Hostages, as the Queen's Majesty should name. She should also put into her Majesty's Hands, some one piece or two of her Realm, and for such a time as should be thought meet by her Majesty, except *Edinburgh*. The Queens Majesty might also, by ratifying this by a Parliament here, make a Forfeiture, if the Queen of *Scotland* should any way, directly or indirectly, go about to infringe this Agreement of all such Titles and Claims that did remain in the Queen of *Scotland*, after her Majesty and her Issue, never to be capable of any Authority or Soveraignty within this Realm. These I would think to be sufficient Bonds to bind any Prince, specially no mightier than she is. And this much more would I have, that even as she shall be thus bound, for the relief of her Title to the Queen's Majesty and her Issue; So shall she suffer the Religion received and established in *Scotland* already, to be confirmed, and not altered. In like sort, the Amity between these two Realms, to be such, and so frankly united, as no other League with any Forreign Prince, should stand in force to break it. For I think verily, as the first is chiefest touching her Majesty's own Person, so do I judg the latter, I mean, the confirmation of the Religion already there received, to be one of the assuredst and likeliest means to hold her Majesty a strong and continual Party in *Scotland*. The trial hereof hath been already sufficient, when her Majesty had none other Interest at all, but only the maintenance of the True Religion, the same Cause remaining still the same affection in the same Persons that do profess it, I trust, and it is like, will not change. And though the *Scots* Queen should now be setled in her Kingdom again, yet is she not like to be greater or better esteemed now than heretofore, when both her Authority was greater, and her good will ready to alter this Religion, but could not bring it to pass. No more is it like these further Provisions being taken, she shall do it now. And the last Cause also is not without great hope of some good Success; for as the oppression of Strangers heretofore had utterly

wearied them of that Yoke, so hath this peaceable time, between them and us, made them know the Liberty of their own, and the Commodity of us their Neighbours.

This, my Lord, doth lead me to lean to this Opinion, finding thereby rather both more surety, and more quietness, for my Sovereign's present time, having, by the contrary, many occasions of trouble cut off, and the intolerable Charge eschewed, which I cannot find by any possible means, her Majesty able to sustain for any long time.

Thus hastily I am driven to end my long, cumbersome Letter to your Lordship, though very desirous to impart my mind herein to your Lordship.

Number 13.

The Bull of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, Deposing Queen *Elizabeth*; absolving her Subjects from the Oaths of Allegiance, and Anathematising such as continued in their Obedience.

Pius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad futuram rei memoriam.

Regnans in Excelsis, cui data est omnis in Cœlo, & in Terra Potestas, unam Sanctam, Catholicam, & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est Salus, uni soli in Terris, videlicet Apostolorum Principi Petro, Petriq; Successori Romano Pontifici in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes, & omnia Regna Principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, disperdat, plantet & edificet: ut fidelem populum mutuæ charitatis nexu constrictum, in unitate Spiritus contineat, salvumq; & incolumem suo exhibeat Salvatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo nos ad prædictæ Ecclesiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opere contendentes, ut ipsa Unitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius autor ad probandum suorum fidem, & correctionem nostram, tantis procellis conflictare permisit) integra conservetur. Potestas Petri;

Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit, ut nullus jam in Orbe locus sit relictus, quem illi pessimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint, adnitente inter cæteros flagitiorum Serva Elizabetha prætensa Angliæ Regina, ad quam, veluti ad asylum, omnium infestissimi profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem Regno occupato, Supremi Ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, ejusq; præcipuam autoritatem atq; Jurisdictionem monstrose sibi usurpans, Regnum ipsum jam tum ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem reductum, rursus in miserum exitium revocavit. Usu namq; veræ Religionis, quam ab illius desertore Henrico Octavo olim eversam, claræ memoriæ Maria Regina legitima, hujus sedis præsidio reparaverat, potenti manu inhibito, Secutisq; & amplexis Hæreticorum erroribus, Elizabetha Flagitia.

erroribus, Regium Consilium ex Anglica Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obscuris hominibus Hæreticis complevit; Catholicæ Fidei cultores oppressit, improbos Concionatores, atq; impietatum administros reposuit; Missæ Sacrificium, Preces, Jejunia, ciborum delectum, Cœlibatum, Ritusq; Catholicos abolevit: libros manifestam Hæresim continentes, toto Regno proponi, impia mysteria. & instituta ad Calvini præscriptum a se suscepta, & observata, etiam a subditis servari mandavit: Episcopos, Ecclesiarum Rectores, & alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, suis Ecclesiis & Beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis, & aliis rebus Ecclesiasticis, in Hæreticos homines disponere, deque Ecclesiæ causis decernere ausa, Prelatis, Clero & Populo, ne Romanam Ecclesiam agnoscerent, neve ejus præceptis Sanctionibusque Canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; plerosque in nefarias leges suas venire, & Romani Pontificis autoritatem, atque obedientiam abjurare, seque solam in Temporalibus & Spiritualibus Dominam agnoscere, jurejurando coegit: pœnas & supplicia eis, qui dicto non essent audientes, imposuit, easdemq; ab iis, qui in unitate fidei & prædicta obedientia perseverarunt, exegit: Catholicos Antistites & Ecclesiarum Rectores in vincula conjecit; ubi multi diuturno languore & tristitia confecti, extremum Vitæ diem misere finierunt.

Necessitas Pontificem ad judicium impellens.

Quæ omnia cum apud omnes Nationes perspicua & notiora sint, & gravissimo quamplurimorum testimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excusationis, defensionis, aut tergiversationis relinquatur: Nos multiplicatis aliis atque aliis super alias impietatibus & facinoribus, & præterea fidelium persecutione, religionisque afflictione, impulsu & opera dictæ Elizabethæ, quotidie magis ingravescente; quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modo pias Catholicorum Principum, de sanitate & conversatione preces, monitionesque contempserit, sed ne hujus quidem sedis ad ipsam hac de Causa Nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiserit; ad arma justitiæ contra eam de necessitate conversi, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamur in illam animadvertere, cujus majores de Rep. Christiana tantopere meruere.

Sententiæ Declaratio.

Illius itaque autoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo Justitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declaramus prædictam Elizabetham Hæreticam, & Hæreticorum fautricem, eique adherentes in prædictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi Corporis unitate præcisos: Quin etiam ipsam prætenso Regni prædicti jure, necnon omni & quorumque Dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam: Et item proceres, subditos & populos dicti Regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt a Juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis, & obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præsentium authoritate absolvimus, & privamus eandem Elizabetham prætenso jure Regni, aliisque omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque & interdicimus Universis & singulis Proceribus, Subditis, Populis & aliis prædictis; ne illi, ejusve monitis, mandatis, & legibus audeant obedire: Qui secus egerint, eos simili Anathematis sententia innodamus. Quia vero difficile nimis esset presentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre; Volumus ut earum exempla, Notarii Publici manu, & Prelati Ecclesiastici, ejusve

Curiæ

Curiæ Sigillo obſignata, eandem illam prorſus fidem in judicio & extra illud ubique gentium faciant, quam ipſæ preſentes facerent, ſi eſſent exhibitæ, vel oſtenſæ.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo quingenteſimo Sexageſimo Nono, Quinta Kalend. Martii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.

Cæ. Gloriecrius.

H. Humyn.

AN APPENDIX

Concerning ſome of the

Errors and Falſhoods

IN

SANDER's Book

OF THE

Engliſh Schiſm.

AN APPENDIX.

IT has been obſerved of Theeves, that by a long practice in that ill courſe of Life, they grow ſo in love with it, that when there is no Advantage to be made by Stealing, yet they muſt keep their Hand in uſe, and continue their addreſs and dexterity in it: ſo alſo Lyars, by a frequent Cuſtom, grow to ſuch a habit, that in the commoneſt things, they cannot ſpeak Truth, even though it might conduce to their Ends more than their Lyes do. *Sanders* had ſo given himſelf up to vent Reproaches and Lyes, that he often does it for nothing, without any End, but to carry on a Trade, that had been ſo long driven by him, that he knew not how to lay it down. He wrote our Hiſtory, meerly upon the Reports that were brought him, without any care or information about the moſt publick and moſt indifferent Things: but not content to ſet down thoſe Tattles, he ſhews his Wit in refining about them, and makes up ſuch Politicks and Schems of Government, as might ſuit with theſe Reports, and agree with his own Malice. His Work is all of a piece, and as it was made out in the former Volume, how ignorantly and diſingeniouſly he writ concerning King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, ſo I ſhall add a further Diſcovery of the remaining parts of his Book, which will ſufficiently convince, even the moſt partial Readers of the impudence of that Author; who ſeems to have had no other deſign in writing, but to impoſe on the credulity and weakneſs of thoſe, who he knew were inclined to believe every thing that might caſt blemiſhes on a Work, againſt which they were ſo ſtrongly prejudiced, as the Reformation of this Church: ſince a Field which they ſo often reaped, and with whoſe Spoils their Court was ſo enriched, was no more at their Devotion. So they are ever ſince concerned in Intereſt to uſe all the ways they can think on, to diſgrace a Change that was ſo fatal to them. But as the Reformation of this Church has hitherto ſtood, notwithſtanding all their Deſigns againſt it, ſo it is to be hoped, that the Hiſtory of it will be hereafter better underſtood, notwithſtanding all the Libels and Calumnies by which they have endeavoured to repreſent it, in ſuch black and odious Colours to the World.

Sanders ſays, ‘ King *Edward* was in the *9th* Year of his Age when he ‘ came to the Crown. *Page 176.*

This is of no great conſequence, but it ſhews how little this Author conſidered what he writ, when in ſo publick a thing as the King's Age, he miſreckons a Year, for he was born the *12th* of *October* 1537; ſo in *January* 1547, he was in the *10th* Year of his Age.

2. He ſays, ‘ King *Edward* was not only declared King of *England*, ‘ and *Ireland*, but made *Supream Head of the Church*; and upon that *Ibid.*

‘ runs

'runs out, to shew how uncapable a Child was of that Power.

This is set down in such terms, as if there had been some special Act made for his being *Supream Head of the Church*, distinct from his being proclaimed King, whereas there was no such thing; for the Supremacy being annexed to the Crown, the one went with the other: and it being but a Civil Power, might be as well exercised by the King's Governors, before he came to be of Age, as the other Rights of the Crown were.

Pag. 177. 3. He says, 'The Earl of *Hartford* was made by himself Duke of 'Somerset.

This was done by order of the whole Council, in pursuance of King *Henry*'s Design, proved by those Witnesses that were beyond exception: and that King having by his Will charged his Executors to fullfil those things which he intended to do, this was found to be one of them.

Pag. 178. 4. He says, 'The Duke of *Somerset* made himself the only Governor of the King, and *Protector*; none daring to oppose it openly, 'but *Wriothesley*, whom King *Henry*, when he was dying, had made 'Lord Chancellor.

The Protector was advanced to that Dignity, by the unanimous consent of the whole Council; to which the Lord Chancellor consented, and signed the Order about it, the Original whereof is yet extant; for though he argued against it before it was done, yet he joined with the rest in doing it: Nor was he made Chancellor by King *Henry* at his Death, but two Years before.

Ibid. 5. He says, 'On the 27*th* of *February*, two days before the King 'was crowned, the Protector persuaded the King to create many 'new Peers; who were all Hereticks, except *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*.

Our Author, by this shew of exactness, would persuade the Reader, that he had considered Dates, and the smallest particulars, with the care that became an Historian: But he little thought that any would come after him, and examine what he said. By this Account the King must have been crowned the first of *March*, but it was done *Feb.* 20. and the Peers were created on the 16*th* of *February*, four days before. They were not all Hereticks, for he forgot that *Wriothesley* was at the same time made Earl of *Southampton*, which he afterwards insinuates was done upon another account. But all those Creations, were in persuance of King *Henry*'s Designs, and in obedience to his latter Will.

Ibid. 6. He says, 'They forced *Wriothesley* to resign his Office, and turned 'both him, and the Earl of *Arundel*, out of the Council, because they 'were Catholicks.

Wriothesley was turned out upon no account of Religion, but for putting the Great Seal to a Commission, that was against Law, (according to the Opinion which the Judges declared under their hands) without any Warrant from the Council; himself acknowledging the justice of the Sentence. The Earl of *Arundel* was not turned out of the

the Council; on the contrary, in the Patent by which the Protector held his Office, that passed after the Chancellor was removed, he is named to be one of the Privy Council.

7. He says, 'The Protector would needs force all the Clergy to submit in every thing to the King's Orders; and sets down the Form in 'which the King writ to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*. Pag. 179.

In this nothing was done, but what was begun by King *Henry*, and to which all the Clergy, even his beloved *Bonner* not excepted, had formerly submitted. So this was no new thing set up by the Protector, it being only the renewing the Bishops Patents in the new King's Name: And this was no part of the Reformation, for it was done only to awe the Popish Bishops, but was soon after laid aside. What he sets down as a Letter of King *Edward's* to *Cranmer*, is the Preamble of the Patent he took out. So little did this Writer know the things that truly make to the advantage to the Cause, which he designed to assert.

8. He says, The New Protector, among the first things he did, restrained all Preaching, and silenced all the Bishops and Pastors: so 'that none were licensed to preach, but the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*. Pag. 180.

The first Injunctions set out in the King's Name, required all Bishops to preach at least four times a Year, in their Diocesses; and to keep Learned Chaplains who might be able to preach, and should be often much employed in it. And thus Matters stood the first Year of this Reign; In the beginning of the second Year, upon complaints made of the rashness of some Preachers, a Proclamation was put out, that none should preach without a License from the King, or the Arch-Bishops, or the Bishop of the Diocess; except Incumbents in their own Parishes. Afterwards there was, for some little time, a total prohibition of Preaching, but that was to last for a short while, till the Book of Common Prayer, which was then a preparing, should be finished. This was equally made on both hands; for the Prohibition was universal, without exception: so falsly has our Author stated this Matter; which one would think he ignorantly drew from what Queen *Mary* did, applying it to this Reign; for she, upon her coming to the Crown, did prohibit all Preaching, excepting only such as were licensed to it by *Gardiner*, under the Great Seal.

9. He says, '*Latimer* was turned out of the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, 'by King *Henry*, upon suspicion of Heresy. Pag. 181.

Latimer did freely resign his Bishoprick, upon the passing of the Act of the six Articles, with which he could not comply with a good Conscience.

10. He says, 'The Protector put *Cox* and *Cheek* about the King, 'that they might corrupt his Mind with Heretical Doctrines. Pag. 182.

These were put about him three Years before, by King *Henry's* Order; as that young King himself informs us in his Journal.

Pag. 184. 11. He says, 'The Heads of the Colleges were turned out, and the 'Catholick Doctors were forbid to preach.

I do not find one Head of a College in either University was turned out; for though they generally loved the Old Superstition, yet they loved their Places much better. And indeed the whole Clergy did so readily conform themselves to every Change that was made, that it was not easy to find Colours for turning out *Bonner* and *Gardiner*. All Preachers had the liberty of their own Pulpits, except for a very little while.

Ibid. 12. He says, 'They decried the School Divinity, and the Works of '*Lombard*, *Aquinas*, and *Scotus*, and so threw all Learning out of the 'Schools.

They could not do that more, than Sir *Thomas More*, *Erasmus*, and other Popish Writers had done before them; who had expressed their scorn of that way of Treating Divine Matters, so copiously, that it was no wonder it was much despised. Those Writers had, by a set of dark and barbarous Maxims and Terms, so intangled all the Articles of Faith, and imposed by the World, on an appearance of saying somewhat, when really they said nothing: and pretending to explain Religion, they had so exposed it, that their way of Divinity was become equally nauseous and ridiculous.

Pag. 186. 13. He says, '*Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*, being brought out of *Ger*-'*many*, did corrupt the Universities; and entertained the Youth with 'Discourses of Predestination, Reprobation, and a fatal necessity of 'things.

This was so far from being much taught, that on the contrary, in one of the Articles of Religion, the curious Enquiries into those abstruse Points, was by Publick Authority forbid. *Bucer* and *Martyr* read for most part in the Chairs, upon the Mass, and the other Corruptions of the Popish Worship. They also declared St. *Austin*'s Doctrine about Grace, but I do not find they ever medled with Reprobation.

Pag. 190. 14. After a long Invective, which is to pass as a piece of his Wit 'and Poetry, he says, '*Bucer* was inclined to become a *Jew*, and was 'descended from Jewish Parents; and that the Lord *Paget* had heard him 'say, That the Corporal Presence was so clear in the Scripture, that 'no Man could deny it, who believed the Gospel; but for his 'part, he did not believe all that was said in the New Testament con-'cerning our Saviour.

This is as sutable to our Author's Honesty as can be: *Bucer* was never accused of this by any of his Enemies, as long as he lived. No Man in that Age writ with a greater sense of the Kingdom of Christ than he did. And for the Story of the Lord *Paget*, we have nothing for it but the Author's word; and Poets must make Circumstances, as well as more signal Contrivances, to set off their Fables. But there was no occasion for *Bucer*'s saying this, since he never declared against the Corporal Presence; but was for taking up that Controversy in some general

general Expressions. So it was not suitable to his Opinion in that Matter, for him to talk so loosely of the Scriptures. And is it credible that a Story of this nature, should not have been published in Queen *Mary's* Time, and been made use of, when he was condemned for an Heretick, and his Body raised and burnt. But our Author, perhaps, did not think of that.

15. He says, '*Peter Martyr* was a while in suspence concerning the 'Eucharist, and stayed till he should see what the Parliament should 'appoint in that Matter. Pag. 191.

P. Martyr argued and read in the Chair against the Corporal Presence, four Years before the Parliament medled with it: For the second Common-Prayer Book, which contained the first publick Declaration that the Parliament made in this Matter, was enacted in the fifth Year of King *Edward*; and *Peter Martyr*, from his first coming to *England*, had appeared against it.

16. He said, 'The first Parliament under King *Edward*, appointed a 'new Form to be used in ordaining Priests and Bishops; who till that 'time had been Ordained according to the Old Rites, save only, that 'they did not swear Obedience to the Pope. Pag. 193.

This is a further Evidence of our Author's care in searching the printed Statutes; since what was done in the Fifth Year of this Reign, he represents as done in the First. His Design in this was clear; he had a mind to possess all his own Party with an Opinion, that the Orders given in this Church were of no force, and therefore he thought it a decent piece of his Poem, to set down this Change as done so early: since if he had mentioned it in its proper place, he knew not how to deny the validity of the Orders that were given the first four Years of this Reign, which continued to be conferred according to the old Forms.

17. He says, 'The Parliament did also at the same time, confirm a 'new Book of Common-Prayer, and of the Administration of the Sacraments. Ibid.

This is of a piece with the former; for the Act confirming the Common-Prayer Book, which is also among the Printed Statutes, passed not in this Session of Parliament, but in a second Session, a Year after this. These are Indications sufficient to shew what an Historian *Sanders* was, that did not so much as read the Publick Acts of the Time concerning which he writ.

18. He says, 'They ordered all Images to be removed, and sent 'some lewd Men over *England* for that effect; who either brake or 'burnt the Images of our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints; 'therein declaring against whom they made War; and they ordered 'the King's Arms, three Leopards, and three Lillies, with the Supporters, a Dog and a Serpent, to be set in the place where the Cross of 'Christ stood: thereby owning that they were no longer to worship 'Jesus Christ, whose Images they broke, but the King, whose Arms 'they set up in the room of those Images. Ibid.

In this Period there is an equal mixture of Falshood and Malice. 1. The Parliament did not order the removal of Images; It was done by the King's Visitors, before the Parliament sat. 2. The total removal of Images was not done the first Year, only those Images that were abused to Superstition, were taken down, and a Year after the total removal followed. 3. They took care that this should be done regularly, not by the Visitors, who only carried the King's Injunctions about it, but by the Curats themselves. 4. They did not order the King's Arms to be put in the place where the Cross had stood. It grew indeed to be a custom to set them up in all Churches, thereby expressing, that they acknowledged the King's Authority reached even to their Churches; but there was no Order made about it. 5. I leave him to the Correction of the Heraulds, for saying, the King's Arms are Three Leopards, when every Body knows they are three Lions, and a Lion, not a Dog, is one Supporter, and the other is a Dragon, not a Serpent. 6. By their setting up the King's Arms, and not his Picture, it is plain they had no thought of worshipping their King, but did only acknowledg his Authority. 7. It was no less clear, that they had no design against the Worship due to Jesus Christ, nor that inferiour respect due to the Blessed Virgin and Saints; but intended only to wean the People from that, which at best was but Pageantry: but as it was practised, was manifest Idolatry. And the painting on the Walls of the Churches the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, with many other passages of Scripture that were of most general use, shewed, they intended only to cleanse their Churches from those mixtures of Heathenism, that had been brought into the Christian Religion.

Pag. 193. 19. He says, 'They took away the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood 'of Christ, that they might thereby give some colour to the converting 'of the Sacred Vessels to the King's use.

They took away no part of the Institution of Christ, for they set it down in the Act past about it; and recited all the words of the first Institution of the Sacrament; they only condemned private Masses, as contrary to Christ's Institution. They did not convert the Holy Vessels to the King's use, nor were they taken out of the Churches till five Years after this; that the Necessities of the Government, either real or pretended, were alleged to excuse the taking away the superfluous Plate that was in Churches: But this was not done by Act of Parliament, but by Commissioners empowred by the King, who were ordered to leave in every Church, such Vessels as were necessary for the Administration of the Sacraments.

Ibid. 20. He says, 'The Parliament ordered the Prayers to be in the 'Vulgar Tongue; and upon that he infers, that the *Irish*, the *Welsh*, 'and the *Cornish*-men, were now in a much worse condition than be'fore; since they understood no English, so that the Worship was to 'them in a Tongue more unknown than it had formerly been.

The Parliament made no such Order at this Time: the Book of Common Prayer was set out first by the King's Authority, and ratified by the subsequent Session of Parliament. There was also a Design,

which though it was then accomplished, yet it was done afterwards, of translating the Liturgy into these Tongues: but still the English was much more understood by all sorts of Men among them, than the Latin had been.

21. He says, 'The Office of the Communion, appointed by this 'Parliament, differed very little from the Mass, save that it was in 'English. *Pag.* 194.

The Error of the Parliaments appointing the new Offices, runs through all he says on this Subject. But in the new Office of the Communion, the Idolatry of worshipping, carrying about, or exposing the Sacrament, was laid aside. The trade of particular Masses for private Occasions, the Prayers to the Saints, the denying the People the Chalice, with a great many of the Rites and Gesticulations formerly used, were all laid aside; so that there were great changes made. Every thing was not done at once, but they began with the Abuses that did most require a Reformation, and went on afterwards to the changing of lesser things.

22. He says, 'Sir *Ralph Sadler* took the Wife of one *Matthew Barrow*; so upon pretence of his being dead, his Wife married *Sadler*: 'but her first Husband coming home, he sought to have his Wife again. 'It was brought into the Parliament in King *Henry*'s Time, and now it 'was enacted, that she should be *Sadler*'s Wife; he being the richer 'and greater Man. So against the Laws of the Gospel, a Wife while 'her Husband was yet alive, was adjudged to a second Husband. *Ibid.*

This is, as far as I can learn, a Forgery from the beginning to the end: and it seems *Sadler*, that was a Privy Counsellor in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, did somewhat that so provoked *Sanders*, that he resolved to be revenged of him and his Family, by casting such an aspersion on him. I find no Foot-steps of any such Story; sure I am, there is nothing concerning it in the Records of this Parliament. And for the Business of the Dissolution of Marriages for Adultery, Absence, or any other Cause, there was so great, and so strict an enquiry made into it; after, the Parliament was ended, in the Case of the Marquess of *Northampton*, that it is clear it was the first of that sort that was examined; and might perhaps, after it was confirmed in Parliament, in the 5*th* Year of this Reign, have been made a Precedent for other Cases; but this of *Sadler*, in the first Parliament, is a Contrivance of our Authors. It is not improbable, that when afterwards it was judged, that the Marriage-Bond was dissolved by Adultery, they might likewise declare it dissolved, upon voluntary and long absence, since St. *Paul* had said, That *a Brother or a Sister were not under Bondage in such Cases.*

22. He says, '*Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstal*, *Heath*, and *Day*, were 'much grieved at the Changes that were made: yet they complied in 'many things, till being required to deliver some Blasphemous Do'ctrines in their Sermons, they refusing to give Obedience in that, 'were deprived; but were afterwards condemned to perpetual Impri'sonment under Queen *Elizabeth*; all which were the Effects of God's 'Displeasure on them, for complying with K. *Henry* in his Schism. *Pag.* 196.

I ſhall grow tedious, if I inſiſt on all the Falſities that do occur in this Period. Firſt, Only *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were queſtioned and deprived for their Sermons: *Tonſtall* was deprived for Miſpriſion of Treaſon; *Heath* and *Day* were judged by Lay-Delegates; ſo it is like, their Offences were alſo againſt the State. 2. There was nothing enjoined *Bonner* or *Gardiner* to preach, upon which they were cenſured, but that the King's Authority was the ſame when he was under Age, that it was afterwards; which is a Point that belongs only to the Laws and Conſtitution of this Government: and ſo there was juſt reaſon to impute their Silence in that particular, when they were commanded to touch upon it in their Sermons, to an ill Deſign againſt the State. 3. Three of theſe Biſhops did concur in all the Changes that were made the firſt four Years of this King's Reign, and both preached and wrote for them; and even *Bonner* and *Gardiner* did not only give Obedience to every Law or Injunction that came out, but recommended them much in their Sermons. 4. Theſe did not ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment under Queen *Elizabeth*; *Gardiner* and *Day* died before ſhe reigned, and ſo were not impriſoned by her. *Heath* was never put in Priſon by her, but lived at his own Country Houſe; and *Tonſtal* lived at *Lambeth* in as much eaſe, and was treated with as much reſpect, as if it had been his own Houſe: ſo that *Bonner* was the only Man that was kept in Priſon; but that was believed to be done in kindneſs to him, to preſerve him from the Affronts which otherwiſe he might have met with, from the Friends of thoſe he had butchered.

Pag. 197. 24. He ſays, 'The Lady *Mary* never departed from her Mothers 'Faith and Conſtancy.

It appears, by many of her Letters, that ſhe complyed with every thing that had been done by her Father; ſo it ſeems ſhe was diſpenced with from *Rome*, to diſſemble in his time; for otherwiſe her conſtancy had very likely been fatal to her, but ſhe preſumed on the mildneſs of her Brother's Government, to be more refractory afterwards.

Pag. 198. 25. He ſays, 'The King was ſorry, when he underſtood how hardly 'his Siſter had been uſed by the Council.

It was ſo far otherwiſe, that when the Council being much preſſed by the Emperor to connive at her having Maſs, were reſolved to give way to it, the King himſelf was ſo averſe to it, thinking it a ſin in him to conſent to the practice of Idolatry, that the Council employed the Biſhops to work on him, and they could hardly induce him to tolerate it.

Pag. 200. 26. He ſays, 'The Viſitors carried with them over *England*, Bibles 'of a moſt corrupt Tranſlation, which they ordered to be ſet up in all 'the Churches of *England*.

In King *Henry*'s Time, it had been ordered, that there ſhould be a Bible in every Church; ſo this was not done by the Viſitors in this Reign, as may appear by the Injunctions that were given them, which have been often printed.

27. He says, 'The Visitors did every-where enquire, Whether all 'the Images were broken down; and if the Altars were taken away, 'and Communion Tables were put in their rooms; and if all the old 'Offices were destroyed. *Ibid.*

Here he confounds in one Period, what was done in several Years. In the first Year, the Images that had been abused by Pilgrimages, were ordered to be removed. In the second Year, all Images were taken down without exception. In the third Year, the old Books of the former Offices were ordered to be destroyed. And in the fourth Year, the Altars were turned to Communion Tables; so ignorantly did this Author write of our Affairs.

28. He say, 'The Visitors did every where encourage the Priests to 'Marry, and looked on such as did not Marry, as inclined to Popery. *Page* 201.

The Marriage of the Clergy was not so much as permitted till near the beginning of the third Year of this Reign; and then it was declared, that an unmarried State was more honourable and decent; so that it was recommended, and the other was only tolerated; and so far were they from suspecting Men to be firm to the Reformation that were married, that *Ridley* and *Latimer*, the most esteemed next to *Cranmer*, were never married: nor was any ever vexed for his not being married, as he falsly insinuates.

28. He says, 'The Protector bore great hatred to *Gardiner* and '*Tonstal*, both because they opposed the Hereticks, and because they 'had been made equals to him, if not preferred before him by King '*Henry*'s Will, in the Government during the King's being under Age. *Pag.* 202.

This is another of our Author's Figures. *Gardiner* was not mentioned in King *Henry*'s Will, neither as an Executor, nor so much as a Counsellor; and by it none were preferred to another, all being made equal. And for *Tonstal*, he continued still in a firm friendship with the Protector, and was so well satisfied with the first Changes that were made, that he was complained of as well as *Cranmer*, by *Gardiner*, in the Letters which he writ to the Protector.

29. He says, 'The Protector made a Speech about Religion before 'the King; and thereafter he put, first *Gardiner*, then *Tonstall*, and at 'another time, the Bishops of *London*, *Chichester*, and *Worcester*, in 'Prison. *Ibid.*

Gardiner and *Bonner* were indeed imprisoned some time, during the Protector's Government; the latter was also deprived while he was Protector. But *Tonstall* was not put in Prison till two Years after, and it was at the time of the Duke of *Somerset*'s total fall, and by the same Persons means that wrought his Ruin: From which it appears, he was always a firm Friend to the Duke of *Somerset*. The Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester* were also brought in trouble, long after the Government was taken out of the Protector's Hands.

30. He says, 'They were all deposed from their Degree. *Ibid.*

They were not deposed from their Degree, but deprived of their Bishopricks;

Bishopricks; for they having accepted Commissions, by which they held their Sees, only during the King's Pleasure, they might well be deprived by a Sentence of the Delegates. But had they been to be deposed, and thrust from their Order, it must have been done by a Synod of Bishops. They were deprived, as many Bishops were under the Christian Emperors, by selected Synods that sat in the Court, and judged of all Complaints that were brought before the Emperors.

Pag. 204. 31. 'He reckons up the Judgments of God upon the Hereticks; 'and says, the Protector made kill his Brother, and *Dudley* took him 'away.

This is a way of writing familiar enough to our Author, to represent things in such a manner, as might fill the Reader with horror; as if these Persons had been secretly murdered, whereas the one was condemned in Parliament, the other by a Judgment of his Peers.

Ibid. 32. He says, 'King *Edward* died not without suspition of being poi'soned by *Dudley*, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, who aspired to the Crown.

It was never suspected that the Duke of *Suffolk* had any hand in poisoning the King, nor could I ever see any reason to conclude that he was poisoned: but neither of these Dukes aspired to the Crown; the one resigned any Pretension he could ever have, to his Daughter; and the other intended only that his fourth Son should reign.

Pag. 205. 34. He says, 'The Protector's Lady claimed the precedence of the 'Queen Dowager; and upon the denial of it, conspired the ruin of 'the Admiral.

All this is a contrivance of the Enemies of that Family; for as it had been absurd for the Dutchess of *Somerset* to have disputed Precedence with the Queen Dowager; so in that whole Matter it is plain the Admiral began with his Brother, and conspired his ruin: and the Protector was often reconciled to him, and forgave him many Faults, till it appeared that his Ambition was incurable.

Ibid. 34. He says, 'There being no ground of any Accusation against 'him, the Dutchess of *Somerset* got *Latimer* to accuse him of Treason 'in a Sermon.

The Articles upon which he was condemned, shew what Matter there was against him. *Latimer* did never accuse him of Treason, but being a Man of great plainness of Speech, he reflected on him as Ambitious, and not sincere in the Profession of Religion: And when it was suspected that the Dutchess of *Somerset* had set him on to make these Reflections, he did vindicate her in a most solemn manner. Nor is there any reason to think, that how indiscreet soever he might be in preaching in such a sort, that he did it to flatter or to aspire by such means, for he refused to accept of any Preferment, though the House of Commons interposed to have him repossessed of the See of *Worcester*.

Ibid. 35. He says, 'At the same time that he was Beheaded, the Queen 'Dowager died.

She died in *Septemb.* 1548, and he was beheaded in *March* following: and one of the Articles against him was, That after her Death, he intended

tended to have married the King's Sister *Elizabeth*; and it was suspected, that to make for that, he had poisoned her.

36. He says, 'The Men of *Devonshire* and *Cornwal* did, with one consent, take up Arms for *the Faith*. *Pag.* 206.

In one thing he says true, that this Rebellion was set on by the Priests, and made on the account of Religion; but the brutal cruelty of those Rebels, shewed it was not for *the Faith*, but in compliance to their Priests and Leaders, that they rose.

37. He says, 'The Clergy finding that their being Married was generally an ingrateful thing, procured an Act of Parliament, declaring that there was no Humane Law against their Marriages; and this was all they were concerned in, for they cared little for the Law of God. *Pag.* 209.

This is a genuine piece of our Author's Wit. If the Parliament meddles in declaring what is the Law of God, he accuses them for medling in things without their Sphere: And if they only declare what is the Law of the Land, he says, they have no regard to the Law of God: So he is resolved, do what they will, they shall not escape his Censure. But in this he shews his Ignorance, as well as his Malice. The lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy was enquired into with such exactness, that scarce any thing can be added since, to what was then written on that Argument. It was made out, that there was no Law of God against it: It was also proved, that there was no general Law made by the Primitive Church about it; but that it was a part of the Yoke that the Popes laid on the Clergy, to engage them more zealously in their Concerns. It was at first carried in the Convocation, that they might lawfully Marry; then an Act of Parliament passed permitting it; of all which our Author takes no notice. Then three Years after, some that were ill-affected to them, taking advantage from the words of the Statute, as if the Permission had only been such a conniving at it, as had been formerly to the Stews, a second Act passed confirming those Marriages, and the Issue by them.

38. He says, 'The Catholick Doctors in the Universities, grew more courageous in the Defence of the Faith; and so desired a publick Dispute concerning the Corporal Presence. *Pag.* 210.

They were so couragious, that as soon as any Change was made, they all complied most obsequiously to it; as will appear both by *Oglethorp* and *Smith*'s Submissions. But while the Changes were under consultation, they seeing it could bring them into no trouble, were very stout; but as soon as they were to loose or suffer any thing for their Consciences, then they grew as tractable as could be. In such a Zeal, let him glory as much as he will.

39. He says, '*Smith* did often challenge *Peter Martyr* to a publick Dispute at *Oxford*; but he declined it, till Dr. *Cox*, a Man of a lewd Life, was sent to moderate in the Dispute; and till Dr. *Smith* was banished the University. *Ibid.*

Smith did once challenge *Peter Martyr* to a Dispute, to which he presently consented: upon two Conditions; the one was, that a Licence should first be obtained of the King and Council, and Delegates be

appointed by them to make a just Report of the Dispute: the other was, That it should be managed in the Terms of Scripture, and not in the School Terms: They were both more proper for Matters of Divinity, and more easily understood by all People. Upon this, the Council sent down Delegates: and then *Smith*, who intended only to raise a tumult in the Schools, withdrew himself, and fled beyond Sea; but was never banished. His calling Dr. *Cox* a Man of a *lewd Life*, is one of the Flowers he stuck in to adorn the rest. All the Writers of that Age make honourable mention of him; He was first set about this King by his Father, and continued with him in all the turns of Affairs; and did so faithfully discharge that high Trust, that it appears he must have been a very extraordinary Man. This was so well known to the whole Nation, that in the beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, he met with more than ordinary Favour. This, considering the hatred which the Popish Party bore him, is a clear evidence of his great Worth; and that they were afraid to be severe to a Man so universally esteemed.

Ibid. 40. He says, '*Cox* saw he was so much pressed by the Doctors that 'disputed with him, and the Hearers did so hiss him down, that he 'broke off the Dispute, giving *Peter Martyr* a high commendation for 'his Learning, and exhorting the rest to live peaceably. *Peter Martyr* 'afterwards printed the Disputation falsly; but by the Judgment of 'the University he was doubly bafled; both that he refused to dispute 'with *Smith*, and that he did acquit himself so ill with those Doctors 'that disputed with him.

It is probable the Hearers might have been set on to hiss, but the printed Disputation will decide this Matter, and shew who argued both more nervously, and more ingenuously. We have no reason to believe it was falsly printed, unless we will take it on this Author's word: for I do not find the Popish Doctors did, either at this Time, or afterwards in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, when the Presses were all in their hands, publish any thing to the contrary of what *P. Martyr* printed; so that he neither refused to dispute with *Smith*, nor was he baffled by those that undertook it. *Smith* fled, and the rest were clearly worsted. And for the University, there was no Judgment passed by them, unless he means the Rudeness and Clamours of some that might be set on to it.

Pag. 211. 41. He says, 'The Dispute with *Bucer* at *Cambridg*, had the same 'effect.

It had so indeed, the printed Relation shews the weakness and disingenuity of the Popish Disputants, and that was never contradicted.

Ibid. 42. 'He gives account of many other Disputes, and of *Gardiner*'s 'Book, under the name of *Marcus Constantius*; which he says was a 'full confutation of all the Books then written for the contrary Opini-'on. He also mentions the Sermons and Imprisonment of *Crispine*, '*Moreman*, *Cole*, *Seaton*, and *Watson*.

These other Disputes could be no more than private Conferences; but I can give no account of these, having met with them in none of the

the Writers of that Time. As for *Gardiner*'s Book, such as will compare it with *Cranmer*'s Book, which it pretends to answer, will soon see in it the difference between plain simple Reasoning on the one side, and sophistical Cavilling on the other. But for the Sufferings of that Party, there is no great reason to boast of them; for they universally complied with every thing that was commanded: even the Lady *Mary*'s Chaplains did it, in the Churches where they were beneficed. Nor do I find any one Man turned out of his Cure for refusing to Conform; but it was found, some of these did privately say Mass, either in the Lady *Mary*'s Chappel, or in private Houses; and did secretly act against what they openly professed: and it was no wonder if such Dissemblers were more severely handled. But there was no Blood shed in the Quarrel; so that if the Popish Party made such resistance, as our Author pretends they did, it very much commends the gentleness of the Government at that Time, since they were so mercifully handled. It was far otherwise in Queen *Mary*'s Time.

43. 'He runs out in a Discourse of the Sufferings of his Party, of 'their Zeal and Constancy: and particularly mentions *Story*, who, he 'says, suffered Martyrdom under Queen *Elizabeth*. He had said in 'the Parliament, *Wo to thee, O Land, whose King is a Child*; and this 'drew so much hatred on him, that he was forced to fly out of *England*. Pag. 21.

What the Zeal and Constancy of the Party was, may be gathered from what has been already said. This *Story* did say these words in the House of Commons, and was, by Order of the House, sent to the *Tower*: for though it was a Text of Scripture that he cited, yet the Application carried with it so high a reflection on the Government, that it well deserved such a censure: but upon his Submission, the House of Commons sent an Address to the Protector, that he and the Council would forgive him, which was done, and he was again admitted to the House: so that he was not forced on this Account to fly out of *England*. And for his Martyrdom under Queen *Elizabeth*, the Record of his Trial shews the ground of that Sentence: He had endeavoured all he could, to set on many in Queen *Mary*'s Time to advise the cutting off Queen *Elizabeth*: His ordinary Phrase was, **It was a foolish thing to cut off the Branches of Heresy, and not to pluck it up by the Root.** He knowing how faulty he had been, fled over to *Flanders* in the beginning of her Reign: and when the Duke of *Alva* was Governor there, he pressed him much to invade *England*; and gave him a Map of some of the Roads and Harbours, with a Scheme of the way of conquering the Nation. He had also consulted with Magicians concerning the Queen's Life; and used always to curse the Queen when he said Grace after Meat. These things being known in *England*, some got him to go a-board a Ship in *Flanders*, on another pretence, and presently set sail for *England*; where yet the Government was so gentle, that two Years past before he was brought to his Tryal: and then the Defence he made, was, That he was not accountable for what he had done in *Flanders*, it not being in the Queen's Dominions; and that he was not her Subject, having sworn Allegiance to the King of *Spain*. But this being contrary to his natural

Allegiance, which he could never ſhake off, he was found guilty of Treaſon, and was there executed. Theſe are our Author's *Martyrs*, and are of a piece with his *Faith*.

Pag. 216. 44. 'In the room of the Biſhops that were turned out, he ſays, 'there were put ſome Apoſtate and Luſtful (that is, as he explains it, '*married*) Monks, *Scory*, *Bird*, *Holgate*, *Barlow*, *Harley*, *Coverdale*, 'and *Ridley*; on whom he beſtows many ſuch Epithetes, as may be ex-'pected from him.

This is ſuch a piece of Hiſtory, as one can hardly meet with any thing like it. 1. *Bird* was made Biſhop of *Cheſter* by King *Henry*, and was the firſt that ſat in that See, it being of that King's Foundation. 2. *Holgate* was put in the See of *York* by King *Henry*, when it was void by *Lee*'s Death. 3. *Barlow* was alſo put in *Bath* and *Wells*, by the ſame King, it being likewiſe void by the Death of *Knight*. 4. *Coverdale* was put in the See of *Exeter*, upon *Veyſey*'s free Reſignation, he being then extream old. 5. *Harley* was alſo put in *Hereford*, upon the former Biſhop's Death. 6. *Ridley* and *Harley* were never married, nor *Coverdale*, for ought I can find; ſo exact is our Author in delivering the Hiſtory of that Time.

Ibid. 45. He ſays, '*Poinet*, that was made Biſhop of *Worcheſter* in *Gar-'diner*'s Room, beſides one Wife to whom he was married, took a 'Butchers Wife from him; but the Butcher ſued for his Wife, and reco-'vered her out of his hands: and to make this paſs the better, he adds 'a Jeſt of *Gardiner*'s about it, that he had ſaid, Why might not he hope 'to be reſtored to his Biſhoprick, as well as the Butcher was to his 'Wife?

The falſeneſs of this Story, is clearly evinced, by the Anſwer that Dr. *Martin* ſet out in the beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, to a Book that *Poinet* had writ in the defence of the married Clergy. *Martin*'s Anſwer is writ with ſo much ſpite, and ſo many indecent Reflections, that though it is not reaſonable to believe all he ſays, yet it is almoſt a certain Argument, that this Story concerning *Poinet* is a Forgery; ſince if it was a thing ſo publick, as our Author makes it, *Martin* muſt have heard of it, eſpecially living in *Gardiner*'s Houſe: and it is not to be imagined, that if he did know it, he would have concealed it: So this, and the Jeſt that hangs upon it, muſt paſs as one of the flouriſhes of our Author's Pen.

Pag. 217. 46. He ſays, '*Hooper*, that uſed formerly to rail at the Luxury of 'the Catholick Biſhops, being made a Superintendent himſelf, for ſo 'the *Zuinglians* called their Biſhops, enjoyed at once two Biſhopricks, '*Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*.

The *Zuinglians* had no Superintendents, for ought I can find; nor was *Hooper* ever called *Superintendent*, but *Biſhop*. He was made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, which had been before King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, a part of the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*. And now theſe Sees came to be united; ſo that *Hooper* had not two Biſhopricks, but one that had been for ſome Years divided into two: He only enjoyed the Revenue of *Gloceſter*, for *Worceſter* was entirely ſuppreſſed.

47. He

47. He ſays, 'On the *9th* of *July*, the Mony was cried down one *Pag.* 219.
'fourth part; and forty days after another fourth part: ſo that the
'whole Nation was thereby robbed of the half of their Stock.

This King's Counſellors found the Coin embaſed; and they were either to let it continue in that State, to the great prejudice of the ſtate of the Nation, or to reduce it to a juſt Standard: ſo our Author condemns them for correcting what they found amiſs. But no wonder, he that quarrels with them ſo much for reforming of Religion, ſhould be likewiſe offended with them for reforming the Coin.

48. He ſays, 'The Duke of *Somerſet* was condemned, becauſe he *Pag.* 222.
'had come into the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Chamber, with intention
'to have killed him, and was thereupon beheaded.

This was indeed ſaid to be the cauſe of his Death; but it is not mentioned in the Record, in which it is only ſaid, that he intended to have ſeiſed on the Duke of *Northumberland*, vvithout adding, that he deſigned to have killed him.

49. He ſays, 'The two younger Siſters of Lady *Jane Gray*, vvere *Page* 223.
'married to the eldeſt Sons of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Hunting-*
'*ton*.

This Error is of no great conſequence, but it ſhews how much our Author was a ſtranger, even to the moſt publick Actions: for the youngeſt Siſter to the Lady *Jane*, was married to one *Keys* that was Groom Porter. The Earl of *Huntington*'s Son married the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Daughter.

50. He ſays, 'Soon after the Marriages, the King began to ſicken, *Ibid.*
'and to fall in decay.

The King had been ill four months before theſe Marriages were made: and it is probable, his ſickneſs made them be the more haſtned.

51. He ſays, '*Dudley* was very deſirous to have the Lady *Mary* in *Ibid.*
'his power, not being much concerned about the Lady *Elizabeth*, for
'ſhe being deſcended of *Ann Boleyn*, he did not much conſider
'her.

It was natural for *Dudley* to deſire rather to have the elder Siſter in his power, than the younger; who could not claim to the Crown, but after the other: but it appeared, by the ſubmiſſion of the whole Nation to Queen *Elizabeth*, though ſtill profeſſing Popery, that ſhe was every whit as much conſidered, as her Siſter had been formerly.

52. He ſays, 'Lady *Mary* having been ſent for by *Dudley*'s Order, *Pag.* 224.
'underſtood, when ſhe was not far from *London*, that the King was
'expiring; and that ſhe would be in great danger, if ſhe came to
'Court; upon which ſhe turned back.

Queen *Mary* had not been ſent for by *Dudley*'s Order, the Council had writ to her, that the King being Ill, deſired her Company: The News ſent her from Court was, That the King was Dead; ſo ſhe

was

was desired to stir no further: and upon that, retired to her House in the Countrey.

Ibid 53. He says, 'Twenty days after that, she heard the King was dead; 'whereupon she made proclaim her self Queen.

The discovery of the former Error clears this; for she immediatly gathered the People of *Suffolk* about her, and gave them her Royal Word, that they should enjoy their Religion, as it had been established in King *Edward*'s Time: But though they were the first that proclaimed her Queen, and came about her to defend her Right, they were among the first that felt the Severities of her Reign.

Pag. 225. 54. He says, '*Mary* Queen of *Scots*, was married to the Dolphin of '*France*.

She was then but a little past ten Years old, and was not married to the Dolphin, till five Years after this.

Pag. 229. 55. He says, 'Queen *Mary*, as soon as she came to the Crown, without staying for an Act of Parliament concerning it, laid aside the prophane Title of being *Head of the Church*.

We may expect as true a History of this Reign, as we had of the former; when in the first Period of it, there is so notorious a Falshood. She held two Parliaments before she laid aside that Title; for in the Writ of Summons for both, she was stiled *Supream Head of the Church*; and all the Reformed Bishops were turned out by virtue of Commissions which she issued out as *Supream Head*. There was also a Visitation made over *England* by her Authority; and none were suffered to preach, but upon Licenses obtained under her great Seal; so that she both retained the Title and Power of *Supream Head*, a Year after she came to the Crown.

Ibid. 56. He says, 'She discharged the Prisoners she found in the *Tower*, 'recalled the Sentence against Cardinal *Pool*, and discharged a Tax due 'to her by the Subjects.

The Queen did free the Prisoners of the *Tower* at her coming to the Crown, and discharged the Tax at her Coronation: but for recalling the Sentence against Cardinal *Pool*, that being an Act of Parliament, she could not recal it; nor was it done, till almost a Year and an half after her coming to the Crown.

Ibid. 57. He says, 'She took care of the Coin, that her Subjects might 'suffer no more by the embasing it; so that they all saw the difference 'between a Catholick and Heretical Prince.

I do not find any care was taken of the Coin all her Reign; and the bringing that to a just Standard, is universally ascribed to Queen *Elizabeth*. If there was a publick joy upon her coming to the Crown, it did not last long; and there was a far greater when she died. This Observation is much more proper to the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, who began and continued to Reign with so great and so interrupted a Felicity, that none but a Writer like our Author, would have made such a Remarque on the beginnings of this Reign.

58. He

58. He says, 'She overcame *Wiat's* Rebellion, rather by her own 'Faith, than by any Force she had about her. *Pag.* 230.

This is to make the Reader think, she defeated *Wiat*, as *Gideon* did the *Amalekites*; but *Wiat* brought up not above 3000 Men, and she had thrice that number about her. It was a desperate Attempt, and that which was rather the effect of a precipitated Design, than of prudent Counsel.

59. He says, 'She put her Sister in the *Tower*, when it had appeared 'to the Senate (which in his Style is the Parliament) that she had been 'engaged in *Wiat's* Conspiracy. *Ibid.*

This is said, to cover her barbarous Cruelty towards her Sister; the Matter never came before the Parliament, and there was no ground ever given to justify the Suspicion. It is true, *Wiat* hoping to have saved his Life, by so foul a Calumny, accused her: but when he saw he must die, he vindicated her openly on the Scaffold. It is certain, if they could have found any Colours to have excused severe proceedings against her, both the Queen and the Clergy who governed her, were much enclined to have made use of them.

60. He says, 'The Queen was more ready to pardon Crimes against 'her self, than Offences against Christ and Religion. *Pag.* 231.

The more shame for those who governed her Conscience, that made her so implacable to all whom she esteemed Hereticks; since the Christian Religion came not into the World, as the Author of it says of himself, *to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them:* Yet she was not so merciful, as he would represent her, witness her Severities against her Sister, and against *Cranmer*, even after he had signed the Recantation of his former Opinions.

61. He says, 'Though some of the Bishops were guilty of Treason, 'yet she would not have them to be tried by the Temporal Laws, and 'referred, even *Cranmer* himself, to the Spiritual Jurisdiction. *Ibid.*

Cranmer was tried for Treason, by virtue of a Commission issued out by the Queen; and all the other Reformed Bishops were turned out by Delegates, empowred for that end by the Queen's Commissions.

62. He says, '*Cranmer* was condemned of Treason in the Parlia-'ment. *Ibid.*

He was found Guilty of Treason by a Jury of Commissioners, and thereupon condemned by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; and not by the Parliament. It is true, the Parliament did afterwards confirm the Sentence.

63. He says, 'Before he was Condemned, he feigned himself a Ca-'tholick, and signed his Retractation seventeen times with his own 'hand: But the Bishops discovering his Hypocrisie, degraded him 'and delivered him to the Secular Arm, upon which he was burnt at '*Oxford*. *Ibid.*

The

The Popish Party have but too great Advantages against *Cranmer*, in this last part of his Life; so it was needless for our Author to have mixed so much falshood with this Account: but he must go on in his ordinary method, even though it is not necessary for any of the Ends, he had set before himself. *Cranmer* stood out above two Years and a half, in all which time he expressed great constancy of mind, and a readiness to die for that Faith, which he had before taught: nor would he fly beyond Sea, though he had many opportunities to do it, and had reason enough to apprehend he could not escape at home. Upon his constant adhering to his former Doctrines, he was Condemned, Degraded, and appointed to be burnt; and then the fears of Death wrought that effect on him, that he did recant, which he signed thrice: but the Queen being set on Revenge, would needs have him burnt after all that: so there was no discovery made of his Hypocrisie, nor was there a Sentence past upon it; but he, for all his Recantation, was led out to be burnt: and then he returned back to his former Doctrines, and expressed his Repentance for his Apostacy, with all the seriousness and horror that was possible.

Ibid. 64. He says, 'The Laws for burning Hereticks were again revived, 'and by them not only *Cranmer*, but some hundreds of the false Teachers 'were burnt.

A Man's Inclinations do generally appear in the Lies he makes: so it seems our Author wished it had been, as he relates it was; but so far it was from this number, that there was not above a quarter of a hundred of the Ministers burnt, (there were some hundreds of others burnt) so ignorant was he of our Affairs.

Page 232. 65. He says, 'The Queen did at first command all the Strangers that 'were Hereticks, to leave the Kingdom; upon which above 30000, as 'was reckoned, went out of *England*.

The greatest number of the Strangers, were the *Germans*, and of these not above 200 went away, as themselves published it; but our Author was generous and free-hearted, so that he would make the Exiles to bear some proportion to the Ministers that were burnt; and as he made some hundreds of the one, so 30000 was but a moderate number to be exiled, 200 would have sounded pitifully in such an Heroical Work.

Ibid. 66. He says, 'It was brought under Debate, whether *Peter Martyr* 'should be burnt; but because he came into *England* upon the Publick 'Faith, he was let go; yet his Wives Body was raised out of the 'Church-yard, and cast into a Dunghil; and *Bucer* and *Fagius*'s Bo-'dies were burnt.

It could not be debated whether *Peter Martyr* should be burnt; for the Laws of Burning were not made till a Year after he went out of *England*: and the raising his Wives Body, and the burning the other Bodies, was done almost four Years after this; though our Author relates it as done at the same time.

67. He

67. He says, 'The Queen at first could not repeal the Laws then in force for Heresy; but she suspended them all, and exhorted her Subjects to return to the Catholick Rites, upon which the People did 'universally return to them. *Ibid.*

The Queen could neither repeal nor suspend the Laws then in force; and she did neither. When she was in *Suffolk*, she promised the Religion established by Law should not be changed: When she came to *London*, she declared she would force no Consciences; but soon after she added a Limitation to this, *Till the Parliament should order it.* After that, all People were encouraged to set up the Mass every-where, and it did spread into most parts of the Kingdom: but this was done both against Law, and the Queen's Royal Word.

68. He says, 'All Pulpits were opened to Catholick Preachers, and the Hereticks were not suffered to preach. *Ibid.*

This he relates, as if it had been the effect of the Peoples Zeal; but it flowed from a Proclamation of the Queen's, that none should preach unless he obtained a License under the Great Seal, which was as high an Act of Supremacy as ever her Father did.

69. He says, 'She made first of all Funeral Rites to be performed 'for her Brother, after the form of the Catholicks, though he had died 'in Heresy: and intended to have had such Rites from her Father, but 'being better instructed, she found it could not be done, for him that 'had been the chief Author of the Schism, and of all the evil that 'followed it. *Ibid.*

King *Edward* was buried according to the Rites of the English Liturgy; so that the Funeral Rites were not according to the old Forms. It is true, the Queen had in her own Chappel such Rites for him. As for her Father, some of the Writers of that Time, say, it was much pressed, to have his Body at least raised and carried out of the Consecrated Ground, if not burnt: and in this she is said to have stood upon the Dignity of a Crowned Head, and the decency of a Daughters Duty to her Fathers Ashes; so that she would not consent to so barbarous a thing.

70. 'He condemns those, who having been defiled with Heresy, and 'thereby under Censures, did, notwithstanding that, administer the 'Sacraments, and do the other Offices of Priesthood, before they were 'reconciled to the See of *Rome*. This, he says, was such a Sin, that 'it may be reckoned one of the Causes of that Queen's dying so soon, 'and he sets down as a Caution for the future, that if we should come 'to be again reconciled to that See, we might not relapse into the like 'Error. *Pag.* 233

This was indeed Cardinal *Pool*'s Advice, that the whole Kingdom ought to have been put under an Interdict, and that all Holy Offices were to cease, till they were reconciled to the See of *Rome*: but the whole Clergy, not only many, as he says, being involved in those Censures; if they had staied for officiating, till they had been reconciled to the See of *Rome*, perhaps it had not been done at all.

Ibid. 71. He says, 'The Queen, partly by her Authority, partly by the 'concurrence of the Parliament, got the ancient way of the Service 'to be again restored, the Hereticks not daring to oppose it much.

All that was done in the first Parliament, was the restoring things to the same state they had been in, when King *Henry* died; which was indeed the setting up that they called *Schisme* by Law. It was no Wonder those he calls Hereticks could not oppose it much; when so many of their Bishops had been turned out and imprisoned; others were violently thrust out of the House of Lords, and the Elections of the Members of Parliament had been so managed, that in many places Force was used, and false Returns were made in other Places.

Pag. 234. 72. He says, 'Only one that was bolder than the rest, threw a Dagger at him who preached the first Catholick Sermon at St. *Pauls*: 'and another discharged a Pistol at another, preaching in the same 'place.

This, one would think by his Relation, was done after the Parliament had set up the Mass again; whereas it was soon after the Queen came to the Crown, long before the Parliament, and that of the Pistol was some months after the Parliament. But if he had designed to deliver a true History to the World, he should have added, that upon the Tumult that was raised against the Preacher, he prayed Mr. *Bradford* and Mr. *Rogers* (two afterwards burnt for the Reformed *Religion*) to speak to the People, and perswade them to be quiet; upon which they both exhorted the People to behave themselves more peaceably and reverently; and *Bradford* went into the Pulpit, that he might be the better heard; and so near was he to the Danger, that the Dagger pierced his Sleeve; yet these two were had in such esteem, that the Tumult was quieted; and they carried the Preacher safe home. One of them being to preach in the Afternoon, exhorted the People to be peaceable and quiet, and severely condemned the Tumult that had been in the morning. But such was the gratitude and justice of the Popish Party, that it was pretended, because they had appeased the Tumult, that therefore they had also raised it: so they were upon that pretence put in Prison, where they lay a Year and a half, till the Laws for burning were revived, and were then burnt for *Heresy*.

Pag. 235. 73. He says, '*Commendone* was sent by Order from the Pope into '*England*, who obtained a Writing from the Queen, wherein she pro'mised Obedience to the See of *Rome*; upon which *Pool* was appoin'ted Legat.

It is no wonder our Author understood not the Affairs of the Reformation aright, when he was so ill informed about the Transactions of his own Party. *Commendone* was not sent by the Pope to *England*. The Legat at *Brussels* sent him over from thence, without staying for Orders from *Rome*.

Page 239. 74. He says, '*William Thomas*, Clerk of the Council, had conspired 'to kill the Queen; for which he justly suffered.

Of this I find nothing on Record; so it must depend on our Author's Credit, which is not infallible.

75. He says, 'The Imposture of *Elizabeth Crofts*, was set up by the 'Persuasion of many of the Hereticks: and when it was discovered, she 'confessed she had been set on to it by others, and by one *Drake* in 'particular; but they all fled. *Ibid.*

In the Account that was then published of that Imposture, *Drake* only is accused for it: what he was, does not appear to me, for I have never found him mentioned but on this Occasion; so there was no reason to transfer the private Guilt of this Conspiracy on a whole Party, as our Author does; though upon his Credit, one of our Writers has also done it.

76. He says, 'Those in whose hands the Church-Lands were, had 'great apprehensions of their being forced to restore them, because the 'Queen had restored all the Land that were in her hands, and had 'again converted the Collegiat Church of *Westminster* into an Abbey; 'But to prevent the ill Effects that might have followed on this, the 'Cardinal did, in the Pope's Name, absolve them from all Censures, 'for possessing those Lands, and that was confirmed by Letters sent over 'from the Pope. *Pag.* 243.

He observes the order of Time very exactly, when he sets the Queen's restoring the Church-Lands, and founding the Abbey of *Westminster*, as the occasions of the Fears the Laity were in, of being forced to restore the rest of the Church-Lands; and of the Cardinal's absolving them from all Censures, for keeping them still in their hands. The Order in which this was done, was thus; In *Novemb.* 1554, in the Act of Reconciliation with the See of *Rome*, there was a special *Proviso* made for the Church-Lands, which the Cardinal confirmed in the Pope's Name. In the Year after that, the Queen gave up into the Cardinal Hands, all the Church-Lands that belonged to the Crown; and two Years after, she founded the Abbey of *Westminster*; so little influence had these things on the other that were done before. But he was grosly mistaken, when he said the Pope approved All: for he, in plain terms, refused to ratify what the Cardinal had done; and soon after set out a severe Bull, Cursing and Condemning all that held any Church-Lands.

77. He says, 'All the Bishops being sensible of their Schismatical 'way of entring into their Sees, did desire and obtain a Confirmation 'from the Pope. *Kitchin*, Bishop of *Landaff*, only excepted, who afterwards relapsed into Heresy under Queen *Elizabeth*; and says, it is 'likely the want of this Confirmation, made him be more easily overcome. *Pag.* 244.

This our Author wrote, being a thing very probable; and seldom do his Authorities for what he asserts, rise higher. It was also a pretty strain of his Wit, to make the omitting of it, fall singly on the only Bishop that conformed under Queen *Elizabeth*. But it is certain, there was no such thing done at all; for if any had done it, *Bonner* was as likely as any other; since as none had been more faulty in King

Henry's Time; so none studied to redeem that with more servile compliances than he did; yet there is nothing of this recorded in his Register, which continues entire to this day.

Pag. 246. 78. He says, 'The State of the Universities was restored to what it 'had been, and *Oxford* in particular; by *Petrus* a *Soto*'s means, who 'was in the Opinion of all, much preferred to P. *Martyr*.

He that gathered the Antiquities of *Oxford*, though no partial Writer on this occasion, represents the state of that University very differently; that there were almost no Divines in it, and scarce any publick Lectures. But when *Sanders* writ his Poem, the Spanish Councils were so much depended on, by him and his Party, that it was fit to put that Complement on the Nation, concerning *Petrus a Soto*. Whether it was true or false, was a Circumstance which he generously overlook'd, for most part.

Pag. 248. 79. He says, 'Queen *Elizabeth* had done many things in Queen *Mary*'s Time, both against her Person and Government.

He knew this was so false, that there was never a Circumstance, or a Presumption brought against her; but the Information which *Wiat* gave, hoping thereby to save himself; and yet he denied that on the Scaffold. If there had been any colour to have justified the taking away her Life, both the Queen and her Counsellors were as much enclined to it, as our Author himself was.

Ibid. 80. He says, 'King *Henry* said in Parliament, she was not, and could 'not be his Daughter, for a secret Reason which he had revealed to the 'Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

This was aptly enough said by a Writer, that had emancipated himself from the Laws of Truth and Veracity, to appeal to such a Story; yet to have made it pass the better, he should have named other Circumstances; for such a thing cannot be easily believed, since after *Ann Boleyn*'s Death, the King continued to treat *Elizabeth* still as his Daughter; so that when she writ to his next Queen, she subscribed *Daughter*: she was in all things educated with the Care and State that became a King's Child; and was, both by Act of Parliament, and by his Will, declared to be so. Now to think that such a King would have done all this, after he had in Parliament declared that she could not be his Child, is a little too coarse to be believed, and so should have been supported with more than ordinary Proofs.

Ibid. 81. He says, 'She came to the Crown, meerly by virtue of the Act 'of Parliament, without being Legitimated.

In this, she and her Sister were upon the same Level; for neither of them were declared Legitimate; so this was not to be objected to the one, more than to the other Sister.

Pag. 249. 82. He says, 'Queen *Mary* being declared, by Act of Parliament, 'in the beginning of her Reign, Legitimate; and her Mothers Mar'riage being declared good, *Elizabeth* was thereby of new Illegitima'ted; yet she never repealed the Laws against her Title: but kept

'the

'the Crown meerly upon the Authority of an Act of Parliament, with-
'out having any regard to her Birth.

Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, being in the ſame Condition; and was either a lawful Queen before that Act was made, or elſe that Act was of no force, if it had not the Royal Aſſent given by a lawful Queen. So Queen *Elizabeth* was as much Queen before any ſuch Act could have paſſed, as afterwards: and therefore ſince it was not neceſſary for the ſecuring her Title, it was a ſign of her tenderneſs of her Father's Memory, to which Queen *Mary* had no regard, not to revive the remembrance of things that muſt have turned ſo much to his diſhonour, as that would have done.

83. He ſays, 'Queen *Mary* not being able to prevent her Siſters 'Succeſſion, ſent a Meſſage to her on her Death-Bed, deſiring her to 'pay her Debts, and to preſerve the Catholick Religion; both which 'ſhe promiſed, but performed neither. *Pag.* 250.

This is ſaid without any Proof, and is not at all probable; but is an Ornament added to ſet off the one, and blemiſh the other. Queen *Mary*'s Sickneſs was concealed as much as was poſſible. A week before her Death, they were burning Hereticks as buſily as ever; and by the managing Affairs in the Parliament, it appears there was great care taken to conceal the deſperate Condition ſhe was in: ſo it is not likely that any ſuch Meſſages was ſent by her to her Siſter.

And thus far have I traced our Author in the Hiſtory he gives of the Reigns of King *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*, and have diſcovered an equal meaſure of Ignorance and Malice in him: but he was the fitter to ſerve their Ends who employed him, and were reſolved to believe him, how falſe or improbable ſoever his Relation might be. We ſee what uſe they have made of him ever ſince that Time. His Friends were ſo ſenſible of the Advantage their Cauſe received from ſuch a way of Writing, that they reſolved to continue down the Hiſtory through Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, in which, we are told, *Sanders* himſelf made ſome Progreſs; but that not being done to ſuch a perfection as *Riſhton* and others intended to bring it, they undertook it; and have written ſo skilfully after the Copy *Sanders* had given them, that if it is poſſible, they have out-done him in theſe two particular Excellencies of writing Hiſtories, in which he was ſo great a Maſter, *Impudence, and Falſhood as to Matter of Fact.* In one thing they had manifeſtly the better of him, that they writing of what fell out in their own Time, could not be ignorant of the truth of Things; whereas he writing of what was done before he was born, or when he was but a Child, might have ſaid many things more innocently, delivering them as he had them by report. But this Excuſe cannot fit them, who did knowingly, and on Deſign, prevaricate ſo groſly in Matters of Fact: A little taſte of theſe I ſhall give, only ſo far as I have carried down the Hiſtory of this Queen, for to examine all the Faults they have committed, would require a new Volume; but from the taſte I ſhall give the Reader, he will eaſily know what judgment to paſs on the whole work.

As for the Decency of the Style, the first Period gives an Essay of it, in which the Author promises such a Description of the Queen's Reign, that this *Lioness shall be known by her Claws:* And for his sincerity in writing, the whole Preface is one indication of it, in which he accuses the Queen for acting against the Laws of Nature and Religion, in assuming the Supremacy; and represents it so, that the Reader must needs think she was the High Priest of *England*, that ordained Bishops and Ministers, and performed all other Holy Offices: whereas she was so scrupulous in this Point, that as she would not be called the *Supream Head of this Church*, so she made it be declared, both in one of the Articles of Religion, set forth in the beginning of her Reign, and afterwards in an Act of Parliament, what was the nature of that Supremacy which she assumed; making it both a part of the Religion, and the Law of the Land. By these it was declared, that they gave her not *the Ministry of God's Word, or of the Sacraments; but only that Prerogative which was given by God himself in the Scriptures, to Godly Princes; that they should rule all committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword, the stubborn and evil Doers.* If Men were not past shame, they could not, after such an express and publick Declaration, put on the confidence of writing as this Author does. I shall follow him in some more steps, and doubt not not but I shall convince the Reader, that he was the fittest Man that could be found, to have writ a Continuation of *Sanders's* History.

Pag. 255. 1. He says, '*Henry* the Second of *France*, in a solemn Assembly, did, 'after Queen *Mary*'s Death, declare the Queen of *Scotland* his Daugh-'ter-in-Law, Queen of *England* and *Ireland*.

This was neither done in a Solemn Assembly, nor presently after Queen *Mary*'s Death; nor was it done by *Henry* the Second. The Queen of *Scotland* did, by her Uncles Advice, assume that Title, without any publick Act: and it was not done till they understood that *Philip* was moving for a Dispensation in the Court of *Rome*, for marrying Queen *Elizabeth*; King *Henry* did only connive at it, but neither ordered it, nor justified it, when the Queen's Ambassador complained of it. An Author that is so happy in his first Period, as to make three such Mistakes, is likely to give us an excellent History.

Ibid. 2. He says, 'The Arch-Bishop of *York*, and all the other Bishops, 'one only excepted, refused to anoint her.

This was one of the most extraordinary things that ever was in any Government; that the Bishops refusing to crown the Queen, were not only not punished for it, but continued to hold their Bishopricks still: and the Arch-Bishop of *York* was continued a Privy Counsellor many months after this. This is none of the Claws of a *Lioness*, but rather a slackness and easiness of Clemency, that deserves censure; if it had not been that the Queen resolved to begin her Reign, with the most signal Acts of Mercy that were possible.

Pag. 256. 3. He says, '*Cecil* and his Friend *Bacon*, raised vast Estates to them-'selves, and involved the Government into vast Difficulties, and

'brought

'brought the Queen's Revenue into great, or rather inextricable 'Confusion.

This may pass among Forreigners, and perhaps be believed; but we at home, that when we wish for happy Times, and excellent Counsellors, do naturally reflect on the Days of that glorious Queen, and her wise Councils, will not be much wrought on by it. The Revenue was never better managed, the Undertakings of the Government were never greater, and the Charge was never less. This gives a Character of those Ministers beyond all exception. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* never raised himself above that Quality which he brought with him into the Court. And *Cecil* was not advanced above the lowest Rank of Nobility, tho he was in the chief Ministry above thirty Years; and though they both left good Estates behind them, yet far short of what might have been expected after so long a course in such great and high Employments.

4. He says, 'There was an Oath enacted in the Parliament for the 'Queen's Supremacy; and those who refused to swear it, for the first 'Offence were to forfeit their Benefices, and all their Goods, and to be 'Prisoners for Life; the second Offence was made Treason. *Pag.* 257.

Such a false recital of a printed Act, deserves a severer Animadversion than I shall bestow on it. The refusing that Oath, did infer no other punishment, but the forfeiture of Benefices and Offices; and the Parties so refusing, were subjected to no other Danger; nor was the Oath to be put to them a second Time. It is true, if any did assert the Authority of any Forreign Potentate, that was more penal: Yet that was not as our Author represents it; for the first Offence there was a forfeiture of ones Goods; or in case of Poverty, one Years Imprisonment; the second Offence brought the Offender within a Premunire; and the third was Treason.

5. He says, 'The Change that was made, of the Title of *Supream* 'Head, into that of *Supream Governor*, deceived many; yet others 'thought that the Queen might have thereby assumed an Authority for 'Administring the Sacraments; but to clear all Scruples, she in the first 'Visitation ordered it to be thus explained, that she thereby pretended 'to no more Power than what her Father and Brother had exercised. *Pag.* 258.

In the first Visitation ordered by the Queen, there was an Injunction given Explanatory to the Oath of Supremacy; declaring that she did not pretend to any Authority for the Ministry of Divine Service in the Church, and challenged nothing, but what had at all times belonged to the Crown of *England*; which was a Soveraignty over all manner of Persons under God: so that no Forreign Power had any Rule over them; and so was willing to acquit such as took it in that sense, of all the Penalties in the Act. So that it is plain she assumed nothing but the Royal Authority, and was ready to accept of such Explications as might clear all Ambiguities.

6. 'He reckons, among the Laws that were made, this for one, that 'Bishops should hold their Sees only during the Queen's Pleasure, and 'exercise no other Authority, but only as they derived it from her. *Pag.* 259.

The

The Laws he reckons, were those made by King *Henry* now revived; but this Law is fallly recited in both the parts of it: for the Bishops were to hold their Sees, as all others do their Free-holds, without any dependence on the Queen's Pleasure; and were to exercise their Jurisdiction in their own Names, and according to the Ecclesiastical Laws, and were not forced to take Commissions to hold their Bishopricks during the Queen's Pleasure, as had been done both in King *Henry* and King *Edward*'s Time.

Pag. 263. 7. 'After a long discourse against the Queen's Supremacy, he says, 'The Laws concerning it, and other Points of Religion, did pass with 'great difficulty in the House of Lords, all the Bishops opposing them, 'and those Noblemen in particular, who had gone to *Rome* upon the 'Embassy Queen *Mary* sent thither, did very earnestly disswade it.

It is true, all the Bishops did oppose them, tho both *Tonstal*, *Heath*, *Thirleby*, and some others had consented to, and written for King *Henry*'s Supremacy; which was (at least as to the manner of expressing it,) of a higher strain than that to which the Queen did now pretend. They had also submitted to all the Changes that had been made in King *Edward*'s Time. For the Temporal Lords, none dissented from the Act of Supremacy, but the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Viscount *Montacute*, so the opposition was small, where so few entred their Dissents; and of these, only the Viscount *Montacute* had been at *Rome*, sent thither by Queen *Mary*. It is true, the Marquess of *Winchester*, and the Lords, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, *Wharton*, *Rich*, and *North*, dissented from the Bill for the Book of Common Prayer, and some other Acts that related to the Reformation; but these being but few in number, were far short of those that were for them: and it is clear, the Queen left the Peers wholly to their freedom, since the Marquess of *Winchester*, notwithstanding his Dissent, continued to hold that great Office, of Lord Treasurer, in which he had been put in King *Edward*'s Time, and which he had kept all Queen *Mary*'s Reign, till his Death, fourteen Years after this; this may perhaps be justly censured, as looking too like a remissness in the Matters of Religion, when he that dissented to the Reformation, was yet so long employed in the greatest Trust in the Kingdom; but certainly this is none of the *Claws* to know the *Lioness* by.

8. He says, 'The Queen gave the Earl of *Arundel* some hopes that 'she would marry him, and so perswaded him to consent to the Laws 'now made; but afterwards slighted him, and declared, *she would live* '*and die a Virgin*.

The Journals of Parliament shew how false this is; for the Address was made to the Queen, persuading her to marry; to which she made the Answer set down by our Author, on the *6th* of *February*, and the Act of Supremacy, with the other Acts concerning Religion, passed in *April* thereafter: so that the Queen, after so publick a Declaration of her unwillingness to marry, could not have deluded the Earl of *Arundel* with the hopes of it.

Ibid. 9. He says, 'She wrought on the D. of *Norfolk*, by promising him 'a Dispensation in the Business of his Marriage, which he could not ob- 'tain of the Pope.

It is not like the Duke of *Norfolk* was denied any such Dispensation from *Rome*, nor are there any Dispensations granted in *England* for marrying in the forbidden Degrees: Cousin Germans are the nearest that may marry. The obtaining a License for that at *Rome*, is a matter of course, so the Fees are but paied; and the Law allows that to all in *England*. Nor are there any Dispensations in Matrimonial Matters, except concerning the Time, the Place, or the asking of Banes; and it is not likely these were ever denied to any at *Rome*. As for his long Excursion concerning that Duke's Death, it not falling within the compass of my History, I shall not follow him in it.

10. He says, 'The Protestants desired a publick Disputation: so the 'Queen commanded the Bishops to make ready for it; they refused it a 'great while, since that seemed to make the Faith of the Church subject 'to the judgment of the ignorant Laity; but at last they were forced to 'yield to it; and the Points were, Communion in both kinds, Prayer 'in a known Tongue, and the like. *Pag.* 266.

The Act of Council has it otherwise: By it we see that the Arch-Bishop of *York* being then a Privy Councellor, did heartily agree to it, and undertook that the rest of his Brethren should follow the Orders that were made by the Council concerning it; tho it is not to be denied, but some of the Bishops were secretly dissatisfied with it: as they had good reason; since a publick Disputation was like to lay open the weakness of their Cause, which was never so safe, as when it was received in gross, without descending to troublesome Enquiries concerning it. The Communion in both kinds was not one of the Articles.

11. He says, '*Bacon* a Lay-man was Judg, the Arch-Bishop of *York* 'sitting next to him, only for forms-sake. *Ibid.*

Bacon was not Judg; the whole Privy-Council were present to order the Forms of the Debate; and he, as the first of that Board, did only give directions, according to the order that had been formerly agreed on.

12. He says, 'On the 3*d* of *April* they disputed, but there was nothing done with Order or Justice, the time was spent in Declamations, 'while the profane Judg directed all things at his pleasure, so that it 'came to nothing. *Ibid.*

It is true, the Order was broken: But it had been unkindly done of our Author to tell by whom. The Papists refused the first day to give their Reasons in writing, as had been agreed on before; and as was accordingly done by the Reformed; and upon the second day they refused to proceed, unless, contrary to what had been concluded, the Reformed should read their Papers first: So the Disputation broke up, it appearing evidently, that the one side were not afraid of a publick Hearing, but that the other were.

The Conclusion.

I Pursue these Calumnies no further, because I cannot offer a Confutation of them, without a larger digression: since I break off my History in the second Year of this Reign; so that I cannot refer the Reader to those more copious Accounts given by me, as I have done in the former Remarques; where a short hint was sufficient. And I do

not judg it worth the while, to enter into such a full search of these Matters, as a Confutation would require, only to expose *Rishton*. These Evidences which I have given of his Ignorance and Injustice, will satisfy impartial Readers; and I am out of hopes of convincing those that are so wedded to an Interest, that they are resolved to believe all that is said of their side, how improbable soever it may appear, or how slenderly soever it may be proved.

And now I hope, the Reformation of this Church appears in its true Colours, and the Calumnies by which its Adversaries have endeavoured so long to disgrace it, are so evidently confuted, that they will be no more supported by their own side, nor so tamely assented to, by any that in their Hearts may perhaps love the Reformation, and yet are too easily prevailed on to drink in the Prejudices that are raised by the confidence with which those Slanders have been vented. Now the Matter is better understood, and tho at this distance, and after the rasure of Records made in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, it must be acknowledged that there are many things, either quite past over, or so defectively related by me, that this Work wants that perfection which were to be desired. Yet notwithstanding all these disadvantages, besides the faults of style, Method, or way of Expression, which may be more justly put to my account, tho having done it in the best manner I could, I have little to answer for, but the presumption of undertaking a Design too high for me to perform with that Life and Perfection that such a Subject required; and even in that, I rather submitted to the Authority of others, who engaged me in it, than vainly fancied my self able to accomplish it; but after all those Allowances that are necessary, of which there can none be more sensible than my self, I am not out of hope but this Work may have some good effect, on such as shall read it impartially and with candor; and that those who are already of our Church, shall be induced to like it the better, when they see what the beginnings of our Reformation were: and those who are not of our Communion, may the more easily be brought into it, when they see by what Steps, and upon what Reasons the Changes were made: and if this Success follows my poor Endeavours, I shall think my Time and Pains have been well employed.

I am apprehensive enough of the Faults I may be guilty of, but I shall now give the Reader such an assurance of my readiness to correct them, as soon as I am convinced of them, that I hope, if any thing occurs to any that deserves censure, they will communicate it first to my self; and if I do not, upon better information, retract what I have written, then I shall allow them to make it publick in what manner they please. And it may be presumed I will not be for the future unwilling to do this, by the following account of the Mistakes which I made in the former Part, communicated to me by Mr. *Fulman*, of whom I made mention in the Preface. With these I conclude this Work.

Some

Pool lived at *Padua* long before this time, and not after it, (as *Antiq. Brit.* from whom it is vouched has it) but that Society of Learned Men was now removed to *Rome*, whither *Pool* seems to have gone to them. *P.221. l.10.*

No wonder *Chester* was not here mentioned, since it was erected before. And so it might well be, tho the Charter for the present Foundation bears date after; for the former might be surrendered and cancelled, probably because of some mention made in it of the Pope's Bull, of which you speak *p.* 121. *P.263. l.7.*

Fox adds another Passage of that Discourse between *Cromwel* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, which perhaps offended him much; that he was never so far in love with *Wolsey*, as to have waited on him to *Rome*, as he understood the Duke of *Norfolk* would have done. *P.265. l.17. from bottom.*

Coventry and *Litchfield* were never two different Bishopricks, but two different Seats of the same See, which had sometimes a third at *Chester*. *P.228. l.23.*

This was no designed interview; but *Charles* hearing of the Tumult at *Ghent*, went from *Spain* to *Flanders*, through *France*, as his nearest way, and was met by *Francis* at *Loches* in *Berry*, and not at *Paris*. *P.272. l.1.*

Cromwel was then Dean of *Wells*, and that was the reason of the *Proviso*. *P.279. l.20.*

Hall and L. *Herbert* say, This was on the 25*th*, which you put on the 24*th* of *June*. *P.280. l.5.*

He in that place belongs to the King named before; so it should have been expressed, that it is *Bonner* that is here meant. *P. 297.*

It was not necessary to restore the Lord *Cromwel* in Blood, for he was made a Baron, when his Father was made an Earl, so that his Blood was not corrupted by his Fathers Attaindor. *P.312. l.12.*

Interludes were not then brought in first to Churches, but had been used in the Times of Popery, the greatest part of their Religion being placed in outward Shews, so that these did well enough agree with it; and such Representations are yet in use sometimes in the Roman Church, so that, by which they had formerly entertained the People, was now turned on themselves. *P.318. l.8.*

Fox sets down a Confession of *Anne Askews*, (perhaps *Ascough* was her right Name, for so is the Name of the Family in *Lincolnshire* written) in which she her self relates this Passage of the Lord Chancellors racking her with his own hands; so there is no reason to question the truth of it; and *Parsons*, who detracts as much from *Fox*'s Credit as he can, does not question this particular. *P.342. l.1.*

The

P. 344. l. 10. The Story concerning *Cranmer*, must belong to the former Year, for *Butts* that bore a share in it, died on the 17*th* of *Novemb.* 1545, as appears by the Inscription on his Tomb-stone in *Fulham* Church: So this Passage being after the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Death, which was in *August* that Year; this must be placed between *August* and *Novemb.* 1545.

P. 346. l. 6. The Earl of *Surrey* had not lived long a Widower, for his youngest Son, afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, is said to have been at nurse at his Father's Death.

P. 355. l. 17. from bottom. The Year of Sir *Tho. More*'s Birth is not certain; by *Erasmus* his Reckoning, it was in the Year 1479, if not higher; others say it was 1480; and others 1484.

P. 359. l. 30. *William Peyto: Thuanus*, calls him *William*, and says, he was *Loci Ignobilis*; but his true Name, by which he was made Cardinal, was *Peter*; whether he was so Christened, or assumed it only when he became a Frier, is not certain. He was descended from an Ancient and Eminent Family in *Warwick-shire*, yet remaining.

P. 204. l. 14. from bottom. *And not many of these.* Here seems to be a word or more wanting; 'It is wanting in the Original, but it should have been supplied by a 'conjecture on the Margent; *Armed* seems to be the word that agrees 'best to the sense.

FINIS.

Errata *in the former Volume, that are not marked in the Table of them.*

PAge 10. line 17 from bottom, for 18 of *June*, read 28. P. 22. l. 11. fr. bott. f. *Fredifwood*, r. *Fridefwoide*. P. 26. l. 24. f. *Sartre*, r. *Sautre*; l. 29. f. *it as like*, r. *it is like*. P. 27. l. 12. fr. bott. f. 1611, r. 1511. P. 41. l. 25. for *Dorchester*, r. *Dorset*. P. 47. l. 24. f. *Puccy*, r. *Pucci*. P. 59. l. 18. f. *great*, r. *got*. P. 72. l. 11. f. *Simpson*, r. *Sampson*. P. 85. Marg. l. 28. f. 2 *Feb.* r. 24. P. 91. l. 14. f. 19 of *June*, r. 10 of *June*. P. 163. l. *ult.* f. *rented*, r. rated. P. 242. l. 8. f. *this Kings*, r. *this kind*. P. 247. l. 9. f. 1635. r. 1535. *ibid.* l. 15 fr. bott. f. 7 *Dec.* r. 17. P. 249. l. 11. f. *refuse*, r. *refute*. P. 262. l. 18. f. *Rent*, r. *rents*. P. 280. l. 21. f. *Person*, r. *Prison*. P. 285. f. *came*, r. *come*. P. 333. (misprinted 343) l. 24. f. *Dell*, r. *Bell*. P. 343. l. 18. f. *Alrich*, r. *Holgate*.

A Table of the Records and Papers that are in the *Collection*, with which the Places in the *History* to which they relate are marked; the first Number, with the Letter *C.* is the Page of the *Collection*; the second with the Letter *H.* is the Page of the *History*.

59. Ridley's

Some Mistakes in the First Part of this History, communicated to me by Mr. William Fulman, *Rector of* Hampton Meysey; *in* Glocestershire.

Page 7. line 10. from bottom.

LOrd *Almoner*] It is questionable whether the *Almoner* was then called *Lord*, and more questionable whether *Wolsey* were then *Almoner*, when he was thus recommended to the King's Favour; for *Polidore Virgil* who lived in *England* at that time, or very near it, says he was Chaplain to King *Henry* the *7th*, and now made Almoner to King *Henry* the *8th*, being before that time Dean of *Lincoln*, made so 2 *Feb.* 1508. installed by Proxy, 25 *March* 1509. and personally 21 *August* 1511. and so only he is stiled in the University Register, 12 *April* 1510. when he was made Batchelor of Divinity.

P. 8. Margent

These Numbers seem questionable, the Temporalities of *Lincoln* are said to be restored, 4 *March*, 5 *Regni*, *i.e.* $151\frac{3}{4}$; but then it was done before his Consecration, which *Godwin* says, was the *26th* of *March* that Year. But this might be to give him a right to the mean Profits, by restoring the Temporalities before *Lady-day*, though he was not consecrated till the *26th*. before *November*, there should be (6) added, for on that day was he translated to *York*. And whereas it is said he had the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, *May* 4. 20 *Regni*, *i.e.* 1528. this must be a mistake, for *Fox's* Register reaches to the *9th* of *Septemb.* that Year; so perhaps it was 4 *March*, 20 *Regni*, *i.e.* in *March* $152\frac{7}{8}$. 'But I took all these Dates 'from the Rolls; and I must add one thing, that I have often seen cause 'to question the exactness of the Clerks in the enroling of Dates, though 'it seems a presumption to question the Authority of a Record.

P. 10. l. 16. from bottom.

Here, and in several other places, as *pag.* 35, 36, 134, 208, 321, it is supposed, That the next Heir of the Crown was *Prince of Wales*. The Heir apparent of the Crown is indeed Prince, but is not *Prince of Wales*, strictly speaking, unless he has it given him by a Creation. And it is said, That there is nothing on Record to prove that any of K. *Henry's* Children were ever created *Prince of Wales*. There are indeed some hints of the Lady *Mary's* being stiled Princess of *Wales*; for when a Family was appointed for her, 1525. *Veysey* Bishop of *Exeter*, her Tutor, was made President of *Wales*. She also is said to have kept her House at *Ludlow*; and *Leland* says, That *Teken-hill*, an House in those Parts built for Prince *Arthur*, was repaired for her. And *Tho. Linacre* dedicates his *Rudiments of Grammar* to her, by the Title of *Princess of* Cornwal *and* Wales.

P. 19. l. 26.

Besides the Letter of Pope *Leo's* declaring K. *Henry*, *Defender of the Faith*, there was a more pompous one sent over by P. *Clement* the *7th*, *March* 5. $152\frac{3}{4}$, which, as is supposed, granted that Title to his Successors, whereas the first Grant seems to have been only Personal.

P.22. l.2. No wonder there was no Seal to that Grant of King *Edgars*, for Seals were little used in *England* before the Conquest.

Ibid. l. 10. The Monks were not then setled in half the Cathedrals in *England*, their chief Seats were in the Rich Abbeys, that were scarce subject to the Bishops.

Ibid. Marg. *April* 1524, was not the 14*th* Year of the King's Reign, as it is put on the Margent, but the 15*th*.

P.44. l.5. from bottom. The Lord *Piercy* was in the Cardinal's Family, rather in a way of Education (not unusual in those Times) than of Service.

P.47. l.12. from bottom. The General of the Observants in *Spain*, seems an improper expression, for the Generals have the government of the whole Order everywhere; 'yet I find him so called in some Originals, see *Coll. pag.*22,23. 'whether it was done improperly, or whether that Order was then only 'in *Spain*, I cannot determine.

P.56. l.19. How far the Cardinal had carried the Foundation at *Ipswich*, it is not known; but it is certain he did never finish what he had designed at *Oxford*. 'But in this I went according to the Letters Patents, by which 'it appears he had then done his part, and had set off both Lands and 'Mony for these Foundations.

P.69. l.16. from bottom. *Campegio*'s Son is by *Hall*, none of his Flatterers, said to have been born in Wedlock, *i. e.* before he took Orders. This is also confirmed by *Gauricus Genitur.* 24. who says, he had by his Wife three Sons and two Daughters.

P.77. l.18. *Campegio* might take upon him to direct the Process, as being sent Express from *Rome*, or to avoid the imputation that might have been cast on the Proceedings, if *Wolsey* had done it, but he was not the ancienter Cardinal, for *Wolsey* was made alone, *Sept.* 7. 1515. and *Campegio*, with many more, was advanced, *July* 1. 1517.

P.81. l.32. The Lord *Herbert* says, the King gave him only the use of *Richmond*, which is more probable.

P.82. l.6. The Cardinal died *Novemb.* 29. as most Writers agree; so it is wrong set in the *History* the 28, and in the Picture 26 for 29.

P.85. l.21. This Book is in the end of it, said to be printed 1530, in *April*; but it seems an Error, for 1531: for the Censures of the Universities, which are printed in, and mentioned in several places of it, do all bear date after that *April*, except those made by these of *Oxford* and *Orleans*.

from bottom. P.86. What is said concerning the Author of the *Antiquities* of *Oxford*, has been much complained of by him. 'I find he has Authorities for what 'he said, but they are from Authors whose Manuscripts he perused, who 'are of no better Credit than *Sanders* himself, such as *Harpsfield*, and 'others of the like Credit. And I am satisfied, that he had no other De-

'sign

'sign in what he writ, but to set down things as he found them in the 'Authors whom he made use of.

Calvin's Epistle seems not to belong to this Case, for besides that, he was then but 21, and tho he was a Doctor of the Law, and had often preached before he was 24, for then he set out *Seneca de Clementia*, with Notes on it; Yet this was too soon to think he could have been consulted in so great a Case. That Epistle seems to relate to a Prince who was desirous of such a Marriage, and not of dissolving it; though it is indeed strange, that in treating of that Question, he should make no mention of so famous a case as that of King *Henry*, which had made so much noise in the World. P. 92.

The Letter dated the 8*th* of *Decemb.* should have been mentioned immediately after that of the 5*th*, being but three days after it, and the Appeal that followed should have been set down after it. It were also fit to publish the Appeal it self, for the power of Appealing was a Point much contraverted. Pope *Pius* the 2*d* condemned it 1549; yet it was used by the *Venetians* 1509, and by the University of *Paris*, *March* 27. 1517. P. 110. l. 22.

Pool, as Dean of *Exeter*, is said to be have been one of the Lower House of Convocation; which doth not agree with the Conjecture, *p.* 129. that the Deans at that time sat in the Upper House of Convocation. P. 113. l. 4.

These sent by the King to *Rome*, came thither in *February*, not in *March*; and the Articles they put in were 27, not 28, as it is there said. These, with other small Circumstances, appear from a Book then printed of these Disputes. P. 120. l. 8.

If *Cranmer* was present at *Ann Boleyn's* Marriage, which was certainly in *Novemb.* *Warham* having died in *August* before, he could not have delayed his coming to *England* six months. *Antiq. Brit.* says, he followed the Emperor to *Spain*; but *Sleiden* says, that the Emperor went no further than *Mantua* this Year, and sailed to *Spain* in *March* following; and *Cranmer* would not go then with him, for he was consecrated, not on the 13*th* of *March*, (which is an Error) but on the 30*th* of *March*. P. 126. l. 11.

The order in which these Books were published, is not observed, they were thus printed. P. 137. l. 10.

1. *De vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiasticæ*, (written by *Edw. Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*) 1534.

2. *De vera Obedientia*, (by *Stephen Gardiner*) 1535. set out with *Bonner's* Preface before it, in *Jan.* 1536.

3. *The Institution of a Christian Man*, 1537. which was afterwards reduced into another Form, under another Title, *viz.* *A Necessary Doctrine, and Erudition for any Christian Man*, 1540. But there was another put out before all these.

De potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis contra Pontificis Tyrannidem; and the distinction there made between the Bishop's Book,

and the King's Book seems not well applied. It is more probable that the Institution of a Christian Man, set out by the Bishops, was called their Book; and that being afterwards put in another Method, and set out by the King's Authority, it was called his Book.

P.150. l.19. *Bocking* is called a Canon of *Christs-Church* in *Canterbury*. But there were then no Canons in that Church, they were all Monks.

P.158. l.6. The Bishops Suffragans were before common in *England*, some Abbots, or rich Clergy-Men, procuring under Forreign, or perhaps feigned Titles, that Dignity; and so performing some parts of the Episcopal Function, in large or neglected Dioceses; so the Abbot or Prior of *Tame* was one, *Coll. p.* 148. Such was *Robert King* Abbot of *Oseney*, after Bishop of *Oxford*; and *Thom. Cornish* a Residentiary of *Wells*, who by the name of *Thomas Episcopus Tinensis*, did confer Orders, and performed other Episcopal Functions for *Fox* while he was Bishop of *Exeter*, from 1487, to 1492. and afterwards, when he was Bishop of *Wells*, as appears by both those Registers: he died in the Year 1513. Of this I could give more Instances if it were necessary.

P.203. l.5,6. It is said, some were judged to be Hanged, and others to be Beheaded. But this being a Case of Treason, the Judgments must have been the same, tho executed in different ways, by order from the King. 'This 'I copied from Judg *Spelman*'s Common-Place Book.

P.203. l.21. The Original Declaration should have been set down, 'but I thought 'that not necessary, for the L. *Herbert* has published it, only he forgot 'to add the Subscription to it, which I ought to have mentioned in its 'proper place, but it escaped me, and therefore I do it here.

P.226. l.24. *Andre' Thevet*, a French Franciscan, who writ some Years after this an Universal Cosmography, says, *Lib.* 16. *cap.* 5. That he was assured, by divers English Gentlemen, that *Mark Smeton* at his Death, among his other Sins, repented in particular of the wrong he had done the Queen, in destroying her by a false Accusation. And tho *Thuanus* makes him an Author of no Credit, yet there is no reason to suspect him in this Particular, for Writers seldom lye against their Interest; and the Franciscan Order had suffered so much for their adhering to Queen *Katherine*'s Interests, in opposition to *Ann Boleyn*, that it is not likely one of that Order would have strained a Point to tell an honourable Story of her. This was made use of in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, to vindicate her Memory; see *Saravia Tract. cont. Bezam. cap.* 2. *versus finem.*

P.220. l.4,5 The King's Protestation was not published till about eight or nine months after that was obtained, which you there mention, which was the 20*th* of *July*, 1536. And in the Protestation, mention is made of the putting off the Council from *May* to *Novemb.* 1537. which came out in *April* or *May* that Year. And in *April* 1538. the King set out another Protestation against a Bull for the Council at *Vincenza*, which is not mentioned in the History.

Pool

BOOK II.

BOOK III.

ERRATA.

PAge 9. line *penult*, after *be*, read *not*. P 13. l. 17. *ever*, r. *every:* P. 15. l. 42. *Maubenge*, r. *Marbridge*. P. 72. l. 42. *muta*, r. *imbuta*. P. 74. l. 32. *tenentu*, r. *tenentem*. P. 75. l. 8. *enim qui*, r. *eum qui*. P. 91. l. 28. *ac*, r. *ad*. *duraturatum*, r. *duraturas*. P. 110. l. 1. *precesse*, r. *praesse*. l. 7. *hunc*, r. *nunc*. l. 27. *intemur*, r. *nitemur*. l. 50. *proximus*, r. *proximis*. l. *ult*. *proprior*, r. *propior*. P. 115. l. *antepenult*. *re*, r. *ac*. P. 122. l. 26. *summa*, r. *summis*. l. 36. *panam*, r. *Petram*. P. 128. l. 3. *down*. r. *undone*. l. 29. *done*, r. *undone*. l. 39. *injure*, r. *incurre*. P. 156. l. 18. *Domino*, r. *Domine*. p. 167. l. 29. after *Flesh*, r. *manutenuisse*. P. 168. l. 19 *resipiscisse*, r. *resipuisse*. P. 173. l. 17. *plene*, r. *plano*. l. 20. *saying*, r. *saving*. l. 21. *in*, r. *of*. P. 178. l. 14. after *should*, r. *not*. P. 197. l. 18. after *there*, r. *which*. Pag. 199. l. 44. *least*, r. *last*. Pag. 200. l. 27. after *us*, r. *or*. Pag. 209. l. 9. *Ghost*, r. *Trinity*. Pag. 214. l. 25. after *be*, r. *not*. Pag. 217. l. 14. dele *not*. l. *ult*. *reproved*, r. *approved*. P. 220. l. 13. after Bodies, r. *nor sleepidlily*. P. 237. l. 17. *sent*, r. *was to send*. P. 248. l. 13, 14. *Leekmore*, r. *Leechmore*, l. 15. *asserting*, r. *ascertaining*. P. 251. l. 34. *to be*, r. *took*. l. 40. before *outwardly*, r. ; P. 256. l. 29. *vocend*, r. *vocent*. P. 258. l. 32. *Christiani*, r. *Christiana*. P. 263. l. 34. dele *and*. P. 299. l 22. *Judice*, r. *Judicem*. P. 320. l. 15. after *doth*, r. *not*. P. 321. l. 39. *ordinem*, r. *ordine*. P. 321. l. 21. *nullum*, r. *nulla*. l. 29. after *contumaciam*, put, and dele, after *causa*. l. 43. *at*, r. *ac*. P. 342. l. 44. before *lawful*, r. *was it*. P. 343. l. 33. after *all*, r. *are*. p. 366 Margent, *Bolase*, r. Borlase. p. 378. Marg. *sentia*, r. *sententia*. p. 396. l. 20. *Worchester*, r. *Winchester*. p. 398. l. 44. *interrupted*, r. *uninterrupted*. p. 411. l. 8. dele ( ). l. 28. after *Heir*, r. *apparent*. l. 33. dele *afterwards*. p. 411. Marg. l. 4. to l. 16. add *from bottom*. p. 412. l. 19. *Winter is called Wolsey's Bastard*, r. *Campegioe's Son is called his Bastard*, l. 36 *had*, r. *has*. p. 412. Marg. l. 1. 14, r. 10. Marg. l. 11. 15. r. 32. p. 413. l. 32. *would*, r. *could*. l. 44. *put out*, r. *written*. p. 414. l. 28. *Mark Smeton*, r. *K. Henry*. Marg. l. 3. for 203, r. 202. Marg. l. 4. 226, r. 206. p. 415. Marg. 297. l. 16. add *fr. bottom*. p. 416. l. 25. *Fridesworde*, r. *Frideswide*. P. 2. Contents, Numb. 52. r. *Injunctions given by Bishop* Ridley, 205 158. P. 3. Contents, Numb. 15. r. *The Articles of* Bonner's *Visitation*, 260.

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The History of the Powder-Treason; with a Vindication of the Proceedings and Matters relating thereunto, from the Exceptions made against it, and more particularly of late Years; by the Author of the *Catholick Apology*, and others. To which is added, A Parallel betwixt That and the present Plot, 1681. 4to.

The Counter-Scuffle. 4to.

Mr. *Langford's* plain and useful Instructions, to raise all sorts of Fruit-Trees that prosper in *England*, in that method and order that every thing is to be done in: Together with the best Directions for making Liquors of the several sorts of Fruit, 1681. 8°.

FINIS.